

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

IN TEN VOLUMES

LONDON: Printed by A. MILLAR, in Pall-mall.

1743.

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A new caroll of our lady.

Howell Howell Howell Howell
This sayd the aungell Gabryell.

I Oides & ladys all by dene
For your goodnes & honour

I wyll you synge all of a queene
Of all women she is the floure
Howell &c.

Of Jesse there sprange a wyght
I say sayd by prophesy
Of whome shall com a man of myght
From deithe to lyfe he wyll vs bye
Howell &c.

There cam an aungell byght of face
Flyenge from heuyn with full gret lyght
And sayd hayle mary full of grace
For thou shalt bere a man of myght
Howell &c.

Altonyed was that lady free
And had meruayle of that gretynge
Aungell she sayd how may that be
For neuer of man I had knowynge
Howell &c.

Drede the nothyng mary mylde
Thou art fulfylled with great vertue
Thou shalt conceyue and bere a chyld
That shall be named swete Iesu
Howell &c.

She knelyd downe vpon her knees
Is thou haste sayd so may it be
With hert thought & mylde chere
Goddess handmayd I am here
Howell &c.

I Than began her wombe to sprynge
She went with chyld without man
He that is lord ouer all thyng
His fleshe & blode of her had than
Howell &c.

Of her was bozne our heuen kynge
And she a mayden neuer the lesse
Therfore be mery & let vs synge
For this new lord of Chyrtmas
Howell Howell &c.

¶ Finis.

"A new caroll of our lady," reproduced with the permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library from an unique mid-sixteenth-century book of Christmas carols, of which the title page is wanting (bound with src 5204+). See p. 100.

The Convention of "Heart and Tongue" and the Meaning of *Measure for Measure*

JOHN L. HARRISON



LL literature uses conventions of one kind or another. There are the dramatic conventions of the stage, conventions in poetry of commonplace themes and figures, conventions in the novel of narration and description. As recently as March of last year the poetic dramatist Ronald Duncan has called for an abandonment of the lavish realistic conventions of the contemporary stage, and the exchange of a "look in on life" for what is "greater than life."¹ T. S. Eliot made the same point a few years ago in "A Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry."² Of course, abandonment of conventions is not envisaged by these writers; the convention of verse, which they both use, is part of their artifice.

By a study of the use of poetic conventions, or of any one central convention, we can acquire a clearer knowledge of what the poem or play means. I intend to examine in detail Shakespeare's use of the figure of the heart-tongue in *Measure for Measure*, in order to show that it faithfully reveals the meaning of the play.

I am not putting forward a new interpretation of the play. It seems to me that the total complex of meaning lies in a judicious molding together of the views already put forward in Mary Suddard's "*Measure for Measure* as a Clue to Shakespeare's Attitude towards Puritanism,"³ H. B. Charlton's study of the play in his *Shakespearian Comedy*,⁴ Elizabeth M. Pope's "The Renaissance Background of *Measure for Measure*,"⁵ R. W. Battenhouse's "*Measure for Measure* and the Christian Doctrine of Atonement,"⁶ Clifford Leech's "The 'Meaning' of *Measure for Measure*,"⁷ M. C. Bradbrook's "Authority, Truth, and Justice in *Measure for Measure*,"⁸ and G. Wilson Knight's *The Wheel of Fire*.⁹ I want to do two things here: to show that the convention of heart-tongue is organic to the play; that is, that it is a dramatic figure by means of which Shakespeare's over-all poetic design is made manifest. And that as a result of

¹ "Murder by the Management," *The Observer* (London, Mar. 29, 1953), p. 10.

² *Selected Essays* (London, 1946), pp. 43-58, esp. p. 46.

³ *Studies and Essays* (CUP, 1912), pp. 136-152.

⁴ London, 1938.

⁵ *Shakespeare Survey* 2 (1949), pp. 66-80.

⁶ *PMLA*, LXI (1946), 1029-1059.

⁷ *Shakespeare Survey* 3 (1950), pp. 66-73.

⁸ *RES*, XVII (Oct. 1941), 385-399.

⁹ London, 1930.

this function, a right focus is obtained of the various views of the play cited above, in which they each fall into their merited perspective. I have no space to examine the use of the figure in other plays by Shakespeare.

The convention of heart-tongue was a popular one in the literature of the time, and represented, in one place or another, most of the meanings it bears in *Measure for Measure*. Shakespeare took a commonplace figure and made it the vehicle for a profound complex of thoughts and feelings. It had been widely used in medieval literature, and continued in use throughout the seventeenth century,¹⁰ although the way in which it was used differed in different periods and even for individual poets of the same period. The image occurred most frequently in an incidental, illustrative manner:

While that my knees do bowe unto my God
And my officious tongue doth pray,
My heart seduced by some fancies odde,
Doth wander quite another way.¹¹

Ye know not what hurt ye do to learning, that care not for wordes but for matter, and so make a devorse betwixt the tongue and the hart.¹²

. . . atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man.¹³

By thought of heart the speech of tongue is carried.¹⁴

Lie not, but let thy heart be true to God,
Thy mouth to it, thy actions to them both.¹⁵

This last example from George Herbert substitutes "mouth" for tongue without materially changing the image. Likewise, "words," "speech," "lips" appear for tongue, and "mind" or "brain" for heart, as in the first quotation above, or in Daniel's

Free is the Heart, the temple of the minde,
The sanctuarie sacred from above . . .¹⁶

or from Sidney's *Arcadia*:

. . . high erected thoughts seated in a harte of courtesie. . .¹⁷

¹⁰ The image still flourishes, e.g. in a recently printed poem "With her Lips Only," by Robert Graves (TLS, London, Apr. 10, 1953, p. 232).

¹¹ "Officious"—performing the merely formal office or duty. Ralph Knevet, "Devotion," c.1650, *Rare Poems of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. L. B. Marshall (CUP, 1936), p. 136.

¹² Ascham, *Scholemaster*, in G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), I, 6. This is expressed another way in Bacon's favorite quotation from Cicero (*De orat.* III.xix), that Socrates had divorced rhetoric and philosophy (*Valerius Terminus*, cap 8; *De aug.*, IV.i, in *Works*, ed. J. M. Robertson, London, 1905). Once that is seen, the convention takes on a very broad significance. The most common Elizabethan complaint against rhetoric or eloquence was that it was liable to excessive attention to words rather than matter (Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, I, op. cit., p. 54).

¹³ Bacon, "Of Atheism."

¹⁴ Harington, *Orlando Furioso*, 1591 tr., in *Englands Parnassus* (1600), ed. Charles Crawford (Oxford, 1913), p. 100.

¹⁵ George Herbert, "The Church Porch," lines 73-74; repeated in "Christmas," line 18, "Trinitie Sunday," line 7, in *Works*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941). Also see "The Country Parson," ch. VII, p. 233, lines 29-30; "Home," line 1; "Love unknown," line 59; and infra, p. 7, n. 32.

¹⁶ 1594, in *Englands Parnassus*, loc. cit.

¹⁷ Lib. I.ii. p. 16. Also see *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* (c.1600), I.i.15.

An allied deviation was from head to eyes, both head and eyes often referring to the Fancy, mere opinion or light judgment.¹⁸

In the good man the tongue closely expresses the feelings and "thoughts" of the heart, provided the experience is not felt to be beyond communication:

Never heart of man may reach,
Never tongue may tell with speech,
What their share of Heaven's delight,
Who have served thee day and night.¹⁹

"Thy heart is figured on thy tongue"²⁰ represented the proper accord of the two, and their "divorce" was quite reprehensible:

Then since my tongue is so infirme, Oh Lord,
That I cannot aspire
To be one of thy quire,
Vouchsafe those gifts unto my heart t'afford,
Which may make recompense
For my tongue's impotence.
Then shall I praise Thee while my will
My tongue's defects shall cover still.²¹

Volumnia persuades Coriolanus that he should address the people by seeming to be what he is not:

. . . not by your own instruction,
Nor by the matter which your heart prompts you,
But with such words that are but roted in
Your tongue, though but bastards, and syllables
Of no allowance to your bosom's truth.²²

And of course Coriolanus in his pride hastens to point out the dishonesty of such a misrepresentation:

Must I go show them my unbarb'd sconce? must I
With my base tongue give to my noble heart
A lie that it must bear?²³

To Robert Burton, the heart was

. . . the seat and fountain of life, of heat, of spirits, of pulse and respiration—the sun of our body, the king and sole commander of it—the seat and organ of all passions and affections. *Primum vivens, ultimum moriens*, it lives first, and dies last in all creatures. . . .²⁴

¹⁸ *Romeo and Juliet*, II.iii.67-69; *Merchant of Venice*, III.ii.63 ff.

¹⁹ "A Good Orisoun of Our Lady," early 13th century, lines 47-50, *Chief Middle English Poets*, ed. Jessie L. Weston (London, 1913).

²⁰ Ford, *Perkin Warbeck*, I.i.101.

²¹ Ralph Knevet, "Infirmitie," in Marshall, *Rare Poems*, p. 135.

²² III.ii.53-57.

²³ III.ii.99-101; see also III.iii.28-29, III.i.257-258. The application of this convention to Coriolanus provides a trustworthy key to his character.

²⁴ *Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1883), I.ii.iv. p. 97. Cf. Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia*, pp. 6-8, cited in J. B. Bamforth, *The Little World of Man* (London, 1952), p. 21. For this and the following paragraph I am indebted to Bamforth's neat summary of Renaissance psychology.

The two vital centers of the body were considered to be the heart and brain in any sixteenth-century psychology. The perception of an object was transferred to the Imagination, which sent its message to the heart by means of the animal spirits (deriv. *anima*); the heart in turn summoned the spirits and humours to take the necessary action. A gross excess of humour would affect both the brain and heart:

... if both parties be overcharged of humour, the apprehension and affection both are corrupted, and misse of their right action, and so all things mistaken, ingender that confused spirite, and those stormes of outrageous love, hatred, hope or feare, wherewith bodies so passionate are heere and there, tossed with disquiet.²⁵

Since the humours mingled with the blood, it is psychologically apt that Angelo should show the above symptoms when all his invention anchors on Isabel:

... O heavens!
Why does my blood thus muster to my heart,
Making it both unable for itself
And dispossessing all my other parts
Of necessary fitness?²⁶

Particularly did the passions affect the heart. Joy made it expand, in melancholy it shrivelled, slowed down in grief, contracted in fear. Blood boiled about the heart during anger; lovers by concentrating on the beloved tended to suffer from the passage of heat into the brain, whereby the heart was liable to convulse. Yet if the expression of passion was totally withheld, the mind lost balance.

In the medieval commonplace "measure is treasure," the idea of proportion and balance was prominent. Temperance can "measure out a meane" and preserves the due ascendancy of reason over the passions.²⁷ Angelo predominantly—but there are no exceptions beyond the Provost and Escalus—violates due measure, and his punishment through suffering and public censure represents both a real and ideal meting out of "measure for measure." His "tongue" and seeming justice gain ascendancy over his heart; or rather, his heart having through the effects of passion lost both its harmonious identification with the intellect and its faithful expression, his virtue, nourished on the snow broth of a too rigorous piety, becomes subject to base desires.

This interdependence in Renaissance psychology of heart and brain, affection and apprehension (the pairs are not conterminous), as coequal organs and faculties, without whose balanced effort health of body and soul was impossible, lent great force to such a convention as that of the heart-tongue figure. Similarly, the number of alternative and seemingly differentiated terms used on one or the other side of the formula provided an inclusiveness of reference under which could be subsumed a complete theory not only of physical but of moral health, a sound cosmology of thought and affect. It is with such

²⁵ T. Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholy* (1586), p. 91, cited by Bamforth, p. 90.

²⁶ II.iv.19-23. For the preceding lines, see p. 7 *infra*.

²⁷ F.Q. II.i.57-58.

a wide reference for the image in mind that we should approach *Measure for Measure*.

At a key point in the play, Angelo is moved to soliloquize:

. . . she speaks, and 'tis such sense
That my sense breeds with it. (II.i.142-143)

Isabella had just used her best rhetoric to persuade Angelo to examine his heart for "natural guiltiness"; if he should find it, she tells him,

Let it not sound a thought upon your tongue
Against my brother's life. (II.ii.140-141)

Her eloquence, once the worldly-wise Lucio has awakened her nobility to use it, is powerful enough to stir remorse—as was expected by the Elizabethan audience with their supreme respect for its Orphic qualities. But in Angelo's comment there is also the notion that the power of Isabella's tongue, since it expresses the convictions of her heart, breeds a like feeling in his heart. The phrase "and 'tis such sense" could be expected to remind the audience that the heart presided over the middle region of the body, and was the "sensitive" aspect of the soul and controller of apprehension and motion. Angelo is particularly susceptible to both at the moment, his heart-senses to Isabella's charms (his eyes, for example, see II.ii.179), his heart-mind to her eloquence.

But the word-play on "sense" goes even further. Isabella speaks such "sense" with the meaning of (a) eloquent persuasion, and (b) speech acting like a seductive physical sense (an aspect of (a); "breeds" is germane here), that Angelo is moved both to be persuaded and to become sensual.²⁸ Angelo's fall first becomes apparent with this speech. Isabella has broken through his precisionist defences in more than one way, chiefly by appealing to him to discredit his own "seeming" tongue for the sake of the reality of his heart's truth. Unfortunately, in her inexperience and her "precise" likeness to Angelo at least at this point in the play, she fails to see that his heart's truth is vitiated by the life-long blunting of his "natural edge" (I.iv.60).

This might be put another way by saying that the pun on "sense" refers to one of Angelo's five inner senses, which were commonly believed to correspond to the five outward senses and were named common sense, imagination, phantasy, estimation, and memory. The word-play points to the rousing of his passions by his Imagination. Once Angelo had decided that Isabella was desirable for sensual ends, his Imagination performed its function of moving the heart (in a restricted sense the seat of the passions, as we have seen) to achieve those ends. As Isabella observes, only grace and/or mercy can counter this "natural guiltiness," its actualization the more likely owing to a repressively strict nature adhering to literal justice.

Angelo complains²⁹ after having confessed himself unable to pray, that the blood is mustering to his heart, and disabling its right action. Claudio also fell to lust through "prompture of the blood," to which the "mind of honour" is contrasted (II.iv.177 ff.); and, at least for Isabella at the time, he becomes a

²⁸ Cf. II.ii.169: "sense" means "sensual desire." And her eloquence is such "that I desire to hear her speak again" (II.ii.178).

²⁹ II.iv.19 ff., cited *supra* p. 4; cf. V.i.470.

"beast" when he uses Angelo's arguments to persuade her to sacrifice herself for him (III.iv.134 ff.). The result is as disastrous for Angelo as it had been for Claudio, as the scene discloses in its terrible dialectic concerning the guilt accruing on enforced sin and in its resolution in Isabella's free decision to preserve her chastity. (Legally, then as now, she would have been held guiltless; morally, it was and is another matter. The play is built throughout on this dialectical foundation.) Angelo uses the rhetoric of the tongue to persuade Isabella to "foul redemption," and to put the finishing touches to his case against showing "lawful mercy" to Claudio. Isabella cannot at first believe (at any rate she pretends so) that Angelo's duplicity of tongue-heart ("I have no tongue but one," she says, II.iv.139) "expresses his purposes"; but she finally realizes (II.iv.148) that his honor is all "seeming, seeming" (II.iv.150) and that, as he warns her, his false will outweigh her true in any public appeal.

I have referred more than once to Angelo's "seeming" tongue. The notion becomes explicit at more than one point in the play, for example in the last act in Isabella's plea to the Duke for justice:

. . . but let your reason serve
To make the truth appear where it seems hid,
And hide the false seems true. (V.i.66-67)

It is a confession of her own earlier fault of the substitution of justice for mercy, brought out clearly in the contrast between her earlier harsh judgments of Angelo and Claudio and the final merciful kneeling for Angelo's life. It again becomes apparent when she realizes that Angelo's mouth is "perilous" with deception, hooking right and wrong to appetite, and even falsifying the law for which he, "the precise Angelo" (III.i.95), "most strait in virtue" (II.i.9; cf. I.iii.50-51), preeminently stood. In the Duke's trochaic verses—and I choose to believe that if the lines are not by Shakespeare they at least reflect a central truth of the play—he wishes that all men were as free from faults as some (Angelo) seem to be, and as faults are free from seeming to be what they are not.³⁰

Angelo's despairful complaint that he cannot pray—that his empty words play with heaven—concludes with the magnificent lines describing his own long self-deception with the "case," the "habit" of authority, tied to its "false seeming." The whole speech is relevant to the convention of heart-tongue under discussion:

When I would pray and think, I think and pray
To several subjects. Heaven hath my empty words,
Whilst my invention, hearing not my tongue,
Anchors on Isabel. Heaven in my mouth,
As if I did but only chew his name,
And in my heart the strong and swelling evil
Of my conception. The state whereon I studied

³⁰ Here in a line is a major justification of the underplotted rogues, non-hypocritical if not honest. The subplot also functions to point a contrast with the main plot in the relation of justice to mercy. Thus Escalus' rhetorical question, "Which is the wiser here? Justice or iniquity?" (II.i.167), directly reflects on the conduct of the principal characters. The subplot also provides a norm criterion for the sexual acts of mankind (especially II.i.226 ff. and II.ii.4-6). It provides one "measure" against which the tense apprehensions of the principal characters are set.

THE CONVENTION OF "HEART AND TONGUE"

Is, like a good thing being often read,
Grown sere and tedious; yea, my gravity,
Wherein—let no man hear me—I take pride,
Could I with boot change for an idle plume
Which the air beats for vain. O place, O form,
How often dost thou with thy case, thy habit,
Wrench awe from fools, and tie the wiser souls
To thy false seeming! Blood, thou art blood.
Let's write "good angel" on the devil's horn;
'Tis not the devil's crest.⁸¹

Angelo refers to the fragmentation of Invention, the traditional first part of composition and synonymous with "matter" and "nature" as opposed to "manner" and "art," in terms of the disunity of heart and tongue.⁸² Isabella had also used a diminishing image of clothing to designate Angelo's "prentie guards" of seeming virtue (III.i.97), and the Duke is contrasted with Angelo in claiming that he does not change heart with habit.⁸³ The Duke's early statement of intention—

... Hence we shall see
If power change purpose, what our seemers be—(I.iii.53-54)

has been answered.

O what may man within him hide,
Though angel [Angelo] on the outward side. . . , (III.ii.253-254)

is the sententious expression of the heart-tongue, reality-appearance theme of the play. Similarly, Isabella can tell Claudio that he will never "be made a man" by taking advantage of her loss of chastity (III.i.137 ff.). In other words, moral stature is not to be achieved out of the "vice" of another, for the simple reason that evil is unreal (*non est substantia*)⁸⁴ or "seeming" and can be no foundation for good. Isabella's judgment, however, is pointedly in direct contrast to Mariana's later merciful statement offered as the right answer to puritanical "precision":

They say, best men are moulded out of faults,
And, for the most, become much more the better
For being a little bad. (V.i.435-437)

The paradox has been stated, and the truth is contained. Without seeming there can be no virtue, finally.

The image of the heart-tongue, then, reflects the justice-mercy, appearance-reality theme of the play, the stiling and perversion of a Blakean Imagination by preciseness. Angelo's heart in its fractured state is guilty, although his tongue

⁸¹ II.iv.1-17. The texture of this passage is immediate, sharp, sensitive, simple, and by style alone indicates the centrality of its key image to the play.

⁸² George Herbert used the same association of "invention," "heart" and "brain" in "Love I" and "Love II," lines 6-7.

⁸³ V.i.385. Elsewhere the Duke decides to deceive the "disguis'd" Angelo with the "disguise" of Mariana (III.ii.262).

⁸⁴ A doctrine of Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* Pars II, Quaestio 10 (viii), Augustine (*Conf.* VII, xi-xvi, 17-22). Evil is a privation of good.

declares his virtue. He fails to temper the letter of the law with mercy as the Duke had directed him:

Mortality and mercy in Vienna
Live in thy tongue and heart. (I.i.45-46)

The divorce of "tongue far from heart" (I.iv.33) by which Lucio characterizes his own witty approach to young ladies, generally, we may believe, with seduction in mind, is the same condition in a similarly bent Angelo at the most intensely realized moment of his fall:

Heaven in my mouth . . .
And in my heart the strong and swelling evil
Of my conception. (II.iv.4-7)

He had studied to be virtuous, grave and just, but his study had not included the testing of self-knowledge in practical experience. The result was a lack of humility and tolerance, pride in gravity, mockery of equity, and a lapse to the "sensual race,"³⁵ "false seeming" and a complete inversion of good and evil:

Let's write "good angel" [Angelo] on the devil's horn. (II.iv.15)

Because his heart has not been touched with mercy (II.ii.54), because he tried to "weigh [his] brother with [himself]" (II.ii.126), because he failed to go to his bosom and ask his heart "what it doth know" that is like Claudio's fault (II.ii.137-138), Angelo fails to find mercy breathing on his lips (II.ii.78), can dismiss Isabella's pregnant heartpourings as mere "sayings" (II.ii.123), and cannot even pray (II.iv.1 ff.). Instead he sounds thoughts upon his tongue against Claudio's life (II.ii.140), using his brief authority like any petty pelting officer, for mere lip-thunder, prideful fantastic speech of "foul profanation" (II.ii.118 ff.).

As we have seen, the rigid application of the letter of the law is yet another result of dependence on tongue rather than on the unity of tongue and heart. Angelo answers Isabella's accusation of intolerant judgment with the reply: "It is the law, not I" (II.ii.80), and contends that he most shows pity when he exacts justice (II.ii.90-105), side-stepping her references to the mercy of Jesus. A neat twist is given to the convention when the Duke pronounces the death penalty against Angelo:

. . . but as he adjudg'd your brother . . .
The very mercy of the law cries out
Most audible, even from his proper tongue
"An Angelo for Claudio, death for death!" . . .
Like doth quit like, and Measure still for Measure. (V.i.401 ff.)

That is, *if* Claudio were dead—and all but the Duke and Provost believe it—the "proper tongue" of the law would require Angelo's death. (Escalus' words to Overdone are very similar, another instance of the intimate interrelationship of the main and subplots.) Indeed, if the Old Law were intended to apply, as Angelo had insisted (II.ii.90), the shape of the play would have been dif-

³⁵ Miss Bradbrook has pointed out the "appalling deliberation" of Angelo's removal of the curbs on his impulses, in the line "Now I give my sensual race the rein" (II.iv.161; *op. cit.*, p. 396, n. 1); it is, of course, of a piece with the divorce in his nature.

ferent. Instead, the New Law tempered with mercy emerges; this is forcibly brought out in the Friar-Juliet scene, where "go and sin no more" and genuine repentance are its obvious ethical centers.⁸⁶ Angelo's virtue is intellectual not imaginative, a virtue expressing abstract principles, not realized in passionate experience where tongue and heart are identified. His virtuous will is erected on the sands of cloistered experience unmortared by real sympathy with others, and is therefore liable to collapse at any tidal wave of the blood.

Critical complaints against the Duke's barbarity in concealing the fact that Claudio is alive are beside the point, the dramatic point. Dramatically—and we must remember that the events are dramatic not real, that an artificial pattern is being imposed for the sake of the interpretation of certain events—the ideal or shape must manifest itself here in two ways: to show how the law must work if civic order is to be preserved and restored (eternal complements), and to put Isabella to the hardest possible test of her newly found capacity for mercy. Any revelation to Isabella of Claudio's existence would have detracted both from the dramatic and moral value of her plea for Angelo's life. The one sufficient reason, that is, for concealing from Isabella the fact that Claudio lives, is to provide her with the opportunity to temper strict justice with mercy even when believing the object of her mercy guilty of her brother's death. The reader should accept the hint given by the obvious dramatic awkwardness to look for the propriety of this withholding of information, on a higher level of interpretation than that of realistic verisimilitude. The deception is a dramatic device to preserve the moral verisimilitude as against the realistic verisimilitude of the play. One cannot have it both ways. Fiction is not only stranger than truth: in the last analysis it is also truer.

A quotation from an essay attributed to Bacon will show where the weight of contemporary opinion lay in the balance of mercy and justice:

. . . therefore as hee [the king] must always resemble him [God]⁸⁷ whose great name he beareth, and that in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy on the severe stroke of his Justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a man of death to live, for besides that the land doth mourn, the restraint of Justice towards sin doth more retard the affection of love, than the extent of mercy doth inflame it; and sure where love is bestowed, feare is quite lost.⁸⁸

Lucio is then summarily sentenced. He had correctly diagnosed his weakness as a condition of "tongue far from heart" (I.iv.33), a "slanderous tongue" with which he had misrepresented the Duke's character (III.ii.176) and informed on Mistress Overdone despite the fact that she had been keeping his illegitimate

⁸⁶ Cf. H. B. Charlton, *Shak. Comedy*, p. 248, where he contends that the dark comedies are far from cynical (also W. W. Lawrence, "The Meaning of *All's Well That Ends Well*," *PMLA*, XXXVII (1922) 418-469; but for different reasons), but are "exhibitions of the way in which grace, in one sort or another may successfully counter whatever ills the flesh is heir to, and re-establish human kindness as the means by which humanity can and will attain to its richest happiness." Also cf. George Herbert's alignment of Old : New Testament Law :: Justice : Mercy, in "Justice II."

⁸⁷ See E. M. Pope, op. cit., p. 71, on the degree of King-God identification during the Renaissance.

⁸⁸ "An Essay for a King," denied to be Bacon's both by his seventeenth-century editor Rawley and by Spedding.

child (III.ii.185 ff.). It is his divorced tongue, too, that puts forward a loose libertine defence of judicial leniency amounting to licence (III.ii.84-177) (one of the Duke's faults). The character of Lucio provides a counterpoint to the stricter examination throughout the play of fractured personality and of the nature of justice, and a negative to the mercy-positive which finally emerges.

The measure for measure principle, then, is realized in the play at more than one level, and predominantly in terms of the degree of unity or disunity of heart and tongue. First, there is the false measure of Angelo's rule; then the death sentence passed on Angelo before the revelation that Claudio is alive; and finally, there is the poetic justice in its highest moral and aesthetic sense. It is revealed in the moral sense by a supra-human forgiveness and mercy, which may not be practical but is the most *real* because the most representative of man's potential dignity as man; and in the aesthetic sense, or dramatically, by what G. Wilson Knight (p. 12) has called the "spatial dimension" of Shakespearean drama, where verisimilitude becomes (paradoxically) an idealistic representation of human experience as it really is, but as it generally escapes expression and even thought.

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The Authenticity of *The Taming of the Shrew*

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I



HE relation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, first published in the Folio of 1623, to *The Taming of a Shrew*, printed in quarto in 1594, is still a matter for dispute. According to the old school of thought, *The Shrew* was a refurbishing of *A Shrew*, carried out by Shakespeare with the aid of a collaborator.¹ More modern critics have argued that *The Shrew* is an original play and that *A Shrew* is a pirated version of it.² Recently, attempts have been made to expound a theory that *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* are both derivatives of an early play, no longer extant.³

Whichever explanation of the relation between the quarto and folio texts ultimately succeeds in establishing itself, a fundamental problem will still remain: is the play preserved in the First Folio by Shakespeare in its entirety, or are there two distinct hands in the piece, those of Shakespeare and an unknown (though not unguessed-at) collaborator? The received text might on any of the three theories have been the work of more than one man. Even though critics of such acumen as F. S. Boas,⁴ E. P. Kuhl,⁵ A. Quiller-Couch⁶ and P. Alexander⁷ have defended its claim to be a completely authentic juvenile work of the poet, a not inconsiderable body of opinion still seems to favor the belief that the play is only partly Shakespearian. This belief is well exemplified by T. M. Parrott: "The induction and the scenes dealing with Petruchio and Katherine are Shakespeare's in his best vein of lively comedy. . . . The underplot, dealing with the wooing of the shrew's gentle sister, is the work of the collaborator, who, perhaps on Shakespeare's suggestion, lifted the plot from

¹ Edward Dowden, *Shakspeare* (1877); Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1915); Joseph Q. Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1923).

² Peter Alexander, "The Taming of a Shrew," *TLS* (Sept. 16, 1926); John D. Wilson, "The Copy for *The Taming of the Shrew*" in the New Cambridge edition of the play (1928); John S. Smart, *Shakespeare Truth and Tradition* (1928).

³ R. A. Houk, "The Evolution of *The Taming of the Shrew*," *PMLA*, LVII (Dec. 1942), 1009-38; G. I. Duthie, "The Taming of a Shrew and *The Taming of the Shrew*," *RES*, XIX (Oct. 1943), 337-356; Hardin Craig, "The Shrew and *A Shrew*: Possible Settlement of an Old Debate" in *Elizabethan Studies . . . in Honor of George F. Reynolds* (1945), pp. 150-154.

⁴ F. S. Boas, *Shakspeare and his Predecessors* (1896), pp. 173-175.

⁵ E. P. Kuhl, "The Authorship of *The Taming of the Shrew*," *PMLA* XL (1925), 551.

⁶ A. Quiller-Couch, *Introduction to the New Cambridge edition of the play* (1928), pp. vii ff.

⁷ Peter Alexander, *Shakespeare's Life and Art* (1939), pp. 69-70.

Gascoigne's prose comedy, *The Supposes*, and turned it into such tame flat verse that it seems impossible that Shakespeare could have written it at any time of his life. Yet the two plots are so well woven together that we must assume that Shakespeare planned and directed the whole work."⁸

Curiously enough, his splitting up of *The Shrew* is supported by one of the most outspoken critics of disintegrationist methods, E. K. Chambers. He thinks that in *The Shrew*, "Shakespeare had, exceptionally for him, a collaborator," and he goes so far as to separate the scenes and even the lines which he believes to have been contributed by Shakespeare from those he gives to the other hand: "I assign to Shakespeare *Ind.* 1, 2; ii.1.1-38, 115-326; iii.2.1-129, 151-254; iv.1, 3, 5; v.2.1-181. Possibly he also contributed to the Petruchio episode in i.2.1-116. Some critics give him less than I have done."⁹ Chambers thus regards about three-fifths of the play (1556 lines) as genuine; he cautiously refrains from identifying the author of the remaining two-fifths (1091 lines), but notes that Lodge, Greene and Chapman have been put forward as candidates "on very slight grounds."

The results given by the application of the more reliable verse tests¹⁰ to the bodies of verse distinguished by Chambers certainly do not offer any support for the collaboration theory.¹¹ The percentage of feminine endings in the "Shakespearian" part is 19, that in the "non-Shakespearian" part 17, so that as Chambers himself puts it, they are "in much the same proportion." The same applies to the figures for pauses in unsplit lines, 19% and 16% respectively, as well as those showing the relation of split to unsplit lines, 4% and 4%. The statistically registerable metrical differences between the two divisions are in fact negligible.

Less easy to refute is Chambers' judgment that the verse he assigns to a collaborator distinguishes itself by its poor quality: "his work, although not incompetent, is much less vigorous than Shakespeare's. He has many awkward lines, which disregard stress or contain unmanageable trisyllabic feet." In fairness, Chambers quotes Kuhl's opinion that the stylistic differences are inconclusive, admits that "some of them are, individually," but asserts that "collectively they are less so, and bear out a general stylistic impression from which I cannot escape" (I, 324). The impression of style gained from a literary work, though intangible, is nevertheless very real; and the considered judgment of an acknowledged authority cannot be lightly dismissed. That parts of the play are stylistically weak cannot be denied: it is the deduction drawn from this weakness that can and must be called in question, a deduction which exemplifies the two fallacies underlying all attempts to disintegrate the early works on the strength of general stylistic impressions: the assertion that disparity of style in the apprentice plays is a sign of un-Shakespearian authorship, and the tacit assumption that Shakespeare's work during the apprentice period would have exhibited a distinguishable style, recognizable—to the connoisseur, if not to the layman—in the light of the mature style of the second and later periods.

Much of modern criticism on the subject of the juvenile plays has been

⁸ Thomas M. Parrott, *William Shakespeare, A Handbook* (1938), ch. X.

⁹ Edmund K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930), I, 324.

¹⁰ Chambers, II, 404, 405.

¹¹ Chambers, I, 324.

devoted to an exposure of these fallacies. Disparity of style is being accepted by an ever-growing number of scholars as a characteristic feature of the young poet's work. The fact that some of the writing in *The Shrew* is insipid and many of the lines are awkward is therefore precisely what might have been expected in what is now generally conceded to have been an early play. Whether such inequalities are the result of carelessness, indifference, or haste is beside the point: these phenomena, as A. Quiller-Couch has convincingly argued (pp. viii-xii), are typical of Shakespeare's writing not only as a beginner but even throughout his career. The truth would seem to be, Quiller-Couch points out, that "Shakespeare could write sinfully as well as superbly," and in *The Shrew* he approached both extremes.

In view of the methods of dramatic composition prevailing in the Elizabethan age, it is perhaps hardly surprising that the weaker parts of Shakespeare's early dramas should reveal many affinities with the writings of fellow-dramatists. His work, particularly while he was learning the business of play-writing, underwent a continuous process of transmutation, determined both by the unconscious influence of other authors and by conscious experimenting with the various modes of expression in vogue at the time. Even Chambers admits that "the history of Shakespeare's writing is one of the gradual development of a characteristic style or series of styles. . . . Young writers, even when they have done good work, do remain subject to influences, especially if they are of receptive, as well as creative, temperaments. There is no reason why Shakespeare should have been an exception. Very likely, there was some deliberate imitation at first of admired models. . . ." (I, 223, 224). Because of this, there is increasing support for the contention that any attempt to distinguish his juvenile work from that of others on the basis of the quality of the verse is unwarranted. In order to make such an attempt, as no less an authority than J. M. Murry has explained, "a critic would need to have established, not merely to his own satisfaction, but to that of other competent critics, the nature and peculiarities of Shakespeare's early style; and he would need to assume, and to persuade other critics to assume, that Shakespeare's style was individualized from the very beginning—a fantastic assumption."¹² There is thus considerable justification for the view that Shakespeare's early work is characterized precisely by its lack of a homogeneous and individualized style; and in this case, neither the objectively registerable characteristics of the versification in *The Shrew* nor those traits whose identification is dependent on subjective percipience are admissible as evidence that the play is anything but genuine, if immature, Shakespeare throughout.

II

Fortunately, there is one special aspect of style which is not only susceptible of analysis and classification but can also be used as a test of authorship: that is the imagery. Images played an important role in Elizabethan poetry, above all dramatic poetry, partly because their presence was regarded as a mark of good style, more especially in the early drama, and partly because later writers made increasing use of them as a help to create atmosphere. Considerable atten-

¹² J. Middleton Murry, *Shakespeare* (1936), p. 68.

tion has been paid to the subject-matter of this imagery in an effort to discover something about the authors themselves. It has been established that many if not most 16th- and 17th-century authors exhibit individually a preference for certain types of images.¹³ Whether and to what extent it is permissible to make any deductions from these preferences as to each author's personal likes and dislikes, his interests and his feelings, is a debatable point; but the predominant use of particular kinds of imagery and the frequent repetition of particular individual images constitute—whether the phenomena are due to conscious artistry or to unconscious self-revelation—a more or less easily definable feature of style.

The significance of this is evident. In a play suspected of double authorship, we would not expect to find any affinity between the imagery of the portions assigned to the two writers. As Chambers has pointed out, collaboration was of a rough-and-ready kind, and after agreement had been reached on the outline of the piece the actual work was divided up in various ways: sometimes one collaborator wrote the main plot and the other the sub-plot, or each author assumed responsibility for certain acts or scenes. "There is no evidence for anything of the nature of a line-by-line collaboration,"¹⁴ and therefore no reason to suppose that one writer's imagery might have been influenced by that of his co-author. On the other hand, single authorship could hardly fail to be reflected in the imagery: in the case of a completely genuine Shakespearian play, we would expect to find some similarity between the word pictures of the main and subsidiary plots, as well as characteristic Shakespearian imagery, that is to say similes and metaphors of the type found elsewhere in the canon, throughout the whole piece.

One of the first things revealed by an examination of *The Taming of the Shrew* from this standpoint is that in numerous instances, an image in the admittedly genuine part of the play is paralleled by an image with an identical subject in the doubtful portion; occasionally, the objects of the parallel images are also identical. For example, the motif of the *stormy sea* is used twice by Petruchio to symbolize Katharina's railing: the first instances, "the swelling Adriatic seas" (I.ii.74) is in a "Shakespearian" passage; the second, "the sea, puffed up with winds" (I.ii.205), is in a "non-Shakespearian" passage. Two further images which are applied to the Shrew's chiding, and which again both originate with Petruchio, have *thunder* as their subject: one is at I.ii.97 ("Shn.") and one at I.ii.208 ("non-Shn."). Grumio's jesting remark, "for aught I see, two-and-thirty, a pip out" at I.ii.33 ("Shn.") is a reference to the card game called one-and-thirty; this is again mentioned, by Tranio, at IV.ii.57 ("non-Shn."), in his description of Petruchio as a master "that teacheth tricks eleven-and-twenty long." Another card-playing expression, *to vie*, meaning to wager or stake, is used metaphorically at II.i.303 ("Shn.") by Petruchio—"she vied so fast"—and at II.i.379 ("non-Shn.") by Tranio—"Gremio is out-vied." The taking of soundings to test the depth of the sea is alluded to at II.i.193 (a "Shn." scene) and V.i.142 (a "non-Shn." scene). The advice given to Sly at Ind.2.137 ("Shn."), "and frame your mind to mirth and merriment," reveals a resem-

¹³ Caroline F. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery* (1935), ch. II and III.

¹⁴ Chambers, I, 210-211.

blance in cadence and diction to the parallel image at I.i.230 ("non-Shn."), "and therefore frame your manners to the time." As might be expected, some of the pairs consist of common metaphors, such as the twofold reference to Bianca as the "treasure" of her father, II.i.32 ("Shn."), and of her lover, I.ii.120 ("non-Shn."),¹⁵ but there are also some unusual pairs. After Petruchio has successfully started his taming cure, he compares Katharina to a haggard, i.e. an untamed hawk (IV.i.196); in the very next scene, which happens to belong to the "non-Shakespearean" sub-plot, Hortensio makes use of the same image to characterize the capricious Bianca (IV.ii.39). Similarly, Petruchio thinks of Katharina as a falcon looking upon "her lure" (IV.i.193-195), two scenes after Hortensio pictures Bianca as a falcon who has cast her eyes on a "stale", i.e. lure (III.i.90-92).

It is difficult to believe that two writers working independently should have produced so many images with identical subjects, and in several instances within close proximity to each other. It also seems very unlikely that the authors should have agreed beforehand on the introduction of numerous metaphors and similes, or that one of the supposed collaborators should have plagiarized such trivial matter from the other. The obvious deduction to be drawn from these image pairs is that the verse of the whole play derives from the pen of but one author and that he tended to repeat himself. This assumption has the advantage of explaining some other textual parallels, notably Grumio's banter in the boisterous tailor episode of the main plot, "I will neither be faced nor braved" (IV.iii.126), and its palpable echo in Vincentio's denunciation of "that damned villain Tranio, that faced and braved me in this matter so" (V.i.123), from a scene belonging to the sub-plot.

It certainly cannot be argued that no playwright would have repeated himself in such a fashion, because this kind of duplication is found both within the three-fifths assigned to Shakespeare, e.g. the *fair buds* image at IV.v.37 and V.ii.141 or the *blowing winds* picture at I.ii.48-50 and II.i.135-136, and within the remaining two-fifths, e.g. the saying *our (my) cake is dough* at I.i.110 and V.i.147 or the *charmed tongue* image at I.i.213 and IV.ii.58. Duplication is found even within one and the same scene in each of the two divisions: the *blowing winds* image occurs not only at II.i.135-136 but also (in a different connection) at II.i.141-142; *war* characterizes the eternal duel of the sexes at V.ii.2 and V.ii.141, in another "Shakespearean" scene; and *hell* is used to describe a woman's shrewishness at I.i.88 as well as I.i.128 in a "non-Shakespearean" scene.

III

Thus far, we have found reason for believing that the imagery of *The Shrew* points to the presence of one and the same mind behind the whole piece. It might of course be suggested that the image pairs are a survival from the old comedy whose existence is posited in the latest theories on the textual history of our play, though it is hardly conceivable that so many parallels should

¹⁵ Further examples: to be armed, II.i.140 ("Shn.") and I.i.5 ("non-Shn."); jade, II.i.202 ("Shn.") and I.ii.252 ("non-Shn."); to cony-catch, IV.i.45 ("Shn.") and V.i.101 ("non-Shn."); to wound, V.ii.139 ("Shn.") and I.i.224 ("non-Shn."); to be thirsty, V.ii.145 ("Shn.") and I.i.24 ("non-Shn.).

have survived the rewriting of the original by two different authors, particularly in view of the thoroughness with which Shakespeare obviously went about the work of revision (e.g. in the case of *The Troublesome Reign of King John*). As it happens, the suggestion does not require serious consideration because, in addition to the parallels, the sub-plot contains metaphors and similes which are as characteristically Shakespearian as anything in the main plot.

During the past three decades, much attention has been devoted to Shakespeare's imagery. His word pictures have been analysed and classified; his predilection for certain groups and above all for certain images within the groups has been demonstrated. These favorites range from simple metaphors to elaborate pictures, each with several recurring verbal elements. The best known example of these image "clusters," as they have been called, is the picture of fawning dogs licking sweets, repeatedly conjured up in the poet's mind by the thought of flatterers.¹⁶ Comparatively few of the numerous clusters in his writings are as striking as this; but some of them are peculiar to the canon, and all of them, by very reason of their frequency, are characteristically Shakespearian. The presence of images belonging to such groups in a doubtful play or in the allegedly un-Shakespearian part of a disintegrated play would go far, as K. Muir has pointed out,¹⁷ towards proving or reaffirming its authenticity.

Shakespeare's comedies have on the whole considerably fewer images than his tragedies and histories, and the earlier comedies fewer than the later ones. As an immature farce, *The Shrew* can hardly be expected to yield very much evidence for the purpose of the imagery test. Commonplace or colorless metaphors have little or no individual value, even where they are of frequent occurrence in the canon and thus in one sense characteristic of the poet's work, though their cumulative effect cannot be ignored.¹⁸ Of greater importance are the more unusual or elaborate word-pictures which can be classified as typically Shakespearian. These are scattered throughout the play, not confined to the main plot: I have noted nineteen¹⁹ in the three-fifths of the play assigned by Chambers to Shakespeare, and a further ten in the other two-fifths comprising the sub-plot.²⁰ These ten and their canonical parallels must be considered in some detail.

(1) Shakespeare has a large number of pictures based on swimming,

¹⁶ Spurgeon, pp. 195-199.

¹⁷ Kenneth Muir, "Fifty Years of Shakespearian Criticism: 1900-1950," in *Shakespeare Survey* 4 (1951), p. 19.

¹⁸ A list of the images of this type to be found in the "non-Shakespearian" divisions of the play would include the following: armed (I.i.5), thirst (I.i.24), to fast (I.i.108), pith, pithy (I.i.170, III.i.69), storm (I.i.176), to frame (I.i.230), jewel (I.ii.121), thunder (I.i.208), jade (I.ii.252), to freeze (II.i.332), to choke (II.i.370), gamester (II.i.394), fox (II.i.397), fiery (III.i.49), to tame (IV.ii.53), patron (IV.ii.114), miracles (V.i.127).

¹⁹ They are: a flattering dream (Ind.i.44), to rain a shower of tears (Ind.i.125), hawking (Ind.ii.45), hunting with shrill hounds (Ind.ii.46), floods (Ind.ii.67), to remove the edge (I.ii.72), to step far in (I.ii.84), raging fires (II.i.133), stinging wasp (II.i.214), merchant's trading venture (II.i.320), love's tide (III.ii.126), empty falcon (IV.i.193), sun breaking through the clouds (IV.iii.175), bowls running against the bias (IV.v.24), bird hunting (V.ii.46, 50), to slip like a greyhound (V.ii.52), deer at bay (V.ii.56), frosts and whirlwinds destroying fair buds (V.ii.140), troubled fountain (V.ii.143).

²⁰ The total of 29 characteristic images is by no means as low as might seem at first sight, in view of the relative scarcity of images in the play: Spurgeon (*Shakespeare's Imagery*, p. 361) gives a total of 92 for the whole piece, compared with 204 in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

wading, diving, and so on. Whether these images are based on personal experience or on observation or merely on reading is, for the present purpose, of secondary importance. The fact remains that the swimming group, including such vivid similes as the thumb-nail sketch of the "two spent swimmers, that do cling together and choke their art" (*Mac.* I.ii.8), is typical of the poet's fondness for pictures involving bodily action. The majority of the poetic and dramatic images within the group contain the idea of diving or plunging into the water:

How did he seem to *dive into their hearts*. . . (*Rich.* II, I.iv.25)

The metaphor crops up twice in *Richard III* (I.i.41, III.i.8) and again in *Titus Andronicus* (IV.iii.43). The variant, *to plunge in*,

Caesar said to me, "Dar'st thou, Cassius, now
Leap in with me into this angry flood,
And swim to yonder point?" Upon the word,
Accounted as I was, I *plunged in* . . . (*J.C.*, I.ii.102)

is found also in *The Tempest* (I.ii.210), *All's Well* (II.iii.221), and *Timon of Athens* (IV.iii.256). Sometimes the image occurs in the expanded form *to plunge* (or *dive*) *into the deep*:

Or *dive into the bottom of the deep*, (1 *Henry IV*, I.iii.203)

Hath stepp'd into the law, which is past *depth*
To those that *plunge into 't*. (*Tim.*, III.v.11)

Being o'ershoes in blood, *plunge in the deep*. . . (*M.N.D.*, III.ii.48)

This is the form we find in *The Shrew*:

. as he that leaves
A shallow splash to *plunge him in the deep*. (I.i.22)

(2) The theme *time* calls forth some of Shakespeare's most pregnant images, among them a not inconsiderable group in which time is conceived of as a female, giving birth to events:

With *news the time's* with labour, and throes forth
Each *minute* some. (*A. & C.*, III.vii.80)

What's the *newest* grief?—
That of an *hour's* age doth hiss the speaker;
Each *minute* teems a new one. (*Mac.*, IV.iii.176)

Of dire combustion and confused *events*,
New hatch'd to the woeful *time*. (*Mac.*, II.iii.63)

Time is the shaper of things to come

Let *time shape*, and there an end. (2 *Henry IV*, III.ii.36)

I have a young *conception* in my brain;
Be you my *time* to bring it to some *shape*. (*T. & C.*, I.iii.312)

because forthcoming events have been conceived in its womb and are waiting to be born:

Some *unborn* sorrow, ripe in *fortune's womb*,
Is coming towards me. (*Rich. II*, II.ii.10)

There are many *events* in the *womb* of *time* which will be
delivered. (*Oth.*, I.iii.377)

. . . The *unborn event*

I do commend to your content:

Only I carry wingèd *time* . . . (*Per.*, IV.Gow.45)

. . . a glass, that shows what *future* evils
Either *new*, or by remission *new conceiv'd*,
And so in progress to be *hatch'd* and *born*. (*M.M.*, II.ii.94)

Time is thus the *breeder* or *begetter* (i.e. female begetter) of future developments, of "things as yet not come to life" (*2 Henry IV*, III.i.82):

Such things become the *hatch* and *brood* of *Time*.
(*2 Henry IV*, III.i.85)

Time is the nurse and *breeder* of all good.
(*T.G.V.*, III.i.244)

Till *time* *beget* some careful remedy. (*T.A.*, IV.iii.30)

O heavy *times*, *begetting* such *events*. (*3 Henry VI*, II.v.63)

In *The Shrew*, Lucentio makes use of the image when referring to his forthcoming activities:

And take a lodging fit to entertain
Such friends as *time* in Padua shall *beget*. (I.i.44)

In view of all the ideas associated with the picture, it is possibly not merely by chance that later in the same scene of *The Shrew*, Lucentio clinches his plans for the future with the remark:

'Tis *hatch'd* and shall be so. (I.i.210)

(3) It has been observed by Spurgeon (pp. 77-78) that Shakespeare's *hell* images are unusual in so far as they often represent the nether regions not merely as very hot or cold or dark (the customary conceptions, since these were among the chief discomforts of life in the Middle Ages), but also as a very noisy place; and this latter idea is particularly characteristic of the poet in that it exemplifies his habit of referring distastefully to loud, harsh and discordant sounds. Any kind of unpleasant noise was thus liable to summon up the *hell* image in his mind, e.g.:

Shall braying trumpets and *loud* churlish drums,
Clamours of hell, be measures to our pomp? (*John*, III.i.303)

The thought behind this was that hell is in a continual state of uproar, due to the cries of the fiends and of the damned:

. And he *shriek'd* out aloud,
"Clarence is come,—false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence,
That stabb'd me in the field by Tewkesbury;—

Seize on him! Furies, take him unto *torment!*
 With that, methought a legion of *foul fiends*
 Environ'd me and howl'd in mine ears
 Such hideous *cries*, that, with the very noise,
 I trembling wak'd, and, for a season after,
 Could not believe but that I was in *hell*,
 So terrible impression made my dream. (*Rich. III*, I.iv.54)

In numerous other passages, there is similar if briefer reference to the roaring of fiends (*Rich. III*, IV.iv.75), to their howling (*Henry V*, II.i.97; *R. & J.*, III.ii.46), and to their confused and cursing cries (*T.A.*, II.iii.99; *Rich. III*, I.ii.50).

Since Shakespeare regarded shrieking, cursing, howling, and crying as characteristic of hell, he quite naturally and aptly used the image to symbolize the bitter clamors of a nagging or scolding tongue. In *Titus Andronicus*, Aaron is reminded of hell by his own railing:

If there be *devils*, would I were a *devil*,
 To live and burn in everlasting fire,
 So I might have your company in *hell*,
 But to *torment* you with my *bitter tongue*. (*T.A.*, V.i.147)

Northumberland's nagging and "insulting" remarks provoke a typical outburst from the deposed King Richard II:

Fiend! thou *torment'st* me ere I come to *hell*. (*Rich. II*, IV.i.270)

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, it is Beatrice whose "shrewd . . . *tongue*" (II.i.21) calls forth the picture:

It is the base though *bitter* disposition of Beatrice that puts the world into her person. . . . My very visor began to assume life and *scold* with her. . . . Certainly, while she is here, a man may live as quietly in *hell* as in a sanctuary; and people sin upon purpose because they would go thither; so, indeed, all disquiet, horror and perturbation follow her. (*M.A.*, II.i.216, 250, 267)

In *The Taming of the Shrew*, the image is applied to Katharina, the "irksome brawling *scold*" (I.ii.191) whose "*scolding tongue*" (I.ii.101) and "*bitter words*" (II.i.28) dominate the whole piece:

Why will you mew her [Bianca] up,
 Signior Baptista, for this *fiend of hell*,
 And make her bear the penance of her *tongue*? (I.i.87)

A few lines later, the question of Katharina's marriage is raised and evokes a continuation of the same image:

A husband? A *devill* . . . Thinkest thou, Hortensio, though her father be very rich, any man is so very a fool to be married to *hell*? . . . Tush, Gremio, though it pass your patience and mine to endure her *loud alarms*, why, man, there be good fellows in the world, an a man could light on them, that would take her with all faults, and money enough. (I.i.124)

(4) Shakespeare's works reveal a noteworthy partiality for the theme of the wild, roaring sea: it appears both in the form of dramatic images:

If by your art, my dearest father, you have
 Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.
 The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,
 But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek,
 Dashes the fire out. . . (*Tem.*, I.ii.1)

and as the subject of purely poetic images:

. as one on a shore
 Gazing upon a late embarkèd friend,
 Till the wild waves will have him seen no more,
 Whose ridges with the meeting clouds contend. (*V. & A.*, 817)

Together, these images constitute one of the largest groups in the canon.^{20a} Among them, those with the *rage* motif are particularly frequent: we find reference to the "*raging of the sea*" (*T. & C.*, I.iii.97; *Lear*, III.iv.10), to the deafness of the "*sea enraged*" (*K. J.*, II.i.451; *Rich. II.*, I.i.19) and to the rudeness of the "*sea's enraged and foamy mouth*" (*T.N.*, V.i.82); cf. "the angered ocean foams" (*A. & C.*, II.vi.21). Pericles wishes he could "*rage and roar as does the sea*" (*Per.*, III.iii.10), and the clown in *The Winter's Tale* expresses his astonishment at the violence of the *roaring sea* (III.iii.103) in the following words:

I am not to say it is a *sea*, for it is now the sky. . . I would you did but see how it *chafes*, how it *rages*, how it takes up the shore. . . (*W.T.*, III.iii.85)

The corresponding passage in *The Shrew*—

Have I not in my time heard lions roar?
 Have I not heard the *sea*, puff'd up with winds,
 Rage like an angry boar, *chafèd* with sweat? (I.ii.204)—

is obviously cognate with the other more detailed pictures of the *raging sea* group in which mention is made of the winds and storms which cause the sea to chafe and rage:

For do but stand upon the *foaming shore*,
 The chidden billow seems to pelt the clouds;
 The *wind-shak'd surge* . . . the *enchafèd flood*. (*Oth.*, III.i.11)

For still thy eyes, which I may call the *sea*,
 Do ebb and flow with tears; the bark thy body is,
 Sailing in this salt *flood*; the *winds*, thy sighs;
 Who, *raging* with thy tears. . . (*R. & J.*, III.v.133)

If the *winds rage*, doth not the *sea* wax mad,
 Threat'ning the welkin with his big-*swoln* face? (*T. A.*, III.i.222)

^{20a} We find such subjects as: the roaring sea (*R. & J.*, V.iii.39; 2 *Henry IV.*, V.v.42; *Cym.*, V.v.294), roaring ocean (*John*, II.i.23); wild sea (*C.E.*, II.i.21; *M.V.*, V.i.11; *Henry VIII.*, II.iv.198), wild waves (*Tem.*, I.ii.378), wild and violent sea (*Mac.*, IV.ii.18), violent waves (*Per.*, IV.i.59), wild ocean (*T.G.V.*, II.vii.32), wild and wasteful ocean (*Henry V.*, III.i.14), wild and wandering flood (*T. & C.*, I.i.107); ruthless sea, ruthless waves (3 *Henry VI.*, V.iv.25, 36); rough, rude sea (*Rich. II.*, III.ii.54); mad sea (*Ham.*, IV.i.7); troubled ocean (*Luc.*, 589); high seas (*Oth.*, II.i.68; *Per.*, III.i.48); mighty sea (3 *Henry VI.*, II.v.5); enridged sea (*Lear*, IV.vi.72); etc.

I have seen tempests, when the scolding winds
 Have riv'd the knotty oaks; and I have seen
 The ambitious ocean swell and rage and foam,
 To be exalted with the threat'ning clouds. (*J.C.*, I.iii.5)

Other pictures referring to the waters of the ocean as stirred up or swollen by storms and winds are found in *Richard III* (II.iii.44), *Titus Andronicus* (IV.ii.140), *King Lear* (III.i.5) and *2 Henry IV* (III.i.20).

(5) The "angry boar" simile forming part of the passage just quoted from *The Shrew*—

Rage like an angry boar, chafed with sweat (I.ii.206)—

is likewise a favorite of Shakespeare's. There is a strikingly close parallel in one of the epic poems,

The picture of an *angry-chafing boar* (*V. & A.*, 662),

and elsewhere in the canon we come across a "*chafed boar*" (*T.A.*, IV.ii.138), an incensed boar (*Rich. III*, III.ii.28), a "boar with bristled hair" (*M.N.D.*, II.ii.31), an "embossed" boar (*A. & C.*, IV.xi.1) and "a boar too savage" (*Tim.*, V.i.169), as well as the following notable variant:

And Warwick rages like a *chafed bull*. (*3 Henry VI*, II.v.126)

It is interesting to note that the coupling of the *wild sea* and *wild animal* images in *The Shrew*—roaring lions, raging sea, angry chafed boar—is also found in other Shakespearian plays. Aaron likens his storming to the swelling of the ocean, and to the anger of a chafed boar or a mountain lioness (*T.A.*, IV.ii.139). Romeo asserts that his intentions are more "savage-wild" than empty tigers or the roaring sea (*R. & J.*, V.iii.37). And the citizens of Angiers compare their steadfastness to the deafness of the enraged sea and the confidence of lions (*John*, II.i.451).

(6) *Richard III* begins with a typical example of Shakespeare's usually detailed *war* images:

Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;
 Our bruised arms hung up for monuments;
 Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings,
 Our dreadful marches to delightful measures;
 Grim-visag'd war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
 And now,—instead of mounting barb'd steeds,
 To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,—
 He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber. . . (I.i.5)

The big cluster to which this passage belongs is rich in vocabulary links, and its most characteristic feature is the stress laid on the noises of the battlefield, e.g. the sound of drums and trumpets:

What! Shall our feast be kept with slaughter'd men?
 Shall braying trumpets and loud churlish drums,
 Clamours of hell, be measures to our pomp? (*K.J.*, III.i.302)

King Richard II expresses the fear that his land will be

rous'd up with *boist'rous* untun'd drums,
 With *harsh-resounding trumpets' dreadful* bray,
 And grating shock of wrathful iron arms. (*Rich. II*, I.iii.134)

The theme is taken up by the rebellious Bolingbroke—

Through *brazen trumpet* send the *breath* of *parley* . . .
 Let's *march* without the *noise* of *threat'ning* drum. . . .
 (*Rich. II*, III.iii.33, 51)

and in 2 *Henry IV* the insurgent Archbishop of York is rebuked for having translated the speech of peace

Into the *harsh* and *boist'rous* tongue of *war* (*IV*.i.49)

with its "*loud trumpet*" (*IV*.i.52). Again and again there are references to the din caused when "*trumpet-clangor sounds*" (2 *Henry IV*, V.v.45):

Make all our *trumpets* speak, give them all *breath*,
 Those *clamorous* harbingers of blood and *death*. (*Macb.*, V.vi.9)
 Give with thy *trumpet* a *loud* note to *Troy*,
 Thou *dreadful* Ajax; that the appallèd *air*
 May *pierce* the head of the great combatant . . .
 Now crack thy lungs, and split thy *brazen* pipe. (*T. & C.*, IV.v.3)

We hear of the "*hideous trumpet*" which "*calls to parley*" (*Macb.*, II.iii.89), of the trumpet ordered to "*blow aloud*" with its "*brass* voice" (*T. & C.*, I.iii.256), and of the trumpeters who "*with brazen din* blast . . . the city's ear" (*A. & C.*, IV.viii.35). In several instances, the scope of the picture is extended to include mention of yet other battlefield noises: the groans of the wounded and dying, and above all the neighing of horses.

Now, when the angry *trumpet sounds* alarm,
 And *dead men's* cries do fill the empty air. . . . (2 *Henry VI*, V.ii.3)
 The *noise* of *battle* hurtled in the *air*,
Horses did *neigh* and *dying men* did groan. . . . (*J.C.*, II.ii.22)
 Each *battle* [= army] sees the other's umber'd face:
Steed threatens *steed*, in high and boastful *neighs*
Piercing the night's dull *ear*. . . . (*Henry V*, IV.Prol.9)

In *Cymbeline*, "the *noise*" of preparations for battle (*IV*.iv.1) prompts the remark that the Britons will be fully preoccupied "when they hear the Roman *horse. neigh*" (*IV*.iv.17). One of the most elaborate pictures of the cluster is Othello's speech of farewell to war:

Farewell the plumèd troop and the big *Wars*
 That make ambition virtue! O, farewell!
 Farewell the *neighing steed*, and the shrill *trump*,
 The spirit-stirring *drum*, the *ear-piercing* fife,
 The royal banner and all quality,
 Pride, *pomp* and circumstance of glorious *war*!
 And, O you mortal engines, whose rude throats
 The immortal *Jove's* *dread clamours* counterfeit,
 Farewell! . . . (*Oth.*, III.iii.350)

Similar in tone and content is Petruchio's boast:

Think you a little *din* can daunt mine ears? . . .
 Have I not in a pitched battle heard
 Loud 'larums, neighing steeds, and trumpets' clang?
 (T.S., I.ii.203, 209)

Note also the related description of mortal combat:

And then that Harry Bolingbroke and he,
 Being mounted and both roused in their seats,
 Their *neighing* coursers daring of the spur,
 Their *armed* staves in charge, their beavers down,
 Their eyes of fire sparkling through sights of steel,
 And the loud trumpet blowing them together.
 (2 Henry IV, IV.i.117)

Once again it must be stressed that for the purpose of the present investigation, it is immaterial whether or not Shakespeare's battlefield images derive from personal experience: the point is that they are sufficiently frequent and detailed to enable us to recognize the corresponding passage in *The Shrew* as of genuine Shakespearian mintage.

(7) Bird similes and metaphors constitute one of the largest imagery groups in the canon, and among the more distinctive of the clusters within the group is that featuring the soaring bird of prey: the eagle "on wing, soaring aloft" (*Cym.*, V.v.471), the hawk "soar[ing] above the morning lark" (*T.S.*, Ind.ii.45), the falcon or trained hawk "towering in the skies" (*Luc.* 506), and the haggard or untamed hawk "check[ing] at every feather that comes before his eye" (*T.N.*, III.i.72). Shakespeare found the picture particularly useful to illustrate the theme of boundless pride. For the most part it is a question of the "soaring insolence" (*Cor.*, II.i.273) of ambitious pride:

My Lord Protector's *hawks* do tower so well,
 They know their master loves to be aloft,
 And bears his *thoughts above* his *falcon's pitch*.—²¹
 My lord, 'tis but a base ignoble mind
 That *mounts* no *higher* than a bird can *soar*. (2 Henry VI, II.i.10)

. . . arm thy *heart* and fit thy *thoughts*
 To *mount aloft* with thy imperial mistress,
 And *mount* her *pitch*. . . (T.A., II.i.12)

How *high* a *pitch* his resolution *soars*! (*Rich. II*, I.i.109)

These growing *feathers* pluck'd from Caesar's *wing*
 Will make him *fly* an ordinary *pitch*,
 Who else would *soar above* the view of men. . . (J.C., I.i.76)

. . . . the eagle-winged *pride*
 Of *sky-aspiring* and ambitious *thoughts*. (*Rich. II*, I.iii.129)

But we also find the bird of prey image symbolizing arrogance and disdainful pride—

²¹ "Pitch" is the height to which a bird of prey soars before swooping down to kill.

Perchance this boast of Lucrece' sovereignty
Suggested this *proud* issue of a king;
For by our ears our *hearts* oft tainted be:
Perchance that envy of so rich a thing,
Braving compare, *disdainfully* did sting
His *high-pitch'd* thoughts. . . . (*Luc.* 36)—

especially in affairs of love. In the admittedly genuine part of *The Shrew*, Petruchio uses the *haggard* metaphor to characterize his "proud-minded" (II.i. 132) mistress:

Another way I have to man [= tamē] my *haggard*,
To make her come and know her keeper's call. . . . (IV.i.196)

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Beatrice's pride evokes the same motif:

No, truly, Ursula, she is too *disdainful*;
I know her spirits are as coy and wild
As *haggards* of the rock.—But are you sure
That Benedick *loves* Beatrice so entirely? . . .
O god of *love*! I know he doth deserve
As much as may be yielded to a man;
But nature never fram'd a woman's *heart*
Of *prouder* stuff than that of Beatrice;
Disdain and scorn ride sparkling in her eyes. . . .
(*M.A.*, III.i.34, 47)

The content of the above passage is closely paralleled by a reference to the "unconstant" Bianca (IV.ii.14) in the sub-plot of *The Shrew*:

I will be married to a wealthy widow
Ere three days pass, which hath as long *lov'd* me
As I have *lov'd* this *proud disdainful haggard*. (IV.ii.37)

It is instructive to observe that Othello employs the *haggard* metaphor to described Desdemona, believing that she disdains his color ("haply, for I am black") and is guilty of inconstancy:

If I do prove her *haggard*,
Though that her jesses were my dear *heart* strings,
I'd whistle her off and let her down the wind,
To prey at fortune. (*Oth.*, III.iii.260)

(8) Another notable if less obvious "bird of prey" image is exemplified by the following passage:

So let high-sighted tyranny *range* on
Till each man drop by lottery. (*J.C.*, II.i.118)

The verb *to range* is used in falconry to describe the flight of the bird when in search of prey. Another example—

And the flesh'd soldier, rough and hard of heart,
In liberty of bloody hand shall *range*
With conscience wide as hell. . . . (*Henry V*, III.i.11)—

recalls the picture of the kite soaring "with unbloodied beak" (2 *Henry VI*, III.ii.193). In most cases, as in the foregoing instances, the image is intended to conjure up the idea of swift movement over vast distances:

And Caesar's spirit, *ranging* for revenge,
With Ate by his side. . . (J.C., III.i.270)

You were advis'd his flesh was capable
Of wounds and scars, and that his forward spirit
Would lift him where more trade of danger *rang'd*.
(2 *Henry IV*, I.i.72)

O! pardon me that I descend so low,
To show the line and the predicament
Wherein you *range* under this subtle king.
(1 *Henry IV*, I.iii.167)

The picture of the ranging falcon is applied in the *Sonnets* to an unfaithful lover—

That is my home of *love*: if I have *rang'd*,
Like him that travels, I return again. . . (Son. 109.5)—

and this is also the object of the corresponding image in *The Shrew*:

Methinks he looks as though he were in *love*.
Yet if thy thoughts, Bianca, be so humble
To cast thy wandering eyes on every stale,
Seize thee that list: if once I find thee *ranging*,
Hortensio will quit with thee by changing. (III.i.89)

(9) One of the characteristics of the sea that had evidently impressed itself indelibly on Shakespeare's memory was that of its unfathomed deepness:

The *sea* hath bounds, but *deep* desire hath none. (V. & A., 389)

Not for . . . all . . . the profound *sea* hides
In *unknown fathoms* will I break my oath. (W.T., IV.iii.501)

When I do tell thee, there my hopes lie drown'd,
Reply not in how many *fathoms deep*
They lie indrench'd. (T. & C., I.i.51)

Finds *bottom* in the uncomprehensive *deeps*.
(T. & C., III.iii.199)

Frequently, the idea reveals itself in the form of a reference to the nautical practice of sounding the depths with a fathom-line, or alternatively to the impossibility of taking soundings:

You are too shallow, Hastings, much too shallow,
To *sound* the *bottom* of the after-times. (2 *Henry IV*, IV.ii.50)

That thou didst know how many *fathom deep* I am in love! But it cannot be *sounded*: my affection hath an *unknown bottom*, like the bay of Portugal. (A.Y.L., IV.i.217)

Or dive into the *bottom* of the *deep*,
Where *fathom*-line could never touch the ground.
(1 *Henry IV*, I.iii.203)

I'll seek him *deeper* than e'er plummet *sounded*.
(*Tem.*, III.iii.101)

Unsounded yet, and full of *deep* deceit.
(2 *Henry VI*, III.i.57)

Forsake *unsounded deeps* . . . (T.G.V., III.ii.81)
And *sounded* all the *depths* and shoals of honor. . .
(*Henry VIII*, III.ii.437)

The image is found both in the "Shakespearian" part of *The Shrew*—

Thy virtues spoke of, and thy beauty *sounded*,
Yet not so *deeply* as to thee belongs. . . (II.i.193)—

and in the "non-Shakespearian" division of the play:

But I will in, to be revenged for this villainy.
And I, to *sound* the *depth* of this knavery. (V.i.140, 141)

(10) Numerous images on the subject of archery show that Shakespeare was well acquainted with the sport, as were most young men of his day. The commonest allusions are to shooting at the archery butt—

I am your *butt*, and I abide your *shot*. (3 *Henry VI*, I.iv.29)
To which is fixèd, as an aim or *butt*,
Obedience. . . (Henry V, I.ii.186)—

and hitting the mark, i.e. the white-painted "clout" at the center of the butt:

Indeed a' must *shoot* nearer, or he'll ne'er *hit* the *clout*.
(*L.L.L.*, IV.i.138)

A' drew a good *bow* . . . a' *shot* a fine *shoot* . . . a' would have clapp'd i'the *clout* at twelve score. (2 *Henry IV*, III.ii.48)

A *mark* marvellous well *shot*, for they did both hit it.
(*L.L.L.*, IV.i.134)

For that's the golden *mark* I seek to hit. (2 *Henry VI*, I.i.244)

A right fair *mark*, fair coz, is soonest *hit*. (*R. & J.*, I.i.213)

I think you have *hit* the *mark*. . . (Henry VIII, II.i.165)

If love be blind, love cannot *hit* the *mark*. (*R. & J.*, II.i.33)

The majority of the above images symbolize success in love-making, and it is in this connection that the picture occurs in *The Shrew*:

'Twas I won the wager, though you *hit* the *white*. (V.ii.187)

The group also includes two references to cleaving the "pin" or bull's eye (*L.L.L.*, IV.i.140, *R. & J.*, II.iv.15).

Not all of these ten "cluster" images are equally convincing and only a few can be regarded as peculiarly Shakespearian; but considered as a whole, they seem to provide adequate grounds for regarding the sub-plot and thus the whole play as genuine. The relative paucity of typically Shakespearian word-pictures in the Bianca episodes (10 in 1091 lines) compared with the Petruchio-Katharina scenes (19 in 1556 lines) is due most likely to the fact that the poet was less interested in the story of Bianca and her suitors than in the fortunes of the Shrew, and consequently put less of himself into it. In view of its uninspired nature, it is significant that so many characteristic images should be found there at all.

IV

In addition to the ten images dealt with in the preceding section, the sub-plot of *The Taming of the Shrew* contains a number of pictures which, if not characteristic in the sense of occurring several times in the canon, would nevertheless seem to be of Shakespearian origin, as one or two parallels from other canonical works show.

(11) Gremio's homely phrase, "we may blow our nails together" (I.i.107) is paralleled by the words of the song at the end of *Love's Labour's Lost*, "the shepherd blows his nail" (V.ii.921) and by King Henry VI's moralizing about "the shepherd blowing of his nails" (3 *Henry VI*, II.v.3).

(12) The references to a reputedly undesirable woman as a "rotten orange" (*M.A.*, IV.i.32) and a "rotten medlar"—a fruit like a small apple, eaten when decayed—(*M.M.*, IV.iii.188) give point to Hortensio's unflattering allusion to Katharina: "There's small choice in rotten apples" (I.i.139). The same image recurs in other contexts though with a different object: "rotten apples" (*Henry V*, III.vii.160), an "apple rotten at the heart" (*M.V.*, I.ii.102), and a "rotten . . . medlar" (*A.Y.L.I.*, III.ii.127-129).

(13) The euphuistic paraphrase of *kneeling* in Lucentio's picture of Jove humbly kissing the strand with his knees (I.i.173-174) is echoed in the description of Bolingbroke as kissing the earth with his princely knee (*Rich. II*, III.iii.190) and in the advice given to Coriolanus to court the people by "bussing" [=kissing] the stones with his knee as a sign of humility (*Cor.*, III.ii.75, 79). The metaphor is applied similarly in the allusion to the Indian savage who obediently kisses the ground with his breast (*L.L.L.*, IV.iii.225).

(14, 15) The metaphorical use of the expression to *charm a person's tongue* in the sense of to enforce or enjoin silence occurs twice in *The Shrew*—

But I will charm him first to keep his tongue (I.i.213),

To tame a shrew and charm her chattering tongue (IV.ii.58)—

and twice in *Henry VI*:

And therefore shall it charm thy riotous tongue

(2 *Henry VI*, IV.i.64)

Peace, wilful boy, or I will charm your tongue

(3 *Henry VI*, V.v.31)

The image is also found in *Othello* (V.ii.181) and *Cymbeline* (I.vi.116).

(16) When Grumio is moved to comment on Gremio's foolishness with the words—

O! this woodcock, what an ass it is! (I.ii.164)—

he is using the same metaphor employed by Fabian to depict the credulous Malvolio:

Now is the woodcock near the gin [= snare]! (T.N., II.v.93)

The woodcock reappears as a symbol of stupidity or gullibility in *Much Ado* (V.i.161), *Hamlet* (I.iii.115) and *All's Well* (IV.i.95).

(17) The realistic picture of children frightened by stories of bogies, as formulated by Petruchio,

Tush, tush! fear [= frighten] boys with bugs (I.ii.214),

occurs on two other occasions in the canon:

For Warwick was a bug that fear'd [= frightened] us all.
(3 *Henry VI*, V.ii.2)

The bug which you would fright me with I seek.
(*W.T.*, III.ii.93)

(18) Shakespeare has many references to card-playing, e.g.:

She, Eros, has
Pack'd cards with Caesar and false-play'd my glory....
(*A. & C.*, IV.xii.18)

Have I not here the best cards for the game
To win this easy match play'd for a crown? (*John*, V.ii.105)

And learn me how to lose a winning match,
Play'd for a pair of stainless maidenhoods. (*R. & J.*, III.ii.12)

As sure a card as ever won the set. (*T.A.*, V.i.100)

The comparable image in *The Shrew*—

Yet I have fac'd it with a card of ten (II.i.399)—

refers to the highest card in the old games and is paralleled by the following passage:

But, whiles he thought to steal the single ten,
The king was slily finger'd from the deck.
(3 *Henry VI*, V.i.43)

(19) To judge by contemporary allusions to schoolmasters and their disciplinary methods, the Elizabethan school cannot have been a particularly pleasant place. The frequent whippings with rods which were a feature of school life account for some of Shakespeare's references to the unhappiness of schoolboys, to "schoolboys' tears" (*Cor.*, III.ii.116) and to the sighs of the "school-boy that had lost his ABC" (*T.G.V.*, II.i.23). Specific mention of the punishment, as in the following passages—

... and wilt thou, pupil-like,
Take thy correction mildly, kiss the rod ... ? (*Rich. II*, V.i.31)

I offered ... to bind him up a rod, as being worthy to be whipped.—To be whipped! What's his fault?—The flat transgression of a schoolboy. ... (*M.A.*, II.i.226 ff.)—

is also found in *The Shrew*:

I am no breeching [=whipping] scholar in the schools.
(III.i.18)

Compare also the similar picture in *King Lear*:

Thou madest thy daughters thy mothers; for when thou gavest them the rod and puttest down thine own breeches, then they for sudden joy did weep. ... Prithce, nuncle, keep a schoolmaster that can teach thy fool to lie. ... (*Lear*, I.iv.188)

(20) One of the images belonging to the *bird-hunting* group is that of the "stale" or decoy bird:

This was well done, my bird. ...
The trumpery in my house, go bring it hither,
For stale to catch these thieves. (*Temp.*, IV.i.184, 186)

This unusual technical use of the word "stale" recurs in *The Shrew*:

Yet if thy thoughts, Bianca, be so humble
To cast thy wandering eyes on every stale,
Seize thee that list. ... (III.i.90)

There is another decoy picture, featuring "enticing birds," in *2 Henry VI* (I.ii.91-94).

V

An important feature of Shakespeare's imagery is its frequently iterative character: the poet introduces images of the same kind recurrently, for the purpose of creating atmosphere or symbolizing the subject of the play. Writing on the latter aspect of style, Spurgeon points out that "the theme he is handling raises in his imagination as he writes some picture or symbol which recurs again and again in the form of simile and metaphor throughout the play. He was probably conscious of the picture in his mind, but the imagery it evoked was, at any rate in the later plays, so entirely spontaneous and so natural a creation that it is likely he was himself unaware of how completely and repeatedly it revealed his symbolic vision" (p. 214). Examples of this feature are the relatively crude slaughterhouse imagery in the Yorkist histories, suggested by the thought of the tragic slaughter that went on during the civil war; the impressive animal pictures in *King Lear*, symbolizing the animality of the passions with which the tragedy deals; and the subtly suggestive ill-fitting clothes imagery in *Macbeth*, called forth by the idea of usurpation. In the comedies, the function of the iterative imagery is chiefly to provide atmosphere, as is the case with the references to moonlight in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and to music in

The Merchant of Venice. According to Spurgeon (p. 271), only three of the comedies contain "traces of the running symbolical imagery, used as in the tragedies, to illustrate or underline a leading 'motive' in the action or plot of the play": in *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Much Ado about Nothing*, the preponderating war and weapons imagery symbolizes the wit combats of the sexes, and in *All's Well that Ends Well* the pictures referring to heavenly bodies emphasize the dominant idea that humanity is subject to their influence. "This habit of mind," Spurgeon adds (p. 216), "is characteristic of Shakespeare and is to be found in his work from the very beginning."

It is clear that such a typical feature of Shakespeare's poetry might also throw light on the question of authenticity in a doubtful canonical play. For evidence, we must draw not only on the poetic imagery which Spurgeon had in mind but also on the dramatic word pictures, because these are just as much a part of the poet's symbolic vision of the play as his metaphors and similes. As Foakes pertinently remarks, "Overall patterns in the subject-matter of imagery are often linked with, or based upon, what may be called primary patterns of word, idea, poetic image, or the direct visual or auditory images provided by the stage and its effects, patterns which may be local, existing only for a scene or for an act. Reference and image work together; and the subject-matter of one image may occur as the object-matter of another, or as a simple reference."²² Even from this point of view, the chances of finding much evidence in an early farce are obviously slight. Nevertheless, *The Shrew* is found on examination to contain definite if somewhat sparse traces of running imagery, not merely of the "atmosphere" type but symbolical imagery inspired by the subject of the play. This subject, the catching and taming of a recalcitrant woman, evidently brought to Shakespeare's mind the idea of taming a hawk for the purpose of falconry; so the piece has several images based on this idea, and on the associated themes of bird hunting and snaring.

The series is opened in the second scene of the Introduction with a reference to falconry, when Sly is asked whether he is fond of the sport and told that he possesses "hawks [that] will soar above the morning lark" (Ind.ii.45). Next comes an allusion to bird snaring in the passage where the simpleton Gremio is referred to as a woodcock (I.ii.164); this was the easiest bird to catch in a snare and thus a byword for asininity. During Petruchio's first meeting with Katharina, he tells her plainly of his intention to master her and turn her wildness into obedience (II.i.270-272): "For I am he am born to tame you, Kate." Bianca, who is secretly every whit as proud as her sister, likewise needs taming: her caprices make Hortensio think of her as an intractable falcon that casts its "wandering eyes on every stale [=decoy bird]" (III.i.90-91) and is found by its keeper to be "ranging" or flying wide (III.i.92-93). The most detailed picture in the series is Petruchio's comparison of Katharina to a hawk in process of being trained (IV.i.193-199): "My falcon now is sharp and passing empty [=famished]," and "she must not be full-gorged" until she flies down to "her lure," a bunch of feathers within which the hawk undergoing training found its food. Petruchio goes on to explain that he has another way "to man"

²² R. A. Foakes, "Suggestions for a New Approach to Shakespeare's Imagery" in *Shakespeare Survey* 5 (1952), p. 84.

his haggard, i.e. to accustom his wild hawk to the presence of men: his method is "to watch her," which means to prevent her from sleeping, "as we watch these kites that bate and beat and will not be obedient." By forcing her to "watch all night," like a hawk being kept awake, he hopes to "curb her mad and headstrong humour." Hortensio then continues the symbolism by likening Bianca to a "proud disdainful haggard" (IV.ii.39). Finally, when the process of taming Katharina has been completed, the fact that Bianca has remained "proud" is alluded to in the picture of the bird which changes its bush to escape the aim of the fowler (V.ii.46-47); Petruchio implies that he at least has not missed his aim (V.ii.50) and then claims that he feels twenty times more certain of his wife than of one of his falcons (V.ii.66-73).

The interesting point about this embryonic symbolism is not so much the characteristically Shakespearian subject-matter as the circumstance that it is by no means confined to the main plot: the pictures of the gullible woodcock, the refractory falcon, the ranging hawk and the disdainful untamed haggard are found in supposedly non-Shakespearian scenes. What is more, they are completely in harmony with the rest of the series and seem to have been prompted by the same dominant vision of the play that is discernible in the imagery of the main plot.

VI

None of the attempts that have occasionally been made to find tangible evidence of a second hand in the sub-plot have yielded convincing results. There may indeed be a few parallels of thought and phraseology to other writers; it would be surprising if there were not. But there are also (in addition to the imagery) several parallels of idea, vocabulary and phrasing to Shakespeare's undisputed writings, as reference to any well annotated edition of the comedy will reveal. Furthermore, since the presence of numerous allusions to classical and medieval authors is sometimes regarded as an un-Shakespearian trait, it may be worth while mentioning that of the twenty-one allusions of this type in *The Shrew*, eleven occur in the admittedly Shakespearian three-fifths. Of the remaining ten, in the "unauthentic" division of the play, one²³ is a quotation from Terence in Lyly's Latin grammar, a volume which Shakespeare knew intimately and quoted frequently²⁴, and five²⁵ are to Ovid, the author for whom the poet is said to have had "the deepest affection"²⁶; two of the five are to the *Metamorphoses*, "Shakespeare's favorite classical poem."²⁷

To recapitulate: the inequality of poetic style in *The Taming of the Shrew* is probably a sign of hasty writing, and since various other canonical dramas are marred by the same imperfection, it cannot justifiably be interpreted as an indication of multiple authorship in the present case. On the other hand, the imagery indicates that the play was the work of but one playwright, and that this play-

²³ I.i.116, *Redime*, etc. cf. the New Cambridge edition of *The Taming of the Shrew*, 1928, p. 140).

²⁴ Adams, pp. 54-56.

²⁵ I.i.33; III.i.53 AEacides (*Met.* xiii); IX.ii.8, the Art to Love (*Ars Amandi*).

²⁶ I.i.33, Ovid; I.i.172, the daughter of Agenor (*Met.* ii.858); III.i.28, Priam passage (*Her.*

²⁷ Adams, pp. 56-57.

²⁸ Lee, p. 180.

wright was Shakespeare. Even, therefore, if he was rewriting an older comedy, we can feel sure in view of the typically Shakespearian imagery and of what we know about the poet's dramatic methods, that the text preserved in the First Folio is as much an independent and authentic work of art as *King John*, *Romeo and Juliet*, or *King Lear*.

Giessen-Wieseck, Germany

Proteus, Wry-Transformed Traveller

THOMAS A. PERRY

. . . A busy loving courtier, and a heartless threatening Thraso; a self-wise seeming schoolmaster; a wry-transformed traveller; these, if we saw walk in stage names, . . . therein were delightful laughter, and teaching delightfulness.

Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie*



TUDENTS of Shakespeare too generally have ignored or minimized the travel motif in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. True, it is the story of faithlessness in friend and lover; yet that faithlessness is consequent to an inexperienced youth's traveling abroad and is part of his transformation into an Italianate courtier. To understand Proteus properly one must see him first of all as the wry-transformed traveller.

Hints for this Italianate character of Proteus exist in the principal source—the tale of Felis and Felismena in Montemayor's *Diana*. Felis, not yet out of his "mocedad," is sent to the far distant court lest he waste his youth at home, "donde no se podían aprender sino los vicios de que la ociosidad es maestra."¹ The reasoning is typically Renaissance-Humanist and is paraphrased in the opening lines of Shakespeare's play. In sharp contrast to this Felis is the later, sophisticated Felis among the courtiers of the Princess Augusta Cesarina. This Felis is revealed with striking suddenness when the reader, following Felismena, one night hears the unfaithful Felis serenading another lady—with an Italianate sonnet! Then, as Felismena arrives at the court, the reader sees Felis for the first time since his departure from Vandalia—a richly dressed, clothes-conscious Felis. In an unusually detailed passage Montemayor describes the clothes. In this changed Felis two traits stand out, traits commonly attributed to the Italianate: sonnetteering and concern with fashionable dress. To these must be added a third, inconstancy.

This, basically, is also the story of Shakespeare's Proteus. In the first act he is yet to be "tried and tutor'd in the world" (I.iii.21). He is urged to "see the wonders of the world abroad" lest "living dully sluggardiz'd at home [he] / Wear out [his] youth with shapeless idleness" (I.i.6-7). Then, when he is sent to Milan and its new world of "wailful sonnets" and fashionable dress, and amorality, he changes as completely as did Felis. The new Proteus is not only inconstant, but he also becomes increasingly sophisticated and amoral, so that

¹ Jorge de Montemayor, *Los Siete Libros de la Diana*, ed. Francisco Lopez Estrada (Madrid, 1946), pp. 104-105.

eventually even the Duke turns to him for worldly advice and for instruction in intrigue (III.ii.16-30).

This basic plot Shakespeare has reinforced with elements not in the *Diana* but contributing to the more complete picture which it suggests of a wry-transformed traveller. For instance, the conventional reason for travel—obviously transplanted from the *Diana*—appears in the opening speech of the play, but is developed further in the third scene, when Antonio and Panthino are discussing Proteus' education. Here Shakespeare obviously draws upon the great mass of didactic literature stressing the role of travel in such education. Proteus' uncle, of the ambitious lesser nobility, conventionally pronounces that it "would be great impeachment to [Proteus'] age,/ In having known no travel in his youth." Since the traveller was expected to see and observe foreign courts,² Panthino suggests the Milanese court, which he naively idealizes as a place where a youth may "practise tilts and tournaments,/ Hear sweet discourse, converse with noblemen,/ And be in eye of every exercise/ Worthy his youth and nobleness of birth." This is, of course, a piece of Shakespearian irony. Another original touch is the realism of the uncle's jibe about Proteus' spending "his youth at home,/ While other men, of slender reputation" are providing the proper education for their sons (I.iii.4-34).

The twenty-day journey of Felis from Vandalia to the court (*Diana*, p. 105) becomes a sea voyage in Shakespeare's play so that Valentine and Proteus may be identified as young Englishmen "about to make the continental tour of Elizabethan days."³ The questioning of Shakespeare's geography in this play has been irrelevant. Likewise unnecessary to an understanding of the play has been the careful evidence of the late Professor Ernesto Grillo that Shakespeare's geography is essentially accurate.⁴ The truth of the matter is, as Professor Karl Young has pointed out, Shakespeare must have in mind "a departure by sea from London rather than pretending to accuracy in Italian geography and topography."⁵

Those who argue Shakespeare's careless disregard of geographical fact have overlooked his consistent and apparently deliberate placing of puns and water images to emphasize that the young Veronese leave aboard ship. At the same time he has carefully ordered his expository details to make this clear to his audience. For instance, from the very beginning of the play and throughout the first two acts, the primary interest is in the "shipping" of Valentine and Proteus, and later (II.iv.187) with the disembarkation of Proteus in Milan. Meanwhile, puns on *sheep* and *ship*, *tied* and *tide* (I.i.71-73; II.iii.36-57) are placed strategically at the exact moments of embarkation—as the servants rush to catch the ship. The play on the double meaning of *tide*—"The tide is now:—nay, not thy tide of tears;/ That tide will stay me longer than I should"—as Proteus bids Julia farewell, likewise emphasizes the mode of travel (II.ii.14-15).

The skillful scattering of water images throughout the first half of the play—especially in the first two acts—suggests that Shakespeare was consciously reminding his audience of water travel at the critical moments of departure.

² Bacon in his essay "On Travel" may speak for the many Elizabethan writers on the subject.

³ Martin W. Sampson, ed., *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (New York, 1923), p. 99.

⁴ Ernesto Grillo, *Shakespeare and Italy* (Glasgow, 1949), pp. 132-149.

⁵ In his notes in the Yale Shakespeare.

For example, Proteus' figure of speech as he reacts to the news that he is being sent to Milan carries double meaning: "Thus have I shunn'd the fire for fear of burning,/ And drench'd me in the sea, where I am drown'd." Again, Julia's comment as she decides to follow Proteus serves as an apt figure and also suggests the probable sea voyage: her love is like a current that "by many winding nooks he strays/ With willing sport to the wild ocean." "Hinder not my course," she adds significantly, "I'll be as patient as a gentle stream" (II.vii.25-34 *et passim*). Valentine's allusion in the opening scene to young Leander, who "cross'd the Hellespont" may presage his crossing the sea to find Sylvia. It also comes as the conversation shifts from the first major topic, sea travel, to the other, love, and within itself contains elements of both topics.

While other water images refer less directly to the action and are apparently introduced for ornament's sake only, yet they too appear at the critical moments when the dramatist is creating an impression of sea travel. Subtly and indirectly they make their contribution, as though they were the natural figures for a people living close to the sea and for the moment intent upon traveling. One of these images appears when Lucetta and Julia are discussing Julia's following Proteus and Lucetta raises doubts as to whether Proteus will like it. In answer Julia quotes the evidence of his "thousand oaths" and his "ocean of tears" (II.vii.69). Again, immediately after the disembarkation of Proteus in Milan, Valentine praises Sylvia at some length to Proteus: "I as rich in having such a jewel/ As twenty seas, if all their sand were pearl,/ The water nectar, and the rocks pure gold." It is only a few lines later that Proteus interrupts: "Go on before; I shall inquire you forth./ I must unto the road, to disembark/ Some necessities that I needs must use" (II.iv.169-171, 186-188).

The last of these water images, which appear just as Valentine (III.i.224) and Sylvia (IV.iii.33) leave Milan, present a special problem, since they are supposedly traveling by land. The apparent inconsistency can be resolved, however, by looking closely at a third passage, also containing a reference to water travel: the play upon the words *mastership* and *master's ship* just after Valentine's departure from Milan. Here is the same pattern used earlier in the departures from Verona: after a sad farewell there is comic relief in which one of the servants plays upon a word having reference to sea travel. "What news with your mastership?" Speed asks just after Valentine and Proteus have left the stage. "With my master's ship?" answers Launce. "Why, it is at sea" (III.i.280-281). Does it not seem likely that in an early stage of composition or in some earlier version of the play Shakespeare conceived of Valentine's leaving as well as arriving in Milan by sea? If so, would not this banter between the servants refer directly to the action of the play, especially if Launce's words were originally assigned to Speed. Then, if Shakespeare, needing the conventional woodland setting for his outlaws, should have decided to abandon sea for land travel, he could have kept the pun—now irrelevant to the action—best by exchanging speakers. If there were such a revision, the original water images at this point might have been overlooked, or they might have been retained as nothing more than pleasing Petrarchan conceits. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that Shakespeare avoids the water image for the rest of the play.

Granted Shakespeare's emphasis on water travel, is it not possible, as

Professor Grillo has suggested (pp. 142-144), that Shakespeare is only being careful to conform to the geographical fact that sixteenth-century Verona was an important port for large ships navigating the Adige? It is true that two of the water images are unmistakably river images, and that others could refer as well to river as to sea travel. Julia compares her love to a gentle stream, a current straying to the wild ocean. Launce, hurrying after the departing Proteus, exclaims: "Lose the tide, and the voyage, and the master, and the service, and the tied! Why, man, if the river were dry, I am able to fill it with my tears" (II.iii.56-58). On the other hand, most of the images suggest or unmistakably pertain to sea travel, not river travel. The difficulty is resolved when one remembers that London is on the Thames, and that the Thames, unlike the Adige, soon runs into the sea. Its ships are sea vessels. Down it Julia may follow Proteus "like a current . . . with willing sport to the ocean." From here Valentine may cross his Hellespont to find a Hero. Likewise, the several allusions to tides, more notably characteristic of the Thames, would suggest London to the English audience. Shakespeare may have chosen Verona for his play because it was a port on a navigable river, but the embarkations of Valentine, Proteus, and Julia are more like departures from London than Verona.

This new world into which Proteus comes, to undergo his metamorphosis into an Italianate courtier, like the court in the *Diana*, is fashion conscious. In choosing Milan as the setting, Shakespeare makes use of its popular reputation, not only as the traditional seat of the imperial court but also as an important fashion center and maker of fashionable clothing.⁶ Here the Elizabethan would expect to see the "bravery," the "strange accoutrements," the "quaint array" of the Italianated youth.⁷

Shakespeare's periodic allusions to special styles of dress exploit this reputation and keep the audience aware of it. Lucetta, preparing Julia for her journey to Milan, asks, "What fashion, madam, shall I make your breeches?" Then she suggests a codpiece, recalling Nashe's Italianates with their "fewe moath-eaten cod-peece sutes" in *The Terrors of the Night* (1592/3).⁸ Valentine's pun on *doublet* and *double* (II.iv.20-21) calls attention to the dress of Thurio and especially to an article of dress whose frequently changing style was an important feature of Renaissance fashion. Likewise, the rather lengthy business of the cloak under which the Duke is to hide a ladder (III.i.130-136) focuses attention on the dress of Valentine and again on a style which attracted considerable comment in the 1590's. The jests about farthingales (II.vii.51; IV.iv.42) direct similar attention to women's styles.⁹

⁶ See Edward H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* (Manchester, 1925), under "Milan." See also the origin of "milliner" in the N.E.D.

⁷ "I addicted my selfe wholly to the seruice of women to spende my lyfe in the lappes of Ladyes, my lands in the maintenance of brauerie. . . ." John Lyly, in *The Complete Works*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 241.

See also Spenser's description of the Ape in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*: "He was clad in strange accoutrements, / Fashion'd with quaint deuises neuer scene / In Court before, yet there all fashions beene" (lines 672-675); Gabriel Harvey's description of the Earl of Oxford as an Italianate, "delicate in speach, queynte in araye, conceited in all poyntes," in *Speculum Tuscanismi* (G. Gregory Smith, ed., *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), I, 107); and Jacques' "strange suits" in *AYLI*.

⁸ Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow (London, 1910), I, 361.

⁹ M. Channing Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*

Other fashions come in for comment, too. That "squirrel," Proteus' dog Jewel, is a tenth the size of Crab (IV.iv.51-63). Proteus' expert advice on the "wailful sonnet" and its conceits (III.ii.68-87) is, of course, of a piece with the discussion of fashions in love-making between the Duke and Valentine (III.i.86ff.). Finally, the periodic occurrence of the word *fashion* (II.vii.49, 52; III.i.86, 135; V.iv.61) carries through as a kind of refrain to this tale of Milan. In the light of all this evidence, might not Valentine's bitter exclamation to Proteus in the final scene carry double meaning: "Thou friend of an ill fashion!"

Like Euphues in Naples, Proteus in Milan eats "sugar with the courtiers of Italy" and addicts himself "wholy to the seruire of women . . . , [his] lands in maintenance of brauerie, [his] witte in the vanities of idle Sonnets."¹⁰ He also begins to show other Italianate traits. He is a "complement-munger" and flatterer. "Thou subtle, perjur'd, false, disloyal man! / Think'st thou I am so shallow, so conceitless, / To be seduced by thy flattery," Sylvia angrily answers his smooth words of courtship. His hypocrisy stands without question, so that his advice to Thurio rings ironic: "Frame some feeling line / That may discover such integrity" (III.ii.75-76). He is a Machiavellian slanderer and plotter (III.ii.31ff.), so gifted in intrigue that he can make Thurio and even the Duke his dupes. Finally, he is the "leacher" in whom "love [obtains] the name of lust,"¹¹ at the last guilty even of attempted rape. In this patterned description of an Italianated youth one naturally expects inconstancy and disloyalty.

In the background are the other Milanese, echoing these qualities in Proteus, though they are not so extreme nor so intolerable. Even Valentine, admirable as he is throughout most of the play, is not above advising the Duke in his intrigue for possession of the "lady of Verona" and suggesting the use of flattery. The Duke is a willing partner in Proteus' plot to slander Valentine. Thurio, the third partner, in his way proves as inconstant to Sylvia as Proteus to Julia. The shift from court to woods must have been intended as a welcome relief from the insincerity and immorality of the court. One could hardly expect Proteus' repentance in Milan.

Shakespeare's choice of name for Proteus is a happy one. In the mass of literature in the late sixteenth century attacking the Italianate, the classical Proteus loses his gray beard to become the graceful, showy, fickle, insincere courtier, "ape" of foreign manners, or, sometimes, the foreign courtier living in England. Marlowe, for instance, in *Edward II* (1592) describes Gaveston as wearing

. . . a lords reuenewe on his back,
And Midas-like he itts in the court,

(Oxford, 1936), pp. 198, 193, 180-182. Iris Brooke, *Western European Costume, Thirteenth to Seventeenth Century, and Its Relation to the Theatre* (London, 1939), pp. 138, 133, 142.

¹⁰ See footnote 7.

¹¹ Nashe, *op. cit.*, 10, 220, 361.

"Italy, . . . how doth it forme our yong master? . . . It maketh a man an excellent Courtier, a curious carpet knight: which is, by interpretation, a fine close leacher, a glorious hypocrite." Nashe, *Vnfortunate Traveller* (1593) in *Works, cit.*, II, 301.

"Such is the contemptuous condition of these Imitators: that there is not any vice particularly noted in any Country, but ye Englishman will be therein as exquisite. . . . If it be in . . . Italy he can flatter. . . ." William Rankin, *The English Ape* (1588). Printed at London by Robert Robinson (photostatic reproduction by the Huntington Library), A3b, A4.

With base outlandish cullions at his heeles,
Whose proud fantasticke lueries make such show
As if that Proteus, god of shapes, appearde. (lines 700-704)

Drayton, in his *Legend of Piers Gaveston* (1596) has Gaveston describe his fellow French courtiers with the same figure:

Others that stem'd the Current of the Time,
Whence I had false, strove suddenly to clime.
Like the Camelion, whilst Time turnes the hue,
And with false Proteus puts on sundrie shapes.¹²

Nashe in *Pierce Pennilesse* (1592) describes the Italian as having "more shapes than Proteus" and shifting "himselfe, vpon occasion of revengement, into a mans dish, his drinke. . ." ¹³ In *The Beggars Ape* (undated but from context obviously written during Elizabeth's reign), the "ape" takes delight "to play the *Parasite*,/ To sooth, to cogge, to fawne, to lye, to sweare," "for neuer more did *Proteus* change his Shape."¹⁴ The dancing courtier in Davies' *Orchestra* (1595) is likewise figured in Proteus:

Wherefore was Proteus said himself to change
Into a stream, a lion, a tree,
And many other forms fantastic strange,
As in his fickle thought he wished to be?
But that he danced with such facility. . .

This figure had such connotation for the Elizabethans at least as early as 1584, when Thomas Hudson in the *History of Judith* compares the court flatterer to Proteus.¹⁵ Greene uses it in much the same way in *Morando* (1587).¹⁶ Shakespeare, then, had at hand a name that already suggested to the Elizabethan, not only fickleness, but also other attributes belonging to the conventional concept of the Italianate: youth, insincerity, showy dress.

Shakespeare's use of the motif of the "wry-transformed traveller" acquires additional importance when one sets *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* within the social framework of the 1590's. To assume that because this was a perennial topic for Renaissance writers it did not have particular pertinency around 1590 is to misunderstand the play. While Renaissance England came under the powerful influence of Italy on the one hand, and witnessed with dismay the moral decay of that same Italy and a disturbing revolution in her own youth; on the other hand, certain events around 1590 gave a special timeliness to the issue and put an edge on Elizabethan opinion of the Italianate.

Professor Edwin Greenlaw has called attention "to the hatred of French gallantry and intrigue especially characteristic of these years [circa 1590]."¹⁷ His observation is substantiated by the appearance of works like Spenser's *Mother Hubbard's Tale* (1589?), Marlowe's *Edward II* (1592), Drayton's

¹² Michael Drayton, *Works*, ed. William Hebel (Oxford, 1932), II, 437.

¹³ Nashe, *Works*, I, 186.

¹⁴ Richard Nicols, *The Beggars Ape*, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints (1936), B3.

¹⁵ Reproduced as Number 510 in Robert Allot, *England's Parnassus*, ed. Charles Crawford (Oxford, 1913).

¹⁶ Robert Greene, *Works*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, Huth Library (1881-1886), III, 148.

¹⁷ Quoted in H.S.V. Jones, *A Spenser Handbook* (New York, 1930), p. 100.

Legend of Piers Gaveston (1596), and the anti-Italianate tales and pamphlets of Nashe and Greene within a few years.

Despite a temporary wave of feeling against the Italianate Earl of Oxford in the 1570's, England had seen hundreds of translations of Italian books, a growing frequency in the visits of traveling Italian actors, a marked increase in the number of Italian grammars and dictionaries, and English books and plays with Italian settings. In this period the vogue of the sonnet and sonnet sequence, with their Petrarchan conceits, was strongest. This influence had reached its peak in the 1580's.¹⁸ But by the time of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* a reaction had set in, aggravated by the unrest following the execution of Mary Stuart and the defeat of the Armada. These two events, instead of quieting, intensified English fears. The next decade was a period of strong nationalist feeling, marked by hatred of everything foreign. Spaniard, Italian, and Papist were often synonymous, a fact that is not surprising since much of Italy was politically under the Spanish king and thousands of Italians served in the Spanish army.¹⁹ Camden in his *Annals* for 1590 testifies that this feeling often extended to the French: "Some there were who advised . . . not to trust the *French*" because they were "false and treacherous."²⁰ The growing hatred is reflected in the all-inclusive attacks of Hall and Marston on Italian clothes, vice, poisoning, and English imitations of Italian verse.²¹

In such an atmosphere it is not surprising to find sentiment against foreign travel, and some attempts to restrict it. According to Camden (p. 457), in 1591 it was considered treason to travel in Spain. A letter from a traveller to Italy, preserved in the *Calendar of State Papers* and dated August 1591, answers a censure by Burleigh for spending so much time abroad and shows uncertainty as to the nature "of the restraint in this last traveling license," which seems to close the territories of Venice and Florence to him.²² An act of the Privy Council in 1593, addressed to the County of Sussex, called for a census of all gentlemen having sons or kinsmen "beyond the Seas obtaining Education." While this is obviously an anti-espionage measure, much of the language of the order resembles that of current anti-Italianate literature: ". . . the Queenes Majestic finding noe small inconvenience to growe unto the Realme by sending out of the same the Children of many gentlemen under coulour of learning the Languages, wherby they are for the most parte bredd . . . in the Popish religion and corruptness of manners, to the manifest prejudice of the State heere. . . ." ²³

At such a time Shakespeare wrote his tale of the wry-transformed traveller. To dismiss *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* as only another tale of friend-

¹⁸ Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1913), Chapter IV ("The Italian Danger"). Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 403. Mary A. Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (Boston, 1916), pp. xix-xxi, xxvii, xxxi.

¹⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1591-94*, pages 110-111, 112-114, 162, 298, 302, 398; *Domestic Series, 1595-97*, pages 60, 103.

²⁰ William Camden, *The History of . . . Princess Elizabeth*, Fourth Edition (London, 1688), p. 443.

²¹ Einstein, pp. 166-167.

²² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1591-94*, p. 95.

²³ *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, ed. Henry Ellis, Second Series (London, 1827), III, 171-174.

ship and love is to misread it. It is primarily the timely story of the Italianated youth in whom false friendship and false love accompany the attempts of the youth to acquire sophistication. Unfortunately the idealized pattern envisioned for the traveling Proteus by Panthino was not realized. Rather, Proteus was to become the Machiavellian plotter, the inconstant. That travel does not always have such drastic effects is illustrated by Valentine, only slightly affected by the lesser vices of the court, who never is at home there so much as Proteus is.

Towards the early Proteus Shakespeare is sympathetic. Towards the repentant Proteus of the Mantuan forest he is forgiving. He is mildly satirical of sonnet fashions (as he is in his own sonnet sequence). He laughs at the fashionable tiny dogs and at foibles in dress. But he has no patience with treachery, intrigue, lust, or inconstancy, whether in Proteus or Thurio—until there is an honest self-appraisal and an honest change of heart. Therefore, one must read this play as comedy. Proteus is no villain in the accepted sense of the word; he is the inexperienced youth being tried and tutored in the world—the Italianate world. This particular youth is finally brought to his senses and is able to profit from his experiences. He is at last neither the untutored youth nor the Machiavel. Like the outlaws, he may be forgiven for "what [he has] committed here." They are all "reformed, civil, full of good,/ And fit for great employment."

Here the common sense of Shakespeare speaks out again on a topic that too often was treated hysterically or unfairly. He can smile and he can frown at Proteus, but at the last, knowing that the Proteus of Milan is a passing phase, he accepts him—with his more sensible and less susceptible companion—just as he is later to accept the chastened Jaques of *As You Like It*.

Central College

Shakespeare in Yugoslavia

HUGO KLAJN



HE Yugoslavs were late in coming to know Shakespeare because for centuries they were a disunited and subject people. After a period of prosperity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Serbs fell under the Turkish yoke. Beograd, now the capital of Yugoslavia, was liberated only in 1867; parts of the Serbian country not until the Balkan War in 1912. The Croats, after the bloom of Croatian literature from the fifteenth until the seventeenth century in Dalmatia and especially in Dubrovnik, had not only to fight the Turks but also to resist unceasing attempts at compulsory Italianization, Hungarization, and Germanization. The Slovenes were subject to even greater German pressure, until the breaking up of Austria-Hungary, which was comprised in part of Slovenian, Croatian, and even Serbian territories. In their barren mountainous country in the southwest of the Yugoslav area, the Montengrins (Crnogorci) felt the threat of Turks, Austrians, and Italians. As for the Macedonians, they had no possibility of developing an independent national life until after 1945.

Shakespeare finally came to the attention of the Yugoslav peoples through the contact of some of them with the Germans. The first Yugoslav known to have mentioned Shakespeare was the Slovenian poet, A. T. Linhart. To be sure, his first knowledge was Shakespeare at second hand. In 1778 he saw performances at the Burgtheater in Vienna and under their influence wrote in German *Miss Jenny Love*, a drama "as dark as Shakespeare." But soon Linhart was writing to one of his friends: "Si vous avez vu *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, pas le *Macbeth* selon Shakespeare par M^{me} Stephanie, mais *Macbeth* de Shakespeare, vous avez vu les trois pièces, dont je suis enchanté à la folie."

About this time in the capital of Croatia, Zagreb, adaptations of Shakespeare in German were performed, such as Schinck's *Gassner der Zweite oder Der ausgetriebene Teufel*, in 1780, a modified version of *The Taming of the Shrew*. Often these plays were localized, as in the case of Hensler's reshaping of *Hamlet* (1802), which became *Eugenius Skokko, Erbprinz von Dalmatien*, with Hamlet the Dane transformed into the hereditary prince of the Yugoslav province on the Adriatic. The first Yugoslav translation directly from Shakespeare was an excerpt, *Queen Mab*, in 1827 by the Croatian abbot, Ivan Krizmanic. And the first theatrical performance of a Shakespearean play in a Yugoslav language was in Zagreb (in 1841): Ch. F. Weisse's *Romeo und Julia*, translated from the German adaptation. The Zagreb periodical, *Croatia*, wrote on that

occasion: "We must regret that the translation is not made from the original of the great British [dramatist], but from a German travesty. . . ."

The role of the Germans as intermediaries between Shakespeare and those Yugoslav peoples who were within the Austro-Hungarian empire is indicated by the fact that until the end of the Great War in 1918, the Slovenes had almost no good translations from the original. In Zagreb, of twenty-one Shakespearian plays performed up to that time, eighteen were translated from the German. By way of contrast, six out of the eleven plays performed in Beograd, then the metropolis of Serbia, were translated from the original and only five from the German.

But even in that period of Austro-German political and cultural domination, the Zagreb National Theatre produced seven Shakespearian plays, not adaptations, in one season alone. This was during the directorship of Stjepan Miletić, who was a member of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft and for his doctoral thesis wrote *Die ästhetische Form des abschliessenden Ausgleichs in den Shakespeareschen Dramen* (Zagreb, 1892). In another period, from 1909 to 1914, Shakespeare was performed fifty-eight times in this same Theatre—not a small number, considering that all Yugoslav theaters are repertory theaters with a large repertoire, that Zagreb then had less than 80,000 inhabitants, and that during the same years Molière was performed only forty-three times and Schiller only thirteen. Even the Great War of 1914-1918 did not prevent the Croats from organizing in 1916 a solemn commemoration of the third centenary of Shakespeare's death, with the explicit motivation that Shakespeare belonged to mankind as a whole. (During the second world war, when Zagreb, as well as Ljubljana and Beograd, was under the command of pro-fascist quislings, no play of Shakespeare's was performed there.)

The first Serbian translator, the then 18-year-old poet Laza Kostić, began in 1859 his activity of rendering Shakespeare into his mother-tongue. Although in parts beautiful and concise, in regular iambic pentameters, Kostić's translations are often tainted with coined words that have not survived, and now they are obsolete. In Kostić's domicile, Novi Sad, the Serbs of the Monarchy celebrated in 1864 the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth, on which occasion the first act of *Richard III* was performed, in Kostić's translation. Under Shakespeare's influence Laza Kostić and Gyura Jakšić wrote tragedies in iambic pentameters that with Kostić are much akin to Shakespeare's, with Jakšić in a specific way different.

In the same period, also, outstanding interpreters of Shakespeare's characters appear. Among the Serbs are to be mentioned: the actor-director Aleksa Bačvanski (d. 1881), a masterly Shylock, who played the part even in the last years of his life, when he was completely blind; the unrivalled Pera Dobrinović, a remarkable Iago; the magnificent Lear of the still active Dobrica Milutinović (b. 1880), whose first adviser was Joca Savić, a native born Serb, the chief director of the Court Theatre and founder of the Shakespearebühne in Munich. The most famous Croatian Hamlet was Andrija Fijan (d. 1911); a much admired Juliet, Marija Ružička-Strozzi, the "Croatian Sarah Bernhardt."

A new era for the Yugoslav peoples set in when, after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Croats and the Slovenes united with the Serbs. Now the Slovenes have fully developed their literary idiom, now they

obtain really consummate translations from the original, in a beautiful, strong and lapidary language, particularly by the poet Oton Župančič, who untiringly revises and improves his own scripts and so has accumulated excellent translations of more than half of Shakespeare's dramatic works; they receive also carefully prepared, brilliantly equipped and faultlessly presented performances, especially those directed by Osip Šest, who, adding to a great theatrical experience the knowledge of the Viennese Burgtheater, the Moscow Art Theatre, and the stages of Reinhardt, blends all this in a variety of his own, a half expressionistic, half realistic interpretation of Shakespeare, which in the twenties "undoubtedly signifies a positive value."¹ But little by little Šest has come to repeat himself, and audiences to tire of his dazzling scenery and excess of music, which induces actors to declaim; so new directors have set to work, and in 1940-1941 Dr. Bratko Kreft, literary and artistic director of the Ljubljana National Theatre and author of the essay *Pushkin and Shakespeare*,² undertook to stage Shakespeare (*Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*) by applying the principles of the Elizabethan stage in a modern way.

The principal Serbian translator in the interval between the two world wars was Svetislav Stefanović. His translations, fourteen plays, are scrupulous and reliable, but unsatisfactory with regard to their rhythmical and poetical qualities, so that passages in verse often sound like prose. The most prominent Shakespearian actor of that period is Raša Plaović, the new Hamlet, fascinating both by the subtlety of his intelligence and the sincerity of his feelings. As to the interest in Shakespeare, we may quote Vladeta Popović, who stated:³ "Relatively speaking at present [1925] the interest in Shakespeare is [in Serbia] at least as great as in England."

In Zagreb after 1919 a literary-artistic trio originated, consisting of the writer, Milan Bogdanović, whom the superintendent of the National Theatre had bound by contract to supply the Theatre every year with the translation of one of Shakespeare's plays (Bogdanović succeeded in translating seventeen of them); the director, Branko Gavella, whose greatest success was the production of *Twelfth Night*, where he obtained a sprightly rhythm and uninterrupted flow of the performance by making the changes of scene part of the scenic action—they were effected by the actors themselves who, without interrupting the action, placed, removed, and fetched properties; and the painter, Ljuba Babić, whose settings won the Grand Prix at the International Exposition of Decorative Art in Paris, 1925.

Concordant with the radical economic, political, and social transformations in Yugoslavia after the second world war was also a changed attitude to Shakespeare and to the theater in general. New, hitherto excluded masses of theatergoers flocked to the playhouses and the question arose: what kind of performances would satisfy the cultural and artistic needs of, and how could Shakespeare have to say and how might his work be made intelligible to, those virgin and unsophisticated audiences?

Illustrative of this changed attitude is the performance of *Hamlet* at the National Theatre in Beograd, in 1947. The interpreter of the title role was the

¹ Dušan Moravec, "Shakespeare pri Slovencih," *Slavistička revija*, II (Ljubljana, 1949).

² Dr. Bratko Kreft, *Pushkin in Shakespeare* (Ljubljana, 1952).

³ Vladeta Popović, *Shakespeare in Serbia* (London, 1928).

same as twenty years ago, Rasa Plaović. But what then his Hamlet had mainly expressed was an ineffectual disgust, resulting from the depressing circumstances he was inextricably involved in; whereas now Plaović's Hamlet, having procured irrefutable proofs of his uncle's crime, proceeded to a decisive, premeditated, voluntary action. Before, Hamlet's vengeance had been exacted in a fit of impetuosity; now Hamlet did the killing impassively but inexorably, like an executioner carrying out a verdict, or a surgeon performing an inevitable surgical operation. This conception was also emphasized in the groupings of the actors and their movements; the King's supporters retreated, giving wide berth to the Prince as he slowly but with implacable resolution, the poisoned rapier in his hand, approached his stupefied and motionless uncle.

In Skopje, *As You Like It* was performed in 1949, the first Shakespeare in Macedonian, which has grown into a literary language only since 1945, when the Yugoslav Macedonians, together with their national independence, acquired unrestricted opportunity for cultural development.

At present, one of the most successful Shakespearian performances in Yugoslavia is the *King Lear* at the Yugoslav Dramatic Theatre in Beograd, directed by Mata Milošević, with the powerful Milivoje Živanović as Lear. Very remarkable is also Gavella's production of *Henry IV* (both parts uncut) at the Beograd National Theatre, with Raša Plaović as a noble and dignified Henry IV, and Ljubisa Jovanović as a self-indulgent, rascally, yet endearing Falstaff. Full of colour and vigour, the two performances of *Henry IV*, however, sporadically impress as being disintegrated and dragging, in consequence of the fact that every change of scene is accentuated by a pause and a piece of music to fill it up.

Noteworthy is an open-air performance of *Hamlet*, directed by Dr. Marko Fotez, performed by actors of Zagreb and Beograd, beneath the walls of a fortress, Lovrijenac, built probably in the eleventh century, restored in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, on a high steep rock over the sea, in the ancient city-republic Dubrovnik, where "Shakespeare, tragedies and comedies, could be performed with no other backcloth than the picturesque architecture of the palaces. . . . The standards of Claudius and Fortinbras flapped in turn in the breeze of the Adriatic, and between the battlements ancient guns fired salvoes in full view of the audience."⁴

Among the translators of Shakespeare are Bora Nedić and Velimir Živojinović among the Serbs, and Josip Torbarina, the professor of English at the University of Zagreb, who also revises and reedits Bogdanović's translations. Danko Andjelinović has published a new Croat translation of the *Sonnets*.

The problem of translating Shakespeare is different for the diverse Yugoslav languages. In the Serbian, Croatian, and Montenegrin literary languages, which are almost identical, very few monosyllables exist, except enclitics, and as a rule no polysyllables with the stress on the last syllable; moreover, a monosyllable at declension grows very often into a polysyllable, so the word *knez* (prince) in the dative, instrumental, and vocative cases of the plural turns into a tetrasyllable, *knezovima*. Consequently, the Slovenian translations frequently, Župančič's regularly, succeed in reproducing the original line by line, for in

⁴ Juliette Decreux, "From Elsinore to Lovrijenac," *Theatre World*, Feb. 1953.

the Slovenian there are a lot of dissyllables with the stress on the second syllable. But if the Serbo-Croatian translation endeavours to retain the original number of verses it risks abandoning the precision of Shakespeare's text, by simplifying and impoverishing it, as well as its fluency and clarity; whereas, if the translator wants to be exact and explicit, he is in danger of losing the terseness, vigor, and pungency of the original.⁵

The most natural meter in the Serbo-Croatian languages is the trochaic with its descending rhythm and feminine endings. Nevertheless, almost all the modern translations are in iambic pentameters, but differing from Shakespeare's in several points; the first foot is much oftener inverted, or the first three syllables are unstressed, or substituted by a dactylic, with trochaic feet following; the caesura is mostly after the fifth, unstressed, syllable; the feminine ending is more common than the masculine, and as most monosyllables are unstressed (enclitics), weak endings too are numerous, or the last three syllables again constitute a dactylic. So instead of the regular iambic a peculiar decasyllabic verse is often met, similar to those in which the tragedies of Gyura Jaksic are written: a dactylotrochaic with the caesura in the middle. E.g.,

Děvēt jě | bīlō || kād sām | dōj kīnjū
Poslala.

The clock struck nine when I did send the nurse. (*Romeo and Juliet*, II.v)

We may summarise that the acquaintance of the Yugoslavs with Shakespeare, although not of very long standing, has constantly increased both in extent and profundity. Shakespeare is increasingly more and better translated, studied, read, and performed, and we are bound to corroborate what Professor Popović, who for many years had been a scrupulous observer, wrote in his last article before his death:⁶ "In the new Yugoslavia the interest in Shakespeare has been immense, greater than ever before and greater than in any other foreign dramatist."

Beograd, Yugoslavia

⁵ So Senoa's older, incomplete and unprecise translation of the fragment of Queen Mab has 43 lines (42 in the original); Bogdanović's 52; Nedić-Živojinović's no fewer than 56.

⁶ Vladeta Popović, *Shakespeare Amongst the Yugoslavs, Especially in Post-war Yugoslavia* (Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta, Beograd, 1952).

A
QUIP FOR
AN VPSTART
COURTIER:

OR,
A quaint dispute betweene Veluet
breeches and Cloth breeches.

*Wherein is plainly set downe the disorders in all
Estates and Trades.*



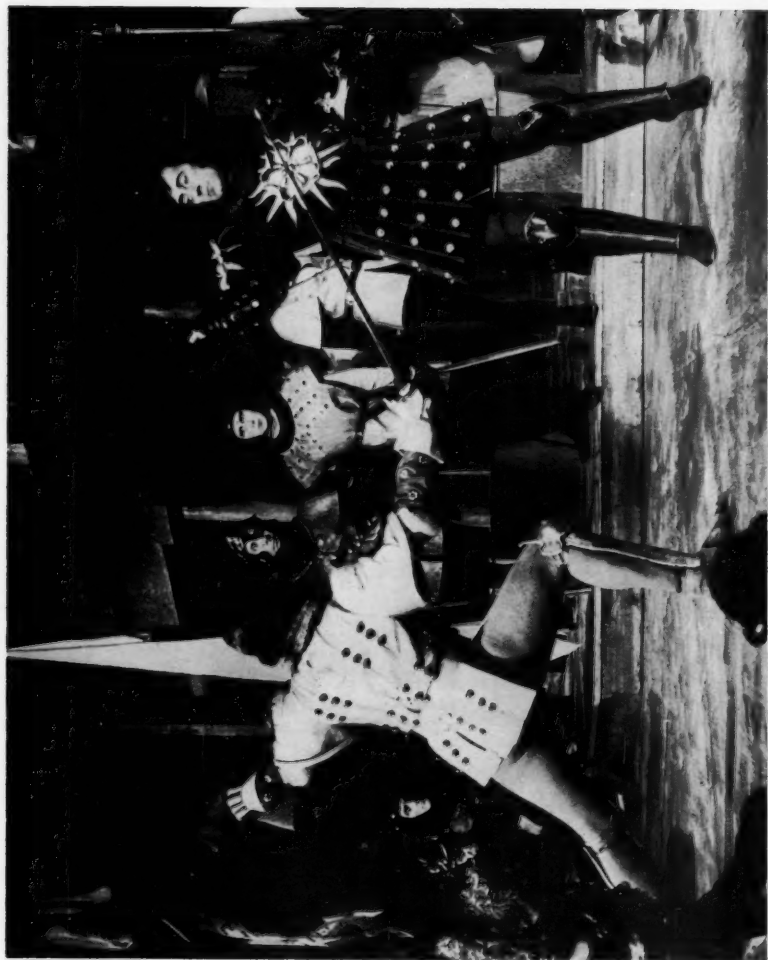
London printed by G. P. 1620.

London Types and Costumes: A country gentleman and a nouveau
riche. Robert Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1620),
STC 12303.

A New Shakespear Festival



Hamlet performed at the old fortress, Lovrijenac, at Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. Hamlet is played by Veljko Maričić.



The Stratford (Ontario) Shakespeare Festival: *Richard III*, V. v. Left, Robert Goodier as Richmond; right, Alec Guinness as Richard III.
Photo by Peter Smith & Co., Stratford, Ontario.

A New Stratford Festival

ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH



CANADA must be the only country of its size in the world that has only one theater. Apart from the Royal Alexandra in Toronto there is absolutely no other building that was built, and still serves, as a theater in the Dominion. There is, therefore, no professional theater company which operates on a normal basis. There are brave ventures in converted churches, in high school auditoriums, and in made-over city buildings. There is also a well developed amateur or "little theatre" movement which is stimulated by a nationwide Drama Festival every spring. But no budding actor trained by such excellent amateur performances can hope to turn professional unless he goes to the U.S.A. or to Great Britain, or transfers his allegiance to the lucrative fields of radio and TV.

It is all the more astonishing therefore that this summer saw a new Shakespeare festival spring to life in an isolated small town in Canada. A festival, too, that made headlines across the country; was favourably noticed in all the U.S. papers; and was adequately covered by *The Times* in England.

I

The person who was responsible for this festival knows nothing of the theater. Mr. Tom Patterson is a journalist who was born in Stratford, Ontario. He has a flair for publicity and a flair for organization. Years ago he had thought that Stratford, Ontario, was the logical place to hold a Shakespeare festival. It has a park system deliberately built in 1904 to simulate the easy grace of Stratford in Warwickshire. The town is split up into wards that have Shakespearean names, as do the public schools. The municipal gardens contain every flower mentioned in the plays. But nothing came of the idea until Patterson met the mayor of Stratford at a conference in Winnipeg. He convinced the mayor, the mayor convinced his council, and the town gave Patterson the job of arranging a festival from the 13th July to the 15th August.

He had already decided that he needed big names to make the festival successful. Sir Laurence Olivier was approached but merely gave a general blessing to it all. Tyrone Guthrie, producer for the London Old Vic was interested, and agreed to give the matter consideration on the spot. He arrived by 'plane, outlined a plan of action and left Patterson to follow him to London and act upon it. The results were spectacular. Miss Tanya Moiseiwitsch agreed to design the stage, and the settings; Alec Guinness waived a Hollywood contract to lead the

company; Guthrie finally agreed to direct. For Stratford it was a tremendous *coup*.

Each principal had an intriguing task. Tanya Moiseiwitsch had not merely to design a set—she was to design a stage and auditorium complete. Guinness was to play the lead but also was to help mould a large cast of eager but inexperienced professionals into a solid company. Guthrie had *carte blanche* to direct two plays literally from the ground up.

After preliminary meetings it was decided by Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch that the theater ground plan was to be very like that of the Elizabethan theater. There were to be 1500 seats, none more than fifty feet from the stage. The apron stage was to jut right into the center of an audience that surrounded it on three sides. In fact, some spectators would be behind the stage, as it were, since the plan was closer in design to the Greek theater than to the Elizabethan as we now understand it.

Miss Moiseiwitsch now designed not so much a setting, as a permanent stage structure. The apron stage rose from the level of the spectators by four broad but shallow steps thus giving four levels to be exploited all around the main playing area. The back of the main playing area rose again to become an open portico corresponding to the Globe "study." On the top of the columns of this portico was built an open balcony, roughly triangular in shape, with a central entrance behind. Again, corresponding closely with the Globe in basic plan, but not in elevation, the main entrances stood right and left at an angle, approached by five steps.

This was a masterly modern adaptation of the Globe plan making seven playing levels available to the director with entrances at four different levels. Entrances also could be made from the auditorium aisles, thus making the whole unit a most adaptable vehicle for free and fluid movement, with interesting separation of levels to suggest changes in scene.

The spirit of aesthetic adventure shown in the design of the theater was carried over into the plays themselves. Guthrie had been definite on this point. Two plays only, but beautifully dressed and imaginatively lighted. The two plays were to be *Richard III* and *All's Well That Ends Well*—the latter to be done in modern dress.

The next step was to collect a company of professional Canadian actors from wherever their talents had previously led them. From New York, Toronto, Montreal, Kingston, Ottawa, London, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Calgary they came in December and were auditioned. A troupe of thirty-six actors was thus painstakingly assembled, and to these were added Alec Guinness, Irene Worth, and Douglas Campbell from the London Old Vic, and Michael Bates from the Stratford Memorial Theatre. The effects of this mingling of talents under such a director as Guthrie will perhaps in the long run be the most significant part of the Festival. As Robertson Davies put it, writing in *Saturday Night*:

Many of our best Canadian actors are working at Stratford and working as they have never worked before. We may be proud of them, for they are, in the main, very good actors. We may be especially proud of the way they speak, for in this country where slovenly and ugly speech is part of our national pose of mediocrity, we produce actors who speak a

splendid, vigorous English. . . . Are these actors, who have tasted the wine of true theatre, ever again to be satisfied with the sour slops of under-rehearsed, under-dressed, under-mounted, under-paid and frequently ill-considered and ill-financed theatrical projects? The answer is for them to give, but I cannot feel that it will be an affirmative one.

II

The two plays chosen, which alternated throughout the festival, were good foils to each other. *Richard III* is a muscular roustabout play, demanding larger than life portrayal, unashamed histrionics on the part of the crowd and minor characters, and a tremendous pace if it is not to drop into a crude piece of butchery and bold bawdry. It is also a play that is constantly revived—a theatrical favourite. *All's Well That Ends Well* has grown into a closet curiosity rather. And if the fun that is in it is to be drawn out, and the play thus made tolerable, there must be a lightness and unerring delicacy of touch in the whole production.

Richard III certainly was strenuous. In it, the director could use to the full all the theatrical gimmicks that Tanya Moiseiwitsch had built in for him. Ghosts could pop up through the trap-doors, citizens appear aloft, soldiers rush in from the aisles. Battle could sway up and down the four large shallow step-platforms round the main stage, and the mob surge down round the pillars from the two main entrances. As one would imagine, these crowd scenes were splendidly handled by Guthrie aided by the clever costuming of his designer. This costuming, by contrasting the brilliant coronation robe of Richard with the predominantly greys and blacks of the other characters, made Guinness's job easier, and gave Guthrie a splendid focal point.

But there were quieter moments too. None the less surely handled and controlled by the director, they intensified the ritualistic aspect of a play that is written around the scapegoat Devil-King. Thus the stealthy circling of the Lady Anne and Richard round the bier of the dead Henry, the stylized cursings and frenzies of the four queens, and the clustering of the ghosts round Richard on the battle-eve pointed the play to its conclusion with inexorable dramatic logic.

Richard, as played by Guinness, was a mocking, earthy, rather light-weight sneerer to begin with—an interpretation that suited the creator of such diverse comic roles as we have seen him in on the films. But the interpretation was perhaps more suited to him than to the play, for it left a great deal to do in the last two acts in order to achieve the ritualistic tragedy of the final scene.

All told, though, the play was very successful. It had life and color and zest and exuberance. If it was sometimes too consciously theatrical in its tricks, yet it proved the resources of the new theater as nothing else could.

All's Well That Ends Well was a triumph. To begin with, Irene Worth, who made such a name for herself as Celia in Eliot's *The Cocktail Party*, was superb as Helena, turning the nasty business of her amorous pursuit into a sweetly logical wifely manoeuvre. Then Donald Harron managed to create a not impossible Bertram, which is no mean feat. Guinness played a polished King of France in a quilted dressing gown from a wheel-chair (the stage was fitted with a ramp from the back level to accommodate this); and Eleanor Stuart created a remarkably well spoken and poised Countess of Rousillon.

The modesty and grace of these scenes was in violent contrast with the low comedy of Parolles and his companions. Since they were all dressed in khaki drill uniforms with black berets, the fun became somehow topical, and Parolles himself, with a military moustache of the worst handlebar kind, became a modern company-commander's nightmare.

Here in this play again was the splendid conjunction of designer and director. The costuming of the court scenes was a delight to the eye, and immediately dispelled the idea that this was a "dark comedy." The vivacious Helena, when choosing her husband, stood out in white against a group of dresses varying from tangerine through beige and grey to purple; and finally triumphed in a gown of yellow—bright and clear.

The military tunics and diplomatic uniforms of the men at the court made them more real than they might have been, and the whole concept of a modern *All's Well* was given credence, and reacted powerfully on the audience. This was creative production at its best.

Thus the Festival was an artistic success. Financially it paid its way and more, despite the staggering initial cost. Nearly 200,000 people saw the plays, coming from all over the continent, and causing the Festival to be extended a week in order to accommodate the demand. Canadian actors had a chance to play in a first-rate experimental theater, with lavish costuming and production. Canadian audiences at long last could see a play in their own country that was as well done as it could be anywhere in the theatrical world. But apart from the intangibles (and they are many) the great thing is that Guthrie is coming back next year, and the amphitheater and stage are permanent. In other words, the Stratford Shakespearean Festival of Canada has become the Annual Stratford Shakespearean Festival of Canada. This fact may be as momentous for Canada as the founding of the Old Vic was for England, or the Abbey Theatre for Dublin.

*Queen's University,
Kingston, Ontario.*

Current Theater Notes

This third annual list of Shakespeare performances in professional, community, and college theaters has been compiled as before from news reports and from questionnaires answered by many correspondents in this country and in others. Their help is greatly appreciated, and though completeness is a vain desire, particularly abroad, it is hoped that the report can be made fuller from year to year. Correspondents should address Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, 61 Broadway, New York City.

The list speaks for itself but the facts merit a summary, together with an indication of trends, and a mention of certain events which have been outstanding.

It is apparent in this country that college performances of Shakespeare plays are not only maintaining but are increasing their popularity. The tendency noted last year of relating the production to a larger study of Shakespeare is even more pronounced. It is sometimes reported that the college class, or in some cases the entire student body, has read the play and the production has been a co-operative effort. In many places the performance of one or more plays has been a feature in a Shakespeare Festival which combines other events such as lectures, round table discussions, exhibits, concerts of Elizabethan music, and presentation of films and recordings. Institutions which inaugurated Festivals a few years ago, such as Miami University and Hofstra College, continue them with enthusiasm, and other colleges are initiating them, such as Taylor University.

Certain colleges are remarkably active in Shakespearian production, the most conspicuous being Catholic University. This year *Julius Caesar* was given in Washington, and a graduate repertory group, Players Incorporated, made a tour of *Love's Labour's Lost* through twenty-six western states, later taking the play on a six week tour of Japan and Korea. Also under the sponsorship of Players Incorporated are two summer theaters in which Shakespeare is often part of the repertory.

American colleges continue to show keen interest in two contrasting types of staging. The first is a studied approximation of sixteenth-century method, which often involves an "Elizabethan" stage and frequently the use of an uncut text. The second interest is in experimental production which in many instances calls for a periodless, open stage, a cut script, and rearranged order of scenes, and a modern, psychological interpretation of the characters. An extreme example of this free approach was a production of *The Tempest* concerning which the correspondent reported "everything was original except the text." One of the most successful of the experimental productions was that of *Othello* given at Baylor University. The director was inspired "by the ideas found in modern painting" and by "the belief that a stage is an empty, free space, in which the artists and technicians of the theater may trace the forms, shapes, and rhythms which best express the idea of the playwright." The

audience sat on swivel chairs and turned to follow the action on five surrounding stages. The parts were multiple, three Othellos, Desdemonas, and Iagos, each actor reading lines to illustrate certain facets of character. This production excited considerable interest and achieved the happy end of realizing funds for a new theater annex.

There have been several instances of productions given with a financial aim in view, among them those of the Antioch Area Theatre which has this summer come nearer its goal of raising money for a permanent building. The Antioch Shakespeare Festival was outstanding among the several fine summer festivals which have become established in this country. Now in its second season, this theater presented the Greek and Roman cycle. Antioch has a long tradition as a pioneer in Shakespeare; according to an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* for July 1872 by Professor James K. Hosmer, it was the first American college to include dramatics in its program.

The financial note that "Shakespeare has done stranger things than build a new building" is also found in the much discussed but slow-moving project of the Connecticut Shakespeare Festival and Academy. In an effort to raise money for this planned theater an entertainment was devised, entitled "An Evening with Will Shakespeare." The venture was guided by Margaret Webster, who directed a number of Shakespeare veterans and celebrities in scene readings. The presentation was given without sets or costumes. It toured with success in several cities along the eastern seaboard.

Another interesting development in connection with the Connecticut Festival Theatre has been the forming of Young Vic U.S.A., a group of American actors who have been trained at the Old Vic. They have currently been sponsored by the Theatre Guild programs of Shakespeare selections in Connecticut high schools and reportedly will form the nucleus of the Shakespearian company when it is established.

There has not been much Shakespeare production in American little theaters, though an exception should be mentioned, the Cleveland Playhouse, which produced *Othello* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The latter was a traditional presentation for the pleasure of school children in northeastern Ohio, the fourteenth annual play given for them.

In England the contrasting strength of the little theater productions is notable, also the increasing custom of travelling a small or large circuit. A remarkable instance of the mobile theater is the Century company which last autumn began its tour of *Othello* and still continues. The company has four specially designed trailers which contain the fabric of the auditorium, a thirty-foot stage, modern dressing rooms, living quarters, and office.

In New York City there were a few professional productions of Shakespeare during the year but none of distinction. This was in contrast to London, where usual strength was given added impetus by the celebration of the Coronation. There was a fine production of *Richard II*, a brilliant *Henry VIII* by the Old Vic, an ambitious repertory program by Donald Wolfit's company, and specially sponsored Coronation productions of *Hamlet* and *Twelfth Night* at the Embassy Theatre. As well, there was the repertory season of the Robert Atkins' company, which gave outdoor performances in Regent's Park, unfortunately this year contending with some of the worst weather since the begin-

ning of the project. The Mermaid Theatre added its contribution with *As You Like It* and *Macbeth*; the charm of these productions was considerably enhanced by the unusual stage on which they were given. For the Coronation season Bernard Miles' designers transformed the Piazza of the Royal Exchange into an Elizabethan theater, not any particular one, but representative of the gorgeous playing places of that day. The actors performed beneath a sky blue ceiling, treading a rush strewn stage. The adaptation of the Royal Exchange made it the first theater to function in the City of London for more than two hundred years, an event marked by considerable attention, including a special license issued by the Lord Mayor. The season was successful in attracting some seventy thousand spectators.

In Stratford at Coronation time it was a practical impossibility to buy a ticket for any performance, and throughout the season seats have been difficult to obtain. Enormous and well deserved popularity is the obvious reason, for it is reported that this year's plays, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *King Lear* have been attended by over three hundred and fifty thousand playgoers. The Stratford travelling company has also been greeted by overwhelming crowds during the nine-months tour of *Othello*, *As You Like It*, and *Henry IV, Part I*, in Australia and New Zealand. Anthony Quayle, according to a news comment "has been received like Caesar."

Both Stratford and the Old Vic have world wide influence. They travel extensively, their productions are brilliant, and their interest in the plays all embracing. One of the plans of the Old Vic is to give within five years the thirty-six plays in the First Folio. This project has caused an eminent American critic to remark with admiration and chagrin that "for a number of reasons both artistic and economic such a program could never be mastered here."

The Old Vic has shown interest in Festival productions. The importance of these has grown yearly as travel has eased and as the enthusiasm of the planners has been rewarded by large and responsive audiences. The Old Vic *Hamlet* and Le Théâtre National Populaire *Richard II* were well received at the Edinburgh Festival. The Bristol Old Vic *Henry V*, Le Grenier de Toulouse *Taming of the Shrew*, the Schauspielhaus *Measure for Measure*, and the Compagnia Goldoniana Cesco Basseggio *Merchant of Venice* were the plays chosen by the Zurich Festival series, "Shakespeare in Four Languages," a program so popular that it has become an annual custom. The Netherlands Festival included a fine production of *The Tempest*, and the Stockholm Festival gave a most unusual presentation of *Romeo and Juliet*.

On the negative side there was no Elsinore *Hamlet* given this summer in the time honored and celebrated setting, but there were performances of this and other plays given in places which had the enchantment of antiquity, to name but two: *Hamlet* in the ancient fortress in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, and *Macbeth* in historic Fort Catherine, Bermuda.

There were extensive tours besides those already mentioned. The National Theatre of South Africa, through most of the year, travelled with *Twelfth Night* to the principal cities of South Africa; Geoffrey Kendal's Shakespeareana Company, with a repertory of seven plays, toured Malta, Italy, Holland, and India. The Centre Dramatique de l'Est toured France and Switzerland under

the direction of Michel Saint-Denis, who it is significant to note has recently organized the first international School of Dramatic Art in Strasbourg.

There have also been interesting single productions by travelling companies. Gielgud's *Richard II* was given in the newly constructed theater in Bulawayo for the Central African Rhodes Centenary. The Oxford University Dramatic Society presented *Troilus and Cressida* in Paris to celebrate the opening of the Shakespeare Garden in the Bois de Boulogne.

The most discussed Shakespearian event on this side of the Atlantic has been the Canadian Festival in Stratford, Ontario. This project was the realization of a dream long held by Thomas Patterson, a Stratford newspaper man. It was launched, after strenuous efforts on his part, by the help of certain Canadian firms and by the enthusiastic participation of Tyrone Guthrie and Alec Guinness. At first it was thought that *Hamlet* and another well known play would be given, but then it was decided to try two comparatively unfamiliar plays to test the drawing capacity of the enterprise. *Richard III* and *All's Well that Ends Well* were selected. The plays were given on an apron stage combining "the best features of the Grecian, Roman, and Elizabethan, a completely new idea based on scholarly study." The theater was a tent seating approximately fifteen hundred spectators. The venture was so thoroughly successful that, as a final note, it can be said with some confidence that a new annual Shakespeare Festival has been added to this list.

All's Well That Ends Well

July 13-August 22, 1953. Given alternate nights with *King Richard III* at the Canadian Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Ontario. Alec Guinness as the King of France, Irene Worth as Helena, supporting cast of leading Canadian actors and actresses. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie. Stage design and costumes by Tanya Moiseiwitsch.

Antony and Cleopatra

Opened April 28, 1953, in the repertory of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Michael Redgrave as Antony, Peggy Ashcroft as Cleopatra, their first interpretations of these parts. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw, costumes by Motley, incidental music by Antony Hopkins.

Added to the repertory of eight Shakespearian plays at the Burgtheater, the National Playhouse, Vienna.

August 12, 14, 15, 16, 23, 30, September 6. One of the plays in the Greek and Roman cycle at the second annual Shakespeare Festival, Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Meredith Dallas as Antony, Dorothy Laming as Cleopatra. Directed by Arthur Lithgow. Design of the outdoor stage, on which all the plays of the cycle were produced, by Budd Steinhilber.

As You Like It

Opened December 2, 1952 for a week at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. This play was taken later in December, with *Henry IV* and *Othello*, on the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Tour of Australia and New Zealand, a thirty-seven-week tour, opening at His Majesty's Theatre, Auckland, February 2, 1953. This play was a revival of Glen Byam Shaw's production given at Stratford-upon-Avon in the summer season of 1952, but had an almost completely different cast. Barbara Jefford as Rosalind, the young Australian actor Keith Michell as Orlando, Anthony Quayle as Jaques. Directed by Anthony Quayle, scene design and costumes by Motley, music by Clifton Parker.

December 3-7. The Equity Library Theatre, Lenox Hill Playhouse, New York City. Sefton Darr as Rosalind, Robert Blackburn as Orlando, Charles Randall as Jaques. Directed by Gerald Freedman. Stage design by David Ballou, costumes by Pat Zipprodt. Director's budget thirty dollars. Six free performance for the public. Professional actors worked for no salary.

February 6-21, 1953. The Advance Players Association, at the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, London. Rosalind Iden as Rosalind, Peter Rendall as Orlando, John Wynyard as Jaques, Donald Wolfitt as Touchstone. Directed by Donald Wolfitt. Setting of screens designed by Ernst Stern. This play and the six other classics produced later in the season by the Donald Wolfitt Company were revived in May and June in a repertory "to give visitors to London an opportunity of seeing as many of these plays as possible within a limited period". Also given September 30, October 8, 9, 10 and 28. David Oxley as Orlando, John Mayes as Jaques, others as above.

February 24-27, and on tour March 18-20. The University Theatre, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. Marge Manderson as Rosalind, Lucas Delmouzos as Orlando, Jeffery Dench as Touchstone. Directed by James W. Andrews. Stage design and costumes by Paul A. Camp, music by Alexander Main. "This play was produced during International Theatre Month, it featured five foreign exchange students in the cast, and was given on an Elizabethan stage especially constructed to tour."

March 2. The Maskrafters of Georgetown College, at the Guignol Theatre, University of Kentucky. One of the four plays given in a Shakespeare Festival to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Guignol Theatre. Irma Jo Litton as Rosalind, David Nordling as Orlando, Rick Newell as Touchstone, Dr. George W. Redding as Jaques. Directed by Rena Calhoun and Orlin Corey. A two-level composite set was used for the four plays given in this Shakespeare Festival.

March. The Trumbull New Theatre, Warren, Ohio. Produced for International Theatre Month. Fran Gallagher as Rosalind, Don O'Dell as Orlando. Directed by Mrs. Stephen J. Gmuc, scene design by Mary Jacobs, costumes by Carolyn Brown. "One basic set, scenes defined by lighting changes."

April. In the Open Air Theatre, Rhodes Park, Johannesburg. Directed by Miss T. Kushlick. May 1, 2, 3. Loretto Players, Webster Groves, Missouri. Ann Chartrand as Rosalind, Drucella Smith as Orlando, Anne Quinn as Celia. Directed by Harry R. McClain. This play was the thirty-fifth annual Shakespearean production by an all women cast. Many of the five hundred graduates who played in one or more Shakespeare plays in their undergraduate days were present. *As You Like It*, was the first Shakespeare play ever given at the college.

Opened May 4. One of the plays in the Mermaid Theatre Coronation season, which ran until July 25, at the Royal Exchange, London. Given twice nightly, at 6 p.m. and 8:40 p.m. and with two matinees a week. Josephine Wilson as Rosalind, Gordon Whiting as Orlando, Michael Gartred as Jaques. Directed by Bernard Miles. The Mermaid stage was designed by Michael Stringer and C. Walter Hodges.

May 16. The Hovenden Players, in the yard of the George Inn, Southwark, London. Directed by Valery Hovenden.

July 20-August 1. Earle Grey Players, Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. One of the plays given in the fifth annual Open Air Festival. Mary Godwin as Rosalind, Earl Grey as Jaques.

July 22, 24, 25. Clovers' Open Air Theatre, Tenby, Pembroke, England. Cast comprised of amateurs from Tenby and environs. Directed by Jessie Allen.

Opened September 7. The Nottingham Playhouse, Nottingham, England. Daphne Slater as Rosalind, Jeremy Burnham as Orlando. Directed by John Harrison.

Opened September 19. Nationaltheatret, Oslo, Norway. Helen Brinchmann as Rosalind, Jørn Ording as Orlando. Directed by Knut Hergel.

The Comedy of Errors

November 19, 20, 1952. Kansas State Players, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas. Richard Thomas as Antipholus of Syracuse, Laurence Evans as Dromio of Syracuse. Directed by Earl G. Hoover. Donald F. Hermes designed the set, a stylized unit of various levels.

November 20, 21. Speech Department, Taylor University, Upland, Indiana. Paul Scott and Rex Gearhart as Antipholus of Ephesus and Syracuse, Ronald Townsend and Donald Sprunger as Dromio of Ephesus and Syracuse. Directed by Elsa L. Buckner. Stage design by Roderick Leitch, costumes by Mary Dahl, music by Mary Lee Wilson. Production sponsored by the Dramatic Arts Class. A Shakespeare play and Festival is to become an annual event.

February 13, 14, 1953. The Curtain Club, at the Chanticleer Theatre, London.

April 23-25, June 6, 7. Kenyon College Dramatic Club, Gambier, Ohio. Directed by J. E. Michael. Stage design by Jack Brown, costumes by Ruth Scudder. This was "A comic-strip, modern dress production."

May 3. The Cockpit Theatre Club, at the Portcullis, London. Michael Allinson and Timothy Forbes Adam at Antipholus of Ephesus and Syracuse, Neville Phillips and Robert Gillespie as Dromio of Ephesus and Syracuse. The cast was made up of young professionals. Directed by Ann Jellicoe. An open stage production.

May 18-July 31. The Taverners, Poetry and Plays in Pubs, toured the Broadland Inns of Norfolk. Their open air performances included two visits to Norwich. Directed by Henry McCarthy. July 28-August 1. One of the two plays in the Shakespeare Festival given by the Camden Hills Theatre, Camden, Maine. For both *The Comedy of Errors* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* the cast was made up of college undergraduate and graduate students. Directed by Kenneth Rucinski. A summer drama school is operated in connection with the Camden Hills Theatre. Herschel L. Bricker is the supervising director.

Coriolanus

February 19, 1953. Provincetown Playhouse, New York City. Nathan Segal as Coriolanus, Mimi Randolph as Volumnia. Directed by John F. Grahame. The acting edition of the play was prepared by Professor Elizabeth P. Stein of Hunter College, New York City.

April 23-25. Wesleyan Players, Delaware, Ohio. David Huit as Coriolanus, Patricia Kelley as Volumnia. Directed by R. C. Hunter. Stage design by D. C. Eyssen.

July 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 19, 31, August 18, 23, September 1. One of the plays in the Greek and Roman cycle at the second annual Shakespeare Festival, Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. David Hooks as Coriolanus, Mary Morris as Volumnia. Directed by Meredith Dallas. Stage design by Budd Steinhilber.

August 1, 5, 10, 14, 18, 22, 27. One of the plays in the thirteenth annual Shakespeare Festival at Ashland, Oregon. Richard Graham as Coriolanus, Margery Bailey as Volumnia. Directed by Allen Fletcher. Stage design by Richard Hay and William Patton. Costumes by Paul Reinhardt, music by Bernard Windt.

Cymbeline

Winter, 1953. The Josefstadt, Vienna, Austria. Reinhardt's old theater.

April 21-25. Drama Department, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. James Alexander as Cymbeline. Directed by B. Iden Payne. Set by Joseph E. Johnston, costumes by Lucy Barton, music by Clifton Williams. Modified Elizabethan staging. "Music based on Roman modal forms interpreted as it would probably have been in Shakespeare's time."

Hamlet

August 13, 1952. National Theater, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. Veyko Maricick as Hamlet. Directed by Marko Fotez. Stage design by Mise Racic, costumes by Milica Babic-Jovanovic, music by Kresimir Baranovic, translation (Serbo-Croat) by Milan Bogdanovic.

November 24-December 13. Theatre '52, Dallas, Texas. John Munson as Hamlet, Norma Winters as Gertrude, Edward Whitner as Polonius. Directed by Ramsey Burch. Stage design by James Pringle, costumes by Dale Clement. An arena production. Text cut and edited by John H. McGinnis and Dr. Henry Nash Smith.

Autumn, 1952. Teatro Valle, Rome.

February 16, 1953. Eton College, England. Directed by B. W. M. Young.

February 16-21. Department of Drama, Ithaca College, New York. Robert Moss as Hamlet, Joyce Miles as Ophelia, Bert DeRose as Polonius. Directed by Eugene R. Wood. Stage design by George Hoerner. Original music was composed for the production by two students in the music department, Ray Lowery and Eugene McMahon.

March 7, for two weeks. Donald Hodson Company, Skipton, Yorkshire, England. Allen Seymour as Hamlet, Donal Hodson as Claudius, Mary Clarke as Gertrude, Pearl Cynthia as Ophelia, John Porteus as Polonius. Directed by Donal Hodson.

March 20, 21, 26, 27, 28. Wayne University Theatre, Detroit, Michigan. Sheldon Slavin as Hamlet, Mary Brownlee as Ophelia, Anthony Majeski as Claudius. Directed by Leonard Leone. Stage design by James Thompson, costumes by James Essen. Seats were removed from the orchestra and a permanent set was constructed with a twenty-foot apron extending into the auditorium. An original score of incidental music was composed by Frank Gill. It was played by the University orchestra under the direction of Valter Poole. The text was prepared by Leo Kirschbaum.

In April for thirty days. Public schoolboys from Haileybury College toured France and Germany, playing in Paris, Nancy, Strasbourg, Mulhouse, Freiburg, Konstanz, Ulm, Heidenheim, Stuttgart and Esslingen. Beverley Woodroffe as Hamlet. Directed by E. C. Mathews. Theaters

ranged from municipal theaters to church halls, but, in every place except Paris, there was a full house, varying from seventeen hundred to four hundred.

Opened May 26. The Embassy Theatre, London. Laurence Payne as Hamlet, Pamela Alan as Gertrude, George Coulouris as Claudius, Christine Finn as Ophelia, Milton Rosmer as Polonius. Directed by Renée Soskin. The production was assisted by the Hampstead Borough Council's grant as part of the Coronation celebrations.

June to September. In the second summer Festival, in the Open Air Theater, an old fortress, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia.

June 13-22. Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by Lionel Dunn. Production on an apron stage. One interval only.

August. During the first two weeks of the Edinburgh Festival. Given on the apron stage of the Assembly Hall. The first of the Old Vic series of First Folio productions. Richard Burton as Hamlet, Claire Bloom as Ophelia, Fay Compton as Gertrude, Laurence Hardy as Claudius, Michael Hordern as Polonius. Directed by Michael Benthall. Opened at the Old Vic, London, September 14.

Opened September 2. Det Nye Teater, Oslo, Norway. Espen Skjønberg as Hamlet. Directed by Alfred Solaas. A portrayal of Hamlet as a very young man.

September 7-19. Hutchinson Summer Theatre, Raymond, New Hampshire. Louis Beachner as Hamlet, Mary Hutchinson as Ophelia. Directed by Denis Gurney and Mary Hutchinson.

Opened October 3. Den Nationale Scene, Bergen, Norway. Georg Løkkeberg as Hamlet. Directed by Ingolf Schanche.

In the season's repertory of the Hungarian National Theatre, Budapest.

A season in London and a tour of the provinces. The American Negro Theatre Guild. Fredrick O'Neal as Hamlet. Directed by Bernard Delfont.

One of the plays given by the Geoffrey Kendal Company on its international tour of Malta, Italy, Holland, India. "This is a non-subsidized company and completely mobile."

Compagnia Gasmann Proclerem Zareschi. Italy. Directed by Vittorio Gassmann and Luigi Squarzina.

Julius Caesar

September 25, 1952. Teatro del Pueblo, Buenos Aires, Argentina, South America. Raul de Lange as Caesar. An experiment in monologue form.

November 18. Oxford University Experimental Theatre Club, Oxford, England. Michael Pimbury as Caesar, Patrick Dromgoole as Antony. Directed by Patrick Dromgoole. An experimental production which presented the characters in varying degrees of moral and spiritual corruption.

Late November, for a week. In Perth, Scotland, afterwards taken to Kirkcaldy. Antony Groser as Brutus, David Steuart as Antony, Peter Collingwood as Cassius, Wilfred Bentley as Caesar. Directed by Edmund Bailey. Stage design by Eric Briers, costumes by Frances Hickey.

December 1. The Repertory Theatre Company, Royalty Theatre, Morecambe, England. Colin Pinney as Caesar, Robert Stevens as Brutus, Peter Thorpe as Cassius, Peter Wyatt as Antony. Directed by Mervyn R. Pinfield. Stage design by Barry Vaughan.

Week of January 26, 1953. The First Folio Theatre Company was engaged by the London City Council to give performances at eight secondary schools in London.

February 11-14. Vanderbilt University Theatre, Nashville, Tennessee. Toby Sides as Brutus, Donald Little as Cassius, Erwin Jones as Antony. Directed by Joseph E. Wright. Stage design by Robert E. Jones.

February 14, 15. Eton College, England. Directed by R. J. G. Payne, C. J. F. Trott, and N. J. Monck. The costumes were a mixture of period and modern.

February 24, for five weeks. The Old Vic Company, London. Douglas Campbell as Julius and Octavius Caesar, William Devlin as Brutus, Paul Rogers as Cassius, Robin Bailey as Antony. Directed by Hugh Hunt. Stage design by Tanya Moiseiwitch, costumes by Alan Tagg.

March 5, 6, 7. Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. Donald McGrew as Brutus, Phillip Angeloff as Cassius, Robert Kadanec as Antony. Directed by Delmar E. Solem. Stage design by Dean N. Currie, costumes by Helen W. Currie.

March 11-28. Honolulu Community Theatre, Honolulu, Hawaii. Raymond Tan as Caesar, Lt. Edward Fernandez as Brutus, Dan Taba as Cassius. Directed by Edward Mangum. Stage design by Frank Haines, costumes by Frances Ellison. "The cast, though American, was com-

posed of these racial backgrounds: Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Hawaiian, Negro, various Caucasian."

March 13 for two weeks. Catholic University, Washington, D.C. Production in observance of International Theatre Month, a project of Unesco and the Department of State. Terry Spencer as Caesar, Bill Graham as Brutus, Tom Carlin as Cassius, Dick Sykes as Antony. Directed by Leo Brady. Stage design by James Waring, costumes by Joseph Lewis.

April 13-18. University Theatre, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. Joseph Catmull as Brutus. Directed by C. Lowell Lees. Stage design by Vern Adix, costumes by Wyn Bowers. "It is a yearly custom of this theatre to give a Shakespeare play, which is usually seen by ten thousand people, high school students coming from hundreds of miles away, sometimes traveling as much as six hours by bus."

Opened June 29. The Elizabethan Theatre Company, at the Westminster Theatre, London. Directed by Michael MacOwan. The company came to London after appearing at the St. Ives and Dartington Festivals. Multiple casting, some actors playing as many as five parts.

Spring season. Berlin.

August 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 22, 29, September 5. One of the plays given in the Greek and Roman cycle at the second annual Shakespeare Festival, Antioch Area Theater, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Carl Jacobs as Caesar, Arthur Lithgow as Brutus, Ellis Rabb as Cassius, Meredith Dallas as Antony. Directed by David Hooks. Stage design by Budd Steinhilber.

October 21-24. The Southsea Actors, St. Peter's Hall, Southsea, England. Directed by K. Edmonds Gateley. "The play was presented in Roman costume, and staged with Elizabethan continuity in two Craig-type sets. Particular stress on various colors in lighting."

One of the plays given by the Geoffrey Kendal Company on its international tour.

King Henry IV, Part I

December 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1952. University Theatre, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. Gerald Smith as Henry IV, Dennis Vernon as Prince Hal, Gordon Howard as Falstaff. Directed by Otilie Seybolt. Stage design by Howard L. Ramey, costumes by Jeanne Gottfredson.

December 9 for a week. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. This play was later taken on the Company's tour to Australia and New Zealand. Jack Gwillim as Henry IV, Terence Longdon as Prince Hal, Anthony Quayle as Falstaff, Keith Michel as Hotspur. Directed by Anthony Quayle, assisted by Raymond Westwell.

Opened December 11. National Theater, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Rasa Plavovic as Henry IV, Miroslav Petrovic as Prince Hal, L. Jovanovic as Falstaff. Directed by Branko Gavella. Stage design by Stasa Belozanski, costumes by Milica Babic-Jovanovic, music by Kresimir Baranovic. Translation (Serbo-Croat) by Zivojin Simic and Sima Pandurovic.

January 9, 10, 12-18, 1953. University Theatre, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Paul Peterson as Henry IV, Richard Halverson as Prince Hal, Philip Smith as Falstaff. Directed by Kenneth L. Graham. Stage design by Leo Hartig, costumes by Robert Moulton, music by Lothar Klein. "The set was a modern adaptation of the Elizabethan style."

March 2. Theatre Workshop, London, England.

March 14-April 18. Given with *Henry IV, Part II*. Department of Drama, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. John Bracchitta as Henry IV, William Ball as Prince Hal, John Dodson as Falstaff. Directed by Henry Boettcher. Stage design by James Bravar, costumes by Constance Ross, music by Robert Bernat.

Opened September 14. The Advance Players Association, the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, London, Douglas Quayle as Henry IV, Tom Cridle as Prince Hal, Donald Wolfitt as Falstaff. Direction and stage design by Donald Wolfitt.

King Henry IV, Part II

Opened December 15, 1952. National Theater, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Alternating with *Part I*. See entry and casting for *Henry I, Part I*.

March 14-April 18, 1953. Given with *Henry IV, Part I*. Department of Drama, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Credits as before with exception of Dan Levin as Prince Hal and Gerald Terheyden as Falstaff.

King Henry V

November 3, 1952. The Oxford and Cambridge Players, the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by John Barton.

February 23-March 7, 1953. Guildford Repertory Theatre, Guildford, England. Laurence

Payne as Henry V, Nicholas Amer as the Dauphin, Paul Daneman as the Chorus, Julie Somers as Katherine. Directed by Roger Winton. Stage design by Jefferson Strong. A simplified setting, considerable use of music and fanfares.

June 2-20. The Bristol Old Vic Company, the Royal, Bristol, England. John Neville as Henry V, Lee Montague as the Dauphin, Patrick McGeehan as the Chorus, Maureen Quinney as Katherine. Directed by Denis Carey. Stage design by Patrick Robertson. When the Bristol run was completed the company went to Zurich where the production opened at the Playhouse on June 24, as one of the four Shakespearian plays in an International Drama Festival, "Shakespeare in Four Languages." The company returned to London and opened at the Old Vic on June 30 for a run of two weeks. Duplicate sets of scenery were made because of the time element.

May 11. At the Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury, the London Mask Theatre, in association with the trustees of Dartington Hall, presented the Elizabethan Theatre Company production. Colin George as Henry V, Michael David as the Dauphin, Toby Robertson as the Chorus, Bernadette Sorel as Katherine. Directed by John Barton. Set and costumes designed by Reece Pemberton. This was the first production of this company, which later toured, and then came to London for a brief engagement. "No attempt was made at elaborate settings. The properties comprised rough wooden balconies, a throne and a few draperies. Seventeen actors took thirty-nine parts."

King Henry VI

Part I for three weeks beginning June 9, 1953; *Part II* for three days from June 29; *Part III* for three days from July 2. The Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, England. All three Parts given in repertory for a week beginning July 6. The company then staged the trilogy in repertory at the Old Vic in London for three weeks, beginning July 13. Jack May as Henry VI, Rosalind Boxall as Margaret, Edgar Wreford as Gloucester, John Arnatt as Richard. Directed by Douglas Seale. Stage design by Finlay James. The plays were edited by Sir Barry Jackson who regarded this trilogy production as the Birmingham Repertory Theatre's greatest venture in the forty years of its existence.

August 3, 7, 12, 16, 20, 25, 29. *Henry VI, Part I* was one of the plays in the thirteenth annual Shakespeare Festival at Ashland, Oregon. Philip Hanson as Talbot, Carolyn Sedey as La Pucelle, Knox Fowler as York. Directed by James Sandoe. Stage design by Richard Hay and William Patton. Costumes by Paul Reinhardt, music by Bernard Windt.

King Henry VIII

Opened May 6, 1953, for eight weeks. The Old Vic, London. After this engagement, a tour for five weeks, visiting Newcastle, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Oxford. Paul Rogers as Henry VIII, Alexander Knox as Wolsey, Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies as Katherine, Leo Genn as Buckingham. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie. Stage design and costumes by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, incidental music by Cedric Thorpe Davie. The most elaborate production staged at the Old Vic since its reopening in 1950. The play had not been produced there since 1929.

King John

January 23, 1953. The Shakespeare Players, Theatre of the City Institute, London.

King Lear

Opened February 23, 1953. In repertory that month as well as in March, and in the later season in May and June; also given in October. The Advance Players Association, the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, London. Donald Wolfit as King Lear, Rosalind Iden as Cordelia. Directed by Nugent Monck.

February 25, 26, 28. The Guignol Theatre of the University of Kentucky. One of the four plays given in a Shakespeare Festival to celebrate this theater's twenty-fifth anniversary. William F. Nave as King Lear, Mary Lewis Patterson as Cordelia. Directed by Wallace N. Briggs. Played with one intermission.

March 24-28. Pomona and Scripps Drama Productions, Claremont, California. Lindsay Workman as King Lear. Directed by Virginia P. Allen. Stage design by Stan Cornyn. Given at the third annual Shakespeare Festival, April 13-18, the Ring Theatre, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. Sam Hirsch as King Lear. Directed by Sam Hirsch. Stage design by Gordon Bennett. A production in the round, a single arena setting. "The Festival theater conference covered such problems as arena theater architecture, playwrighting, play selection, arena directing, scenery and decor. Outstanding leaders and specialists in the field of the arena theater participated in panel discussions, talks, and demonstrations."

Opened July 14, the last production in the season's repertory at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Michael Redgrave as King Lear, his first interpretation of the part. Yvonne Mitchell as Cordelia, Noel Howlett as Gloucester. Directed by George Devine. Stage design by Robert Colquhoun, music by John Gardner. It is planned to take this production to Paris in January of 1954.

August 17. At the Minack Cliff Theatre, Porthcurnow, England. Ardingley College Players. This miniature Greek theater is dramatically situated, its shelf-like stage is hewn out of the cliff face, open sea and sky the natural backdrop.

King Richard II

Opened December 24, 1952. The Lyric, Hammersmith, London. Paul Scofield as King Richard. Henry Lomas as John of Gaunt, Joy Parker as the Queen. Produced by John Gielgud. Directed by Peter Cotes. Stage design by Anthony Waller.

February 4-7, 1953. St. Peter's Hall, Southsea, England. The Southsea Actors. K. Edmonds Gateley as King Richard. John Gardener as John of Gaunt, Diana Robson as the Queen. Directed by K. Edmonds Gateley. The play was performed on a permanent set with no front curtain. "The Southsea Actors are a wholly non-professional group."

May 30-August 29. In the magnificent, newly constructed Royal Theatre, in Bulawayo, for the Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition. Most of the cast from the recent Gielgud production in Hammersmith. John Gielgud as King Richard.

July. In the Courtyard of Honour of the Popes at Avignon. Jean Vilar's Théâtre National Populaire, as part of the seventh Drama Festival. Jean Vilar as King Richard. Directed by Jean Vilar. French text by Jean Curtis. This company later gave two performances of the play during the third week of the Edinburgh Drama Festival, also performances in London and in Berlin.

August 19, 20, 21, 22. The Playhouse, Eagles Mere, Pennsylvania. Robert Rietz as King Richard, Norman Larsen as John of Gaunt, Norma Leanza as the Queen. Directed by Alvina Krause. Stage design by Fred Posner. A unit set, action moved swiftly.

Summer. Tavistock Repertory Company, Islington, England.

King Richard III

March 3-7, 1953. Oxford University Dramatic Society, Oxford, England. John Wood as King Richard, Mary Savidge as Queen Margaret, Catherine Dove as Queen Elizabeth. Directed by John Wood and David Thompson. Stage design by Michael Richardson and Deirdre Reid, costumes by Jane Field, music by John Veale. "The play was presented in its original terms, those of the Elizabethan attitude to the history of the period. Thus to a certain extent it is a morality (Richard as Antichrist, Richmond as God's Captain). Set and costumes symbolic of this."

March 11, 12, 13, 14. Howard Players, Howard University, Washington, D.C. Given to celebrate International Theatre Month. James W. Butcher as King Richard, Edward Hall as Buckingham, Mary Nelson as Queen Margaret. Directed by Owen Dodson. Stage design by Kermit Keith. Original score by Mark Fax.

Opened March 24 at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Marius Goring as King Richards, Harry Andrews as Buckingham, Joan Sanderson as Queen Margaret. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw. Stage design and costumes by Motley, incidental music by Leslie Bridge-water. The first time in fourteen years this play has been seen in Stratford.

April 17. At the Walthamstow Educational Settlement Drama School. Directed by Ralph Lesley. The same company on April 15 gave *Othello* as part of the Southwark Shakespeare Festival.

May 14, 15, 16. Drake University Theatre, Des Moines, Iowa. Directed by James J. Fiderlick, Stage design by Charles Lown, costumes by Waunita Taylor Shaw.

July 13-August 22. Given alternate nights with *All's Well that Ends Well* at the Canadian Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Ontario. Alec Guinness as King Richard, Irene Worth as Queen Margaret. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie.

Love's Labour's Lost

September 28, 1952-March 15, 1953. Players Incorporated toured twenty-six states in the west, giving some hundred performances. On March 22 the production was taken to Korea and Japan for six weeks, presenting the comedy to large and enthusiastic audiences, composed in large part by soldiers in the field. Directed by the Rev. G. V. Hartke, O.P., coached by Dr. Josephine McGarry Callan. A unit set by James Waring, costumes by Joseph Lewis.

February 4-15. New York City Drama Company, at the City Center. Kevin McCarthy as Berowne, Joseph Schildkraut as Armado, Philip Bourneuf as Holofernes, Hurd Hatfield as the Curate, Meg Mundy as Rosaline. Directed by Albert Marre. An Edwardian production.

April 16, for six weeks. The Penthouse Theatre, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. Vosco Call as Berowne, Charles Hathaway as Holofernes, Natalie Coffin as Rosaline. Directed by Donal Harrington.

April 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, July 6. One of the plays given at the Southwark Shakespeare Festival, London. Morley College Actors in an open-air production in the courtyard of the George Inn. Harry Hancock as Berowne, William Scott as Holofernes, Kay Hankins as Rosaline. Directed by Rupert Doone. Stage design by Peter Snow.

June 3. The A.D.C. Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by Peter Hall.

Opened June 29. The Open Air Theatre, Regent's Park, London. Brendan Barry as Biron, Jennifer Wilson as the Princess of France, Raymond Rollet as Holofernes. Directed by Hugh Goldie. Costumes in the period of Charles I. This play had not been seen in Regent's Park since 1936.

Reizend Volkstheater, Antwerp, Belgium. Translation-adaptation by Thomas Deckers. Roger Theolen as Biron, Annie de Loenen as the Princess of France. Directed by Riic Jacobs. Design by Frank Van Damme. Music by Marc Wilbrecht.

Macbeth

March 4-7, 1953. University Theatre, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Allen Bales as Macbeth, Patricia Pearson as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Marian Gallaway. Stage design by Gene Wilson.

Opened March 19. The Advance Players Association, at the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, London. Donald Wolfitt as Macbeth, Rosalind Iden as Lady Macbeth. This play was later part of the repertory of classics in May and June, and was given September 28, 29, October 1-7.

April 21-26. The Green Wig, at the Globe Playhouse, Hofstra College, Hempstead, New York. Ian Keith as Macbeth, Theresa Sapinski as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Bernard Beckerman. Stage design by Donald H. Swinney, music by Gerald Humel. In this production the text was virtually uncut. Costumes of the late Elizabethan period. The production was part of the fourth annual Shakespeare Festival, which also featured a symposium of distinguished scholars and critics.

April 24-25. Dramatic Art Department, New York University. Albert Quinton as Macbeth, Marian Primont as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Albert Quinton. Production given on a flat stage.

April 29-May 2. The Blue Masque, Catawba College, Salisbury, North Carolina. J. Oliver Link as Macbeth, Margaret Grant as Lady Macbeth. Directed by B. M. Hobgood. Music by John Fesperman. In this production the witches were conceived "as creations of Macbeth's mind, their scenes were staged with music and light effects, their voices tape recorded with echo chamber. Sound highly important throughout."

May 14, 15, 16, June 9. St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota. Leland Christenson as Macbeth, Evangeline Olson as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Ralph Haugen.

Opened July 1. One of the plays in the Mermaid Theatre Coronation season, at the Royal Exchange, London. Bernard Miles as Macbeth, Josephine Wilson as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Joan Swinstead.

24 August-7 September at the 17th-century Fort Catherine, Bermuda. Charlton Heston as Macbeth, Maureen Stapleton as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Burgess Meredith.

One of the plays given by the Geoffrey Kendal Company on its international tour.

Piccolo Teatro della Città di Roma. Antonio Crast as Macbeth, Evi Maltagliati as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Orazio Costa.

Measure for Measure

February 14-23, 1953. The Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by Lionel Dunn. Apron stage. One interval only.

February 26, 27. Gardner-Webb College, Boiling Springs, North Carolina. J. Y. Hamrick as the Duke, Ray Wesson as Angelo, Betty Bates as Isabella. Directed by Feliz and J. Y. Hamrick. Stage design by Pete Banus.

In the repertory of the Schauspielhaus, Zurich, Switzerland. Also given June 4, 7, 10, 12, 14 as one of the plays, "Shakespeare in Four Languages," at the June Festival in Zurich. Quad-

fieig as Angelo, Föhr-Waldeck as Isabella. Directed by Oskar Waelterlin. Stage design by Theo Otto, music by Rolf Langnese. German translation by Richard Flatter.
Included in the Vienna Festival for 1953, the Volktheater, Vienna, Austria.

The Merchant of Venice

September 29-December 10, 1952. The Barter Theatre, Abingdon, Virginia. Woodrow Romoff as Shylock, Sylvia Short as Portia. Directed by Margaret Perry. Stage design by Mack Statham, costumes by Mell Turner.

October Annual Shakespeare production in the Amersham Theatre repertory, Amersham, England. Lionel Harris as Shylock, Eva Stuart as Portia. Directed by David Gordon.

November 21, 22, 28, 29. Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

January 6, 1953. The Old Vic, London, Paul Rogers as Shylock, Irene Worth as Portia. Directed by Hugh Hunt. Stage design by Roger Furse. Incidental music by Christopher Whelen.

March 4-March 15. The New York City Drama Company, at the City Center. Luther Adler as Shylock, Margaret Phillips as Portia. Directed by Albert Marre. Scene and costume design by Lemuel Ayers.

March 9-18. The Advance Players Association, The King's Theatre, Hammersmith, London. Donald Wolfit as Shylock. This play was later part of the repertory of classics in May and June.

March 17, opening the ninety-fourth season at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Michael Redgrave as Shylock, his first interpretation of the part; Peggy Ashcroft as Portia. Directed by Denis Carey. Settings and costumes designed by Hutchinson Scott, incidental music by Julian Slade.

March 19, 20, 21-26, 27, 28, April 2, 3, 4. Theatre Lobby, Inc., Washington, D.C. Gideon Rosen as Shylock, Muriel Seelye as Portia. Directed by Mary-Averett Seelye.

May 4-May 25. Wilson Barrett Company, the Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, Scotland. Donald Layne-Smith as Shylock, Anne Brooke as Portia. Directed by Richard Mathews. Stage design by William Garrad, costumes by Menie Jamieson.

June 13. One of the plays performed in the series "Shakespeare in Four Languages." Given in Italian, at the June Festival, Zurich, Switzerland. Produced by the Compagnia Goldoniana Cesco Baseggio of Venice. Directed by Carlo Lodovici. Settings by Domenico Gnoli and Mischa Scandella.

June 14. Masque and Gown, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Edward Cogan as Shylock, Nancy McKeen as Portia. Directed by George H. Quinby. "An outdoor production on terrace of the Art Building, the thirtieth Commencement play, twenty-eight of which have been Shakespearean, and this the fourth production of *The Merchant of Venice*."

June 23. The Gateway Theatre Club, London. Gerald Grestock as Shylock, Kely MacLeod as Portia. Directed by Olave March.

August 2, 6, 11, 15, 19, 24, 28, 31. One of the plays in the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Angus Bowmer as Shylock, Joyce Womack as Portia. Directed by Richard Graham. Stage design by Richard Hay and William Patton, costumes by Paul Reinhardt, music by Bernard Windt. Shylock was portrayed "as authentic comic grotesque."

One of the two Shakespeare plays given by the McMaster's English Players in their tour of Australia.

One of the plays given by the Geoffrey Kendal Company on its international tour.

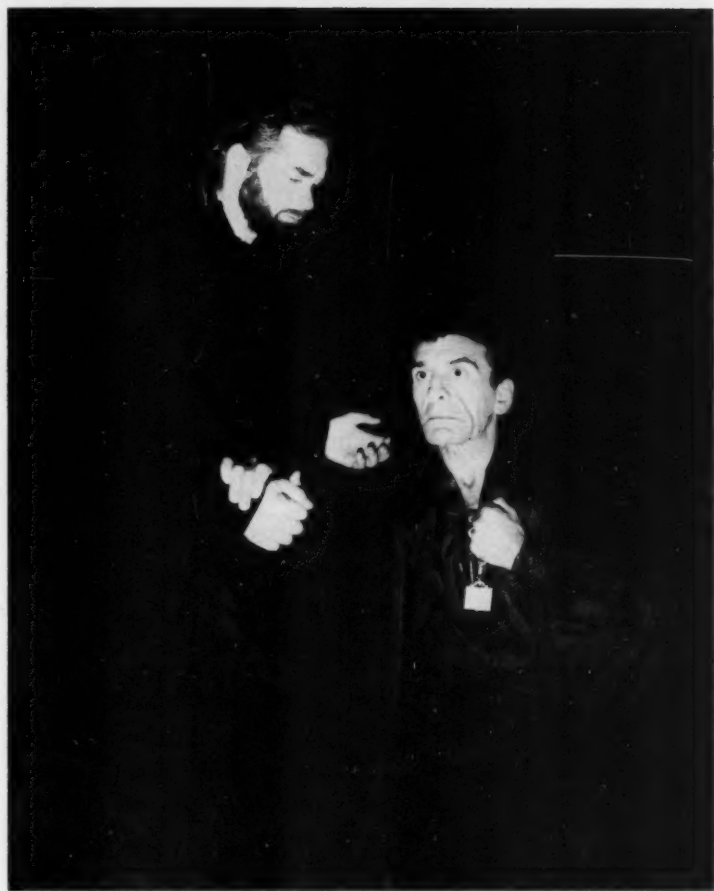
The Merry Wives of Windsor

October 13, 1952. The Arts Theatre, Salisbury, England. Directed by Guy Verney.

February 27, 1953. The Morehead Players, Morehead State College, at the Guignol Theatre, University of Kentucky. One of the four plays given in a Shakespeare Festival to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Guignol Theatre. Bill Boy as Falstaff, Lois Thornbury as Mistress Ford, Minerva Bowen as Mistress Page, Marietta Crase as Mistress Quickly. Directed by W. P. Covington, III. Played with one intermission.

March 5, 6, 7. Stetson University, DeLand, Florida. Given as part of the fourth annual Fine Arts Festival. Getisse Elliott as Falstaff. Directed by O. G. Brockett. "The staging was planned to allow a continuous flow of action, with only one intermission."

May 4-May 9. Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia. Dave Collins as Falstaff. Directed by C. R. Thomas who was also stage designer. Music by Joseph Killorin.



Lauren Farr as Old Gobbo and Woodrow Romoff as Shylock in the Barter Theater production of *Merchant of Venice*.



A scene from *Julius Caesar* as performed at the Catholic University Theater, in Washington, D. C.

May 7, 8, 9. The Penn State Players, State College, Pennsylvania. David Wagoner as Falstaff, April Heinsohn as Mistress Ford, Joan Kronenwetter as Mistress Page. Stage design by Russell Whaley, costumes by Muriel Spein.

June 3-13. The Bradford Civic Playhouse, Bradford, England. Directed by Sydney Giles. Stage design by Raymond Tetley.

July 18. In the Courtyard of the George Inn, Southwark, London. The Borough Polytechnic Players. Directed by Thomas Vaughan.

July 28-August 1. One of the two plays in the Shakespeare Festival given by the Camden Hills Theatre, Camden, Maine. Directed by Arnold Colbath. Costumes designed by Peggy Kellner.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

November 19-25, 1952. The Amherst Masquers, Amherst, Massachusetts. Directed by F. Curtis Canfield. Stage and costume design by Charles Rogers, music by Henry Mishkin.

December 7. The Repertory Theatre, Windsor, England. Directed by Leslie French and John Counsell.

April 9-16, 1953. University Theatre, Laramie, Wyoming. James Boyle as Bottom, Cecile Kochiras as Titania, Stanley Brooks as Oberon. Directed by Mr. Dunham. Stage and costume design by Charles M. Parker. "In this production the complete Mendelssohn score was used, played by a fifty piece orchestra."

Opened April 14. The Cleveland Playhouse, Cleveland, Ohio. Frank S. Stevens as Bottom, Herbert Kanzell as Puck. Directed by Kirk Willis. Stage design by William McCreary, costumes by Virginia Carroll.

April 20-May 2. The play was given as part of the annual Spring Festival of Shakespeare at Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania. Herb Krauss as Bottom, Kenneth Erdley as Puck. Directed by Alex Kleinsorg with Dr. Arthur H. Wilson as Shakespearean consultant. Stage design by David Schoch, music by Lavan Robinson. Modern ballet was employed, original choreography by the students.

June 26-August 15. The open air Summer Theater, Frogner Park, Oslo, Norway. Carsten Byhring as Bottom, Kari Sundby as Puck. Directed by Alfred Solaa.

August 6, 8. Chautauqua Repertory Theatre, Chautauqua, New York. Max Ellis as Bottom, Edward Sostek as Puck. Directed by Kirk Willis.

In August for a week. The Roselfeld Park, Basle, Switzerland. Cast from the Comedy Theatre, with orchestra choir and children's ballet.

August. The Argosy Players, in the courtyard of the George Inn, Southwark, London. Directed by Katharine Beaven.

A summer tour of France and Switzerland. The Centre Dramatique de l'Est. Dominique Bernard as Puck. Directed by Michel Saint-Denis. Stage design by Abdel Kadr Farrah, music by Henry Boys.

September 7 for a week. The Maddermarket Association gave this production in the grounds of the Bishop's Palace, Norwich, England. The alterations made to their theater were not completed in time for the opening there of the September season. "The company of nearly a hundred was directed by the venerable master, Nugent Monck, who declared it was his final production."

Library Theatre, Manchester, England.

One of the plays performed in the principal Berlin theaters during the recent season.

In the season's repertory of the Koninklyke Vlaamse Schouwburg, Brussels, Belgium. Translation by Dr. L. A. J. Burgersdyk. Directed by Gust Maes.

In the season's repertory of the Hungarian National Theatre, Budapest.

Much Ado About Nothing

February 6-February 28, 1953. The Arts Theater, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Len Rosenson as Benedick, Beth-Sheva Laikin as Beatrice. Directed by E. Strowan Robertson. Stage design by Hermon Baker Jr., costumes by Joyce McPherson, music by Alexander Smith. Modern dress version, an arena production, using a single set, "a garden complete with real bushes and a small pond."

February. Théâtre Municipal, Colmar, Haut Rhin. Directed by Michel Saint-Denis.

February 17-March 7. Arena Theatre, Rochester, New York. Directed by Dorothy Chernuck. Stage design by Carl Zollo. A production three-quarters in the round. This theater is a resident

stock theater, now in its third year. The policy is to present a Shakespeare production every spring.

March 24-28. Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson. Peter Blaxill as Benedick, Barbara Wersba as Beatrice. Direction and costume design by Laurence H. Wismer. Stage design by Martha Dreyful, music by Jack Kennedy. "Settings and costumes of the Italian Renaissance. Production was notable for its dancelike rhythm, no pause between scenes."

April 22-April 25. The William and Mary Theatre, Williamsburg, Virginia. Leonard Schneider as Benedick, Anne Helms as Beatrice. Directed by Althea Hunt. Stage design by Roger Sherman. Madrigals were sung by eight selected members of the William and Mary Choir, directed by Dr. Carl Fehr. The play was part of the seventh annual Shakespeare Festival.

April 22-25. Utah State Theatre, Logan, Utah. Paul Evans as Benedick, Carma Croshaw as Beatrice. Direction and stage design by F. T. Morgan. Costumes designed by George Tanner and Francis McGregor.

June 27-August 23. The Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel Company of Munich, at the Luisenburg Festspiele. Hans Baur as Benedick, Lilo Loewe as Beatrice. Directed by Gerd Brüderin. Stage design and costumes by Johannes Waltz.

July 1-11. The Earle Grey Players, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada. Barry Morse as Benedick, Mary Godwin as Beatrice. Directed by Earle Grey. This was one of the Shakespeare plays given in the fifth annual open air festival.

One of the Shakespeare plays given at the Burgtheatre, Vienna, Austria, during the year.

One of the Shakespeare plays performed in Berlin during the year.

In the season's repertory, the Hungarian National Theatre, Budapest.

Othello

On tour in Great Britain since September 29, 1952. In the repertory of the Century Theatre Limited. Wilfred Harrison as Othello, Norma Shebbeare as Desdemona, Maurice Daniels as Iago. Directed by John Ridley and Wilfred Harrison. Stage design and costumes by Osborne Robinson.

October 13, for the winter season. The Taverners. Directed by Henry McCarthy. This is a travelling company which gives performances in public houses and inns.

November 25 for a week, at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Later, this play was taken with *As You Like It* and *Henry IV* on the company's tour of Australia and New Zealand. Anthony Quayle as Othello, Barbara Jefford as Desdemona, Leo McKern as Iago. Directed by Anthony Quayle. Settings and costumes by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, music by Leslie Bridgewater.

December 1. The Worthing Theatre Company, Worthing, England. Donald Wolfitt as Othello. Directed by Jack Williams.

March 4-28, 1953. Cleveland Playhouse, Cleveland, Ohio. Norman Matlock as Othello, Virginia Carroll and Barbara Stewart as Desdemona, K. Elmo Lowe as Iago. Directed by Benno D. Frank. Stage design by William McCarthy. "A production in modern dress with timeless settings."

March 5-7. Lawrence College Theatre, Appleton, Wisconsin. Robert Sondowsky as Othello, Lois Tomaso as Desdemona, Roger Christian as Iago. Directed by F. Theodore Cloak. Stage design by John Ford Sollers. "The play had been studied by every student in college, which created a demanding audience."

March 5-7. Virginia Players, Charlottesville, Virginia. Murray Hausner as Othello, Elizabeth Paul as Desdemona, Michael Merryman as Iago. Direction and stage design by John A. Walker. "Used approximation of Globe Theatre based on J. C. Adams' research. An uncut text."

March 5-14. Princeton University Theatre Intime. Paul Zimskind as Othello, Peggy Allison as Desdemona, Dan Seltzer as Iago. Directed by Charles H. Schultz and Dan Seltzer. Stage design by Albert P. Hinkley Jr. An uncut text was used.

March 16-April 18. Baylor University Theater, Waco, Texas. John Hargraves, Davis Sikes, Ernest O'Bannon as Othello; Mary Bozeman, Fay McClintock, Joan Willard as Desdemona; Joe Peacock, J. W. Jones, Craig Ratliff as Iago. Directed by Paul Baker. Designer, Virgil Beavens.

April 15. One of the plays given at the Southwark Shakespeare Festival, April 13-25. At Duthy Hall, London. Directed by Ralph Lesley.

April 16, 17, 18, 23-25. Harvard Dramatic Club, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Richard T. Heffron as Othello, Thomas V. Gaydos as Iago. Directed by Ian M. Cadenhead.

April 28-May 2. The Rollins Players, Winter Park, Florida. Maurice Class as Othello, Averill Goodrich as Desdemona, Charles Mendell as Iago. Directed by Howard Bailey. Stage design by Richard Verigan. "The play was cut to emphasize Iago's divide and conquer technique as pertinent to the present day world situation, both as it applies to persons and to nations. All men costumed as soldiers, the setting a modern army camp."

May 4-9. The Arts Theatre, Salisbury, England. Pat Addison as Othello. Prunella Scales as Desdemona, George Selway as Iago. Directed by Kay Gardner. Stage design by David Besgrove, costumes by Kate Servian.

May 6-9. Oberlin Dramatic Association, Oberlin, Ohio. R. DiLorenzo as Othello, R. Linney as Iago. Directed by J. Stanton McLaughlin. Stage design by Helen Dickinson, costumes by Margaret Elderfield.

May 23, 26. The Classic Players, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina. Dr. Bob Jones Jr. as Othello. Directed by Robert Pratt. At least two Shakespeare plays a year have been given by the Classic Players since their inception twenty-four years ago.

One of the plays given by the Geoffrey Kendal Company on its international tour.

Pericles

July 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, August 19, 26, September 2, 1953. One of the plays given in the Greek and Roman cycle at the second annual Shakespeare Festival, Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Arthur Lithgow as Pericles. Directed by Meredith Dallas. Stage design by Budd Steinhilber.

Romeo and Juliet

Summer, 1952. Basle, Switzerland. An open air performance in front of the former Episcopal Palace. No stage properties. No scene changes, the scenes were enacted at various points in a large area. German text.

November 3. Blackfriars Theatre, New York City. Louis Beachner as Romeo, Mary Hutchinson as Juliet. Directed by Dennis Gurney.

November 17-22. The Little Theatre, Leicester, England.

Winter 1953. LeGrenier de Toulouse toured through thirty French cities. Maurice Germain as Romeo, Simone Turck as Juliet. Adaptation and design by Maurice Sarrazin. Music by Claude Prior.

February 10. The Library Theatre, Manchester, England. Frederick Bartman as Romeo, Diane Cilento as Juliet. Directed by Stuart Latham. Played in a single set, designed by John Dinsdale.

March 5, 6, 7. Miami University Theatre, Oxford, Ohio. K. Goldsberry as Romeo, Nanciele Black as Juliet. Directed by H. N. Abegglen. Scene design by K. Goldsberry, costumes by Joyce Bohyer, music by Harold Appl. "A special performance for high school students. Cut about three hundred lines but staged all the scenes. Oxford string quartet recorded an Elizabethan dance for the dance scene."

March 9. The Perth Theatre Company, Perth, Scotland.

During the Southwark Shakespeare Festival, April 13-25, one of the plays given. Performed by the Borough Polytechnic Players at Duthy Hall, London.

April 23-25. Memphis State College Theatre, Memphis, Tennessee. Johnnie Lovelady as Romeo, Nancy Redfearn as Juliet. Directed by Eugene Bence. Stage design by Bradford White. This play was a feature of a Shakespeare Festival, other events of which included lectures, discussions, music and films.

The Shakespeare play given among other dramas at the Stockholm Festival week, June 3-10. This festival of theater, opera, ballet, music, films celebrated the seven hundredth birthday of the Swedish capital. Anita Björk as Juliet. The translation was by Dr. Karl Ragnar Gierow, director of the Royal Dramatic Theatre. Directed by Alf Sjöberg. Stage design by Sven Erixson. *Romeo and Juliet* was the first Shakespeare play ever to be produced in Sweden—its premier was in 1776.

In the spring repertory of the Comédie Française, Paris. Its forty-fifth presentation of the play. There was one interval.

July 5. In Le Théâtre Antique de la Cité, Carcassonne, France. J. Micheau as Romeo, M. Huybroek as Juliet. Directed by M. A. Valette.

August. The Madách Theatre, Budapest, Hungary. Directed by Géza Partos. Translation by Deso Mészöly.

One of the plays given by the Geoffrey Kendal Company on its international tour.

The Taming of the Shrew

October 20, 1952. The Citizens' Theatre, Glasgow, Scotland. Andrew Keir as Petruchio, Iris Russell as Katherina. Directed by Peter Potter.

January 16, 17, 19, 20, 1953. Department of Speech, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. Robert Strane as Petruchio, Jayne Gardner as Katherina. Directed by Carl F. Zerke. Stage design by Charles Reimer, costumes by Douglass Russell.

Opened January 17. The Kammerspiele im Schauspielhaus, München, Germany. Wilfried Seyferth as Petruchio, Maria Nicklisch as Katherina. Directed by Hans Schweikart. Stage and costume design by Kurt Hallegger. Music by Karl von Feilitzsch.

February 16-21. The Marlowe Repertory Company, Canterbury, England. John Boulter as Petruchio, Elizabeth James as Katherina. Directed by Douglas Emery. Stage design by Sylvia Wrangham. "Standing set represented an inn interior. Introduction theme of strolling players maintained throughout. Attempt to reproduce atmosphere of Elizabethan inn theatre."

March 2-21. Coventry and circuit. The Midland Theatre Company, Coventry, England. Patrick McGoohan as Petruchio, Antonia Pemberton as Katherina. Directed by Paul Lee. Stage design by Margaret Peacock.

March 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25. Arkansas Tech Theatre Guild, Russellville, Arkansas. Phil Jacobs as Petruchio, Jenny Shaw as Katherina. Directed by Charles E. Reed, Jr., who was also stage designer. Costumes by Elizabeth C. Reed.

One of the plays given at the Southwark Shakespeare Festival, April 13-25, at Duthy Hall, London.

Opened April 27, later in repertory of classics in May and June. The Advance Players Association, at the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, London. Donald Wolfitt as Petruchio, Rosalind Iden as Katherina. Directed by Donald Wolfitt. Stage design by Ernst Stern. "The play was presented entirely as the drunken dream of Christopher Sly."

May 4, 5. Wake Forest College Theatre, Wake Forest, North Carolina. Bob Swain as Petruchio, Eleanor Geer as Katherina. Directed by Clyde McElroy. Stage design by Norman Larson, costumes by James Taylor. This production was part of the Magnolia Festival, a campus-wide arts festival held annually.

June 5, 6. One of the plays performed in the series, "Shakespeare in Four Languages." Given in French at the June Festival, Zurich, Switzerland. Produced by Le Grenier de Toulouse. Directed by Maurice Sarrazin. Stage design by Pierre Lafitte, music by André Cadou. "After the final performance there were fourteen curtain calls, numerous ovations and cries of 'Vive Shakespeare, Vive la France!'"

Opened June 9. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Marius Goring as Petruchio, Yvonne Mitchell as Katherina. Directed by George Devine. Stage and costume design by Vivienne Kernot, music composed by Roberto Gerhard.

June 30-July 15. Theatre-on-the-Green, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

One of the five plays in the repertory of the Summer Theatre Festival of the Arena Theatre Company, Birmingham, England, which opened on July 15. Directed by Warren Jenkins.

July 22-26. The Dunes Arts Foundation, Michigan City, Indiana. Jim Strickland as Petruchio, Lorraine Fraser as Katherina. Directed by Erling E. Kildahl. Stage design by Larry Marks, costumes by Rosemary Pechin. A unit stage production with continuous action.

August 4, 8, 13, 17, 21, 26, 30. One of the plays in the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Howard Miller Jr. as Petruchio, Patricia Saunders as Katherina. Directed by Philip Hanson. Stage design by Richard Hay and William Patton, costumes by Paul Reinhardt, music by Bernard Windt.

September 10-13. In the Lake Yosemite Bowl. The Merced Theater Workshop. Aaron Passovoy as Petruchio, Kay Shipley as Katherina. Directed by Jack Woods.

One of the plays taken by the McMaster's English Players on their tour of Australia.

The Tempest

Opened December 18, 1952. Schauspielhaus, Zurich, Switzerland. Richter as Caliban, Lauffen as Ariel. German translation by Erich Engel. Directed by Heinrich Koch. Stage design by Wolfgang Znamenaček.

January 19-31, 1953. The Nottingham Theatre Trust, Nottingham, England. Julian Somers as Caliban, Patricia Kneale as Ariel (Stella Chapman as the singing Ariel). Directed by John Harrison. Stage design by Henry Graveney, music by Diccon Shaw.

March 11-May 16. Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. Kenneth Bowles as Caliban, Teal Schmidt as Ariel. Directed by Sawyer Falk. Stage design by John Moore, costumes by Mario Forte, music by Ernst Bacon. "An uncut text was used, the stage was flexible, cyclo-ramic, with a fifty foot opening."

March 19, 20, 21, 22. Milwaukee Players of the Department of Municipal recreations. Robert Hersh as Caliban, Harriet Borger as Ariel. Directed by Robert E. Freidel.

March 25-27. Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois. Wallace Gair as Caliban, Jane Ann Cerre as Ariel. Directed by H. Eugene Dybvig. Stage design by Ralph Brown, costumes by Hilda Wilson, music by Dean Howard. "An arena production, a moving ship for the storm, a simulated island. A continuous performance."

Opened April 27. The Repertory Company, Dundee, Scotland. Kevin Stoney as Caliban, Eve Pearce as Ariel. Directed by Herbert Wise. Stage design by Norman J. Smith, costumes by Dollie Mackenzie. "Mr. Wise moved 'ye elves of hills' speech to the end and cut out the epilogue to make a more dramatically satisfying ending."

May 14-17, June 12-14. Cornell Dramatic Club, Ithaca, New York. Joan Pennell as Ariel. Direction and stage design by George P. Crepeau. Costumes by Sally Ziman. "Projected island scenery, non-period costumes allowing more fantasy, use of modern or contemporary semi-classical music for mood and feeling, use of very strong colors throughout."

July 18-25. The King's School Canterbury Players as part of the Canterbury Cathedral Festival and King's Week. In the garden of Chillenden Chambers in the Precincts, Canterbury, England. Nicholas Raffle as Caliban. Directed by John Sugden. Stage design by Malcolm Burgess, costumes by David Lawrence, music by Malcolm Boyle. "An outdoor production with floodlit Cathedral in background."

July 29. In the Chapter Garden of Windsor Castle. The Windsor Theatre Guild. Directed by Charles Hunt.

One of the plays given in the summer Netherlands Festival. The Haagse Comedie Company, at Amsterdam and the Hague. Directed by Peter Diamand. Stage and costume design by Wim Vesseur, music by J. Andriessen.

Timon of Athens

July 22, 23, 25, 26, August 2, 13, 20, 27, September 3, 1953. One of the plays given in the Greek and Roman cycle at the second annual Shakespeare Festival, Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Arthur Oshlag as Timon. Directed by Mary Morris. Stage design by Budd Steinhilber.

Titus Andronicus

March 9, 1953. The Marlowe Society, Cambridge, England. Directed by John Barton.

July 29, 30, 31, August 1, 2, 9, 21, 28, September 4. One of the plays given in the Greek and Roman cycle at the second annual Shakespeare Festival, Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Carl Jacobs as Titus Andronicus. Directed by Arthur Lithgow. Stage design by Budd Steinhilber.

Troilus and Cressida

June 10, 1953. The Oxford University Dramatic Society, in the gardens of St. John's College. Alastair Milne as Troilus, Sheila Graucob as Cressida. Directed by Merlin Thomas. Specially composed fanfares by Dr. H. K. Andrews. This production was later taken to Paris and performances given in June and July to celebrate the opening of the Shakespeare Garden in the Bois de Boulogne.

July 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 17, August 6, 17, 24, 31. One of the plays given in the Greek and Roman cycle at the second annual Shakespeare Festival, Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Ellis Rabb as Troilus, Jeanne Jerrens as Cressida. Directed by Arthur Lithgow. Stage design by Budd Steinhilber.

Twelfth Night

December 11, 12, 13, 1952. University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware. Judith Kase as Viola, Richard Evans as Sir Toby. Directed by Thomas B. Pegg. Stage and costume design by Herman Middleton.

December. The Beacon Players, Shrewsbury, England. Priscilla Harrison as Viola, Alan Curtis as Malvolio. Directed by Ronald Richards and Alan Curtis.

January, 1953. The Grand Theatre, Luton, England. Anne Pichon as Viola, John Brymans as Malvolio. Directed by Gerrard Glaister. Stage design by Michael Ackland.

January-November. The National Theatre Company, on tour in the principal cities of South Africa. Frank Wise as Malvolio, Vivienne Drummond as Viola. Directed by Leonard Schach. Stage design by Frank Graves. Costumes by Frank Graves and Gladys Haupt. Music by S. Hylton Edwards. "Costumes and settings were in French style of 18th century (Watteau period). Feste played as a tragic conception." The success of this production has assured the place of Shakespeare as an annual feature of the National Theatre.

February 2-February 14. The Theatre Workshop Limited, at the Royal Stratford, London. Leila Greenwood as Viola, George Cooper as Malvolio. Directed by Joan Littlewood. Stage design by John Bury, costumes by Josephine Wilkinson, music by Jack Evans.

February 11-February 14. University Theatre, Duluth, Minnesota. Directed by H. L. Hayes, who was also responsible for costumes and music. Stage design by Jean Holmstrand. "Played in the round. Capacity houses of four hundred."

February 25, 27, 28, March 2, 4, 5, 7. Given in the May and June repertory, and in October. The Advance Players Association at the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, London. Rosalind Iden as Viola, Donald Wolfitt as Malvolio. Directed by Donald Wolfitt.

March 3. The Eastern Players of Eastern State College, at the Guignol Theatre, University of Kentucky. One of the four plays given in a Shakespeare Festival to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Guignol Theatre. Joan Scholle as Viola, William Greynolds as Malvolio. Directed by Keith Brooks, choreography by Charlotte McGuire.

March 18-20. The Halifax Thespians, Halifax, England. Pat Farrar as Viola, H. Moseley as Malvolio. Directed by Harold Edwards. "Scenes were rearranged to make for continuity. Only one interval."

April 28. Theatre Royal, Huddersfield, England. Directed by Leslie French.

May 13-23. Wigan Little Theatre, Wigan, England. The play was also produced in the open air later in the season.

Opened May 20. The Embassy Theatre, London. Pamela Alan as Viola, George Colouris as Malvolio. Directed by Laurence Payne. A permanent set was used. The production was assisted by a Hampstead Borough grant as part of the Coronation celebrations.

Opened May 27. The first production of the twenty-first season of the Regent's Park Open Air Theatre. Jennifer Wilson as Viola, Tristan Rawson as Malvolio. Directed by Robert Atkins.

June 1. The Alexandra Theatre, Birmingham, England. A Coronation production. Directed by Peter Powell.

A Coronation attraction for the Rhine Army. Presented by General Sir Richard Gale, Commander in Chief of the Northern Army Group. The play was given in the grounds of his home at Costed for an invited audience of British, Allied, and German guests.

July. In the garden of the Valdštejn Palace, Prague, Czechoslovakia. Vydra as Malvolio. Directed by Svoboda and Fišer. Translation by Erik Saudek. "The slender columns of the *salla terrena* divided the stage into three parts, the palace of Orsino on the left, Olivia's chamber on the right, and in the center a broad flight of steps which became at will the town, the sea shore, the garden. A packed house night after night testifies to the eternal enchantment of Shakespeare's comedy. . . ."

August 13, 14, 15. University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. Directed by B. Iden Payne. "Platform staging in Elizabethan fashion, the stage designed by George Fullmer Reynolds." Costumes by Ethelyn Pauley.

August. Barnstaple and Ilfracombe, England. The John Gay Players. Domenica Clarke as Viola, Bruce Stewart as Malvolio. Directed by Antony Massie. Stage design by Brian and Sheila Chugg. One of the plays performed in the principal Berlin theaters during the recent season.

One of the plays given by the Geoffrey Kendal Company on its international tour.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona

December 13-20, 1952. The People's Theatre, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

April 27-May 9, 1953. Nottingham Playhouse, Nottingham, England. John Van Essyn as Proteus, Jeremy Burnham as Valentine, Patricia Kneale as Julia, Daphne Slater as Silvia. Directed by John Harrison. Stage design by Henry Graveney. "The production was played as a fun and games fantasy in the sixteenth century manner but with most of the properties of the twentieth. The prompter sat, book in hand, on an umpire's step ladder and the players were the first to dive up the aisles in the intervals, shouting 'Coffee!' to encourage the pit patrons."

June 1, 3, 6. Given in New College Gardens, Oxford, England.

August 31-September 5. The Barter Theater of Virginia, Abingdon, Virginia. Grant Williams as Proteus, Charles McCawley as Valentine, June Moncur as Silvia. Direction and design by John Edward Friend.

The Winter's Tale

January 30, 31, 1953. The King William Players, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland. George Abernathy as Leontes, Jenefer Ellington as Hermione. Directed by Bernard Jacob. Stage design by Al Sugg, costumes by Barbara Dvorak, music by Douglas Allanbrook.

March 12-13. Beaver College, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania. George Spordakis as Leontes, Elise Melnick as Hermione. Directed by Judith Elder. Stage design by Benton Spruance, costumes by Elsie McGarvey. Apron stage in conjunction with proscenium and expressionistic sets. Clown and Autolycus played by women, reversing Elizabethan convention. "The production combined arena and proscenium staging. Action compressed to an hour and a half. Setting and costumes were designed to convey dramatic mood rather than a literal sense of period."

March 25-28. St. Peter's Hall, Southsea, England. The Southsea Actors. K. Edmonds Gateley as Leontes, Nora Turner as Hermione. Directed by K. Edmonds Gateley. "To contrast Sicilia and Bohemia in this production the countries were used as symbols of winter and summer respectively."

April 21. One of the plays given at the Southwark Shakespeare Festival, April 13-25. Performed at Duthy Hall, London, by students from the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. Ralph Morris as Leontes. Directed by Lilian Harrison.

July 13-18. The Earle Grey Players, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada. Earle Grey as Leontes, Mary Godwin as Hermione. Directed by Earle Grey. One of the plays in the fifth annual open air Shakespeare Festival.

Reviews

The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays. By ALBERT FEUILLERAT. Yale University Press, 1953. Pp. viii + 340. \$5.00.

Professor Feuillerat is, unfortunately, no longer among us, and the pious duty of seeing this work through the press has fallen on his friends, colleagues and students. They have not spared themselves the pains that this task must have called for, and Feuillerat himself saw his work sufficiently advanced to allow him to make generous acknowledgment of their devoted assistance. In one matter, however, his friends and admirers have done him a disservice: they should not have allowed the Yale University Press to offer this volume to the scholarly world as "a major work of scholarship, one of the milestones in Shakespearean criticism" or to introduce its author as one equipped "to demolish well established myths"; for scholars who are instructed in the matters at issue, including those who are unwilling to speak anything but good of the dead, will see from this work that its author was not so equipped and that the work itself should not be described in such eulogistic terms. A reviewer, therefore, cannot escape the ungrateful task of indicating the basic weaknesses of Feuillerat's whole elaborate construction.

In this, the first of three volumes planned by Feuillerat, he dealt with 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, and hoped to drive a path through the tangle of conjecture about the authorship of the early plays that would lead to a vantage point from which we could distinguish clearly and unmistakably their true author or authors. In this endeavour Feuillerat decided to make use of all the implements modern criticism had devised; he was converted, he tells us, to a more realistic attitude to Shakespeare's text by Professor Dover Wilson's Introduction to the New Cambridge Shakespeare, and determined to apply for himself "the principles of critical bibliography, somewhat enlarged and perfected." Feuillerat felt, however, that the surest weapon in the literary explorer's hand was an understanding of versification, and that in the use of this resource the practice of the late J. M. Robertson, his errors and omissions excepted, provided a suitable model. Indeed so firm was Feuillerat's reliance on the value of this method that he draws our attention to its importance in the opening words of his Preface:

The reader will not find here any of the brilliant controversies that have recently transformed some provinces of Shakespearean criticism into eloquent debating societies. The present volume is simply an unimaginative, minute analysis, verse by verse, line by line, of the text of Shakespeare's plays, a steadfast search of facts, facts turned into percentages leading to inevitable deductions which are still facts and which I believe have some importance for a true understanding of Shakespeare's genius.

Feuillerat did not neglect a consideration of what he calls the "mannerisms" and "images" that he associated with Shakespeare's style; these, however, he did not try to reduce to percentages. The percentages he relied on in determining Shakespeare's authorship he obtained from a count of the trochees and spondees that mingle with the prevailing iambic feet of his verse. As he says:

In questions of authenticity I shall use only those characteristics that are constant and essentially peculiar to Shakespeare: the percentages of trochees and spondees, which are as good as a signature of Shakespeare; the mannerisms when they appear in combined and excessive variety; and, throughout, the images I have described above.

Before examining the method by which Feuillerat fixes the percentage of trochees and spondees that serve for him as Shakespeare's signature we may observe how he applies his test to *Titus Andronicus*. A general examination of the Quarto text suggests to him that in an earlier form it came from the pens of the authors (A and B) to whom he ascribes *The Contention* and *True Tragedie*; the style and versification seem to him to confirm this possibility. Then with the help of his versification test he tries to divide the text into four classes. Each class contains numerous passages; here we must be content with only one example under each heading:

1. *PASSAGES OF THE OLD PLAY RETAINED VERBATIM*

l.i.276-298. The versification and style are characteristic of author A: trochaic feet 9.6%, spondaic feet 1.7%. No trace of Shakespeare.

2. *PASSAGES SLIGHTLY MODIFIED BY SHAKESPEARE*

l.i.234-75. Trochaic feet 5.7%, spondaic feet 1.9%, 1 trisyllabic foot, but 5 mannerisms.

3. *PASSAGES MORE RADICALLY MODIFIED BY SHAKESPEARE*

l.i.1-63. Trochaic feet 5.9%, spondaic feet 1.4%, 3 trisyllabic feet in the 3 lines omitted in modern editions, but 12 mannerisms.

4. *PASSAGES REWRITTEN OR ADDED BY SHAKESPEARE*

l.i.96-149. Trochaic feet 2.6%, spondaic feet 3%, 5 mannerisms, 1 image.

This classification, he concludes, "makes precise the evidence from the combined list of images and mannerisms."

The "precision" claimed for these findings must come from the metrical evidence, for critics have so far failed to agree that there is anything precise in the assessments (based on mannerisms and images) that they offer each other. Where then does Feuillerat find his percentages not only for Shakespeare but for authors A and B? Let us ask first about A's versification.

To find the characteristics assigned by Feuillerat to A's verses we have to turn back to his study of 2 *Henry VI*. This play exists in two texts, that of the Quarto (*The Contention*) and that of the Folio (2 *Henry VI*). Feuillerat notes that there are at least two views about the relation of these texts. Those who have struggled to determine this relation have generally made a beginning by comparing the texts, but he chooses a different procedure:

In conformity with the method I have adopted I shall study each text separately, without any preconceived opinion.

In the course of this study of the Quarto by itself Feuillerat notes:

A careful analysis of the versification, line by line, shows distinctly that two authors worked upon *The Contention*. The first, whom I shall call author A, has a versification recognizable among many others.

The chief peculiarity of his versification seems to be that it admits of lines "of almost any length from two syllables to sixteen"; A also introduces trisyllabic

feet and makes excessive use of trochees. As contrasted with A, author B "employs a normal versification, too normal in fact." Even when studying the Quarto in isolation Feuillerat is not able to dispense with all comparison between it and the Folio. One such comparative glimpse helps us to a further understanding of the nature of A's versification.

Feuillerat pauses to discuss the Quarto account York gives to Salisbury and Warwick of his descent and claim to the crown. Here are his observations:

York then begins to trace the genealogy of his family from Edward III, his royal ancestor, on. It was not an easy task; Edward had had seven sons, and for following his line of descent in all its ramifications the author had at his disposal only the fragmentary information which the chroniclers had furnished by chance in reporting events. This information was often erroneous; where historians were led astray it is not surprising that a dramatic writer erred. None of the genealogies presented in the different texts of the play is exact. The Third Quarto corrected some of the most egregious errors of the First Quarto but in so doing introduced new ones. The folio text avoided some of the Quarto's errors but in turn confused characters of the same name belonging to different generations: Edmund Mortimer, fifth earl of March, for example, with his uncle, Sir Edmund Mortimer. *The Contention* itself presents one of those unfortunate attempts to reach exactitude.

It would be impossible to imagine a statement about the character of the Folio and Quarto texts at this point more disingenuous (to use no harsher word) than that given by Feuillerat. The exposition of the pedigree he says "was not an easy task." As Shakespeare had before him both in Hall and Holinshed not a fragmentary statement of York's descent, as Feuillerat wrongfully asserts, nor one inserted by chance, as he again erroneously affirms, but a detailed account of York's pedigree inserted by the historian so that his readers might understand the nature of York's claim, it is hard to see where the difficulty lay for Shakespeare or any other author capable of reading the chronicles. Again to suggest, as Feuillerat does, that with the chronicles going astray at times we need not be surprised at the errors of the Quarto and Folio, is to give an entirely wrong impression of the nature of their errors. The Quarto here is not merely a mass of historical errors; it misses entirely the point and purpose of York's statement. The Folio on the contrary is accurate except in two unimportant details where Shakespeare was misled by his sources. The errors in the Folio are attributable to causes that may affect any sensible author: those in the Quarto cannot be attributed to any author in his senses; and even Professor Greer, who, like Feuillerat, rejects the view that *The Contention* is a bad quarto of 2 *Henry VI*, has to admit that "the corruptive work at this point [in the Quarto] must be charged solely to secondary manipulation, not at all to an author's composition."

Here then in the Quarto's garbled report of York's pedigree we are asked to see an example of A's versification. A's versification is according to Feuillerat "incorrect according to the prosodic rules of the sixteenth century, but it does not lack suppleness." Feuillerat merely shuts his eyes to the probability that A's lines "of almost any length from two syllables to sixteen" are not verse at all, or in accordance with the prosodic rules of any century, but merely what some reporter could make of the verse we have in the Folio. Let us allow for the moment that the nature of these lines is in doubt. How then can this doubtful matter provide us with a set of figures that we can use with the assurance that

they have the significance attached to them by Feuillerat? We cannot so use them unless we first make the assumption that Feuillerat made without even troubling himself to offer the comparison of the texts without which his assumption can have no foundation whatever, except in his own fancy.

Those who still feel that author A of *The Contention* may be something more substantial than an imaginary figure of Feuillerat's own creation should turn to the chapter on *Richard III* where Feuillerat again follows author A and his companion B to a conclusion that can be reached only by brushing aside the textual evidence. Those who reject the evidence that the Folio text of *Richard III* was printed partly from Q₃ but for the most part from a copy of Q₆ which had been corrected and augmented by collation with an authoritative manuscript have to offer an explanation that will account for various readings in the Folio as satisfactorily as this hypothesis does. Feuillerat will have none of this evidence, for he has again caught sight of author A and author B. "A mere reading of *Richard III*," he says, "suggests the existence of another play, a sequel to *The True Tragedie* and written by the same authors [A and B], from which the Shakespearean play derives its subject and even some stylistic peculiarities." To follow Feuillerat's windings in pursuit of these two figures is unnecessary: the conclusion to which he comes is sufficient to reveal their identity to us.

On *Richard III* Feuillerat sums up as follows:

The connection between the quarto text and the folio text seems now clear enough. The two texts do not provide distinct plays: they derive on the contrary, from the same manuscript, the fair copy of Shakespeare's complete revision established to serve as promptbook for the company. The quarto was printed from a copy of this promptbook which had numerous cuts made to shorten this particularly long play. The folio was printed from another copy of the same promptbook which included the passages omitted at performances and the alterations introduced after 1597, such as the different distributions among the actors of certain parts of the dialogue and a few details of stage setting—changes which, having been made by the actors themselves, did not affect the composition of the play. But it also contains a rather important element added by a well-intentioned editor who was unable to approach his task with the requisite understanding. The text of the quarto, typographical errors apart, faithfully reproduces *Richard III* as it was performed until 1597 and probably after; and it has, besides, preserved for us an interesting fragment of a scene whose absence from the folio cannot be easily explained. The text of the folio, on the other hand, permits a more complete idea of the state in which the play must have been when Shakespeare had completed his revision, but it contains arbitrary additions and variants, and this posthumous collaboration prevents it from becoming an authoritative text. For it is the folio which gives a corrupt version of Shakespeare's original and not the quarto as it has sometimes been maintained.

That this apparently weighty summing-up of evidence has no relation to the textual facts is clear from the following considerations. "The later quartos prior to the Folio, Q₂-6, are derivative texts without independent authority. Errors accumulated with each reprinting and in Q₆ (1622) we have, as well as the original errors of Q₁ (of which some of the more obvious were conjecturally emended in its successors), a legacy of errors from Q₂-5 and the most recent

accession in Q6 itself." Taking one group only of alterations made in the course of reprinting the Q we find in the Folio text of III.i.1-164 ten readings which originated in Q2 or Q3. How do Feuillerat's suppositions explain these Folio readings? Either the scribe who made the copy from which Feuillerat argues the Folio was printed made them, or the well-intentioned editor was responsible for them, or the printer, or all contributed their quota of these readings that agree with Q3. This would be a very remarkable set of coincidences. Q1 has at III.i.40

To mild entreaties God in heaven forbid

The printer of Q3 mutilated the line by omitting "in heaven" and prints (as does the Folio)

To mild entreaties God forbid

At III.i.123 the same printer added a superfluous "as" (as does the Folio)

I would that I might thanke you as as you call me

To suppose that the agents described by Feuillerat as responsible for the transmission of the Folio text made ten changes in these 164 lines, some of the kind here illustrated, and that the printers of Q2 or Q3 happened by chance to make precisely the same ten changes, is a bold supposition; but when we find that throughout the play the Folio's alterations and errors run parallel to those made by the printers of Q2-6, is there anyone at Yale University or in any other society where evidence can be weighed that will deny that the Folio was printed from a corrected copy of Q6 except where it was printed from Q3? There must have been many at Yale who could have told Feuillerat this; one can only suppose that none of them had the heart to disturb him with these considerations for fear of interrupting his narrative. For it should now be clear that what we find in Feuillerat, at least when he has in his mind's eye author A and his companion B, is not simply the unimaginative minute analysis of the text he threatened us with in his *Preface* but a highly fanciful ghost story.

Turning again to Shakespeare himself we may now ask where Feuillerat finds the percentages that enable him to distinguish Shakespeare's work in these early plays. Feuillerat, anxious to shun some of the difficulties that earlier enumerators had not allowed for, decided to base his count of trochees and spondee on the *Poems* and *Sonnets*, for he argued:

Only the poems, *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets*, are indisputably Shakespeare's, and these are the only writings—nondramatic it is true, but where the author's dramatic sense shows forth at each instant—which will enable us to define what properly characterizes Shakespeare's poetic style.

What we want is Shakespeare's dramatic style but, since what we may call the poetic, as contrasted with the dramatic, element in his versification was prominent in his early plays, it is only fair to see what can be done with Feuillerat's proposal. His count of trochees and spondee in the *Poems* comes out as follows:

	<i>Venus and Adonis</i>	<i>Lucrece</i>
Total number of feet	5970	9275
Trochees	239 or 4.1%	278 or 2.9%
Spondee	249 or 4.1%	369 or 3.9%

For the *Sonnets* Feuillerat finds it "impossible to draw percentages from the total of the 154 poems," for they belong to different periods. He selects, therefore, what is generally regarded as an early group and compares the percentages there with those from a later group:

	Early Group	Late Group
Total number of feet	700	700
Trochees	21 or 3.0%	16 or 2.2%
Spondees	27 or 3.8%	24 or 3.4%

His general conclusion is that Shakespeare's "most frequent proportions in his plays will be roughly around 3% for the trochees and 4% for the spondees." These are the percentages Feuillerat regards as so well established that they are to him as good as a signature of Shakespeare.

Accepting this for the moment as a working hypothesis we have still to ask ourselves about the distribution of the trochees and spondees. We may agree that a coin tossed ten thousand times will, unless unduly weighted, come down heads some five thousand times and tails the other five thousand, but we cannot say that there will not be runs of consecutive heads: the first ten tosses may all give heads. The distribution is naturally important in considering the applicability of Feuillerat's test. As an example of this distribution consider the first quatrain of a sonnet:

Nōt mīne/ōwn fēars/nōr thē/prōphēt/īc sōul
 Ōf the/wīde wōrld/dreamīng/ōf thīngs/tō cōme
 Cān yēt/thē lēase/ōf mī/trūe lovē/cōntrol
 Sūppōs'd/ās fōr/fēit tō/ā cōn/find dōom.

Should it be objected that this is not how Feuillerat would have scanned the lines, one must ask the objector to point to Feuillerat's rules and examples. He has scanned one line that contains neither spondee nor trochee and otherwise left us to our own devices. As English verse is primarily accentual, spondees and trochees, if such entities do indeed exist in English verse, are not as in classical verse fixed and definite units. There is bound to be much difference of opinion. Accepting for the moment the scansion of the four lines as possible, we have in 20 feet six spondees or 30%. If it is objected that the passage considered is too short, let us take the sonnet as a whole where I count 22 spondees or 31.4%. Others may count differently, and here we have the first objection to Feuillerat's proposal; we are asked to accept precise results based on counts where there may be the greatest diversity of opinion; and there will be prosodists who hold that spondees and trochees as found in classical verse have no existence in English, that the terms are used loosely in English scansion.

Even, however, if we could surmount this initial difficulty the question of the distribution remains. Feuillerat either ignores this difficulty or assumes that the distribution of spondees will be more or less even throughout a whole play written by Shakespeare at any particular period. This at least is the assumption he works on when handling the second set of figures he uses in his investigations. This second set of figures he uses not to separate Shakespeare's work from that of others but to distinguish between the various revisions by Shakespeare himself. Here he uses the familiar count based on Feminine Endings; as he says:

All things considered, only the feminine endings will give sure results; like the distribution of trochees and spondees they are the effect of the

poet's instinctive yearning and they crop up independent of the meaning or the kind of dramatic action. On the percentage of feminine endings alone I shall base the probable date of a passage or scene.

In this particular count Feuillerat does not go to the *Poems* and *Sonnets*; he takes his figures from the plays themselves as earlier investigators have done; he proposes, however, to improve in one important respect on his predecessors here. He finds that earlier exponents of this verse-test generally compared the figures given by plays taken as a whole; they had noted considerable variation from scene to scene, but having neither formulated nor discovered any rule that might govern the distribution of the Feminine Endings within the play they were content with generalizations based on the comparison of play with play. To be content with such broad generalizations seemed to Feuillerat an evasion of the problem:

In the inquiries we shall undertake it will be necessary, on the contrary, to note those inequalities carefully, for when they are important they will be a sure sign of different states in the evolution of Shakespeare's blank verse.

In practice, however, things will not always be simple. In renouncing the convenient expedient of percentages for whole plays we shall have to solve a problem which the authors of the old statistics succeeded in evading. Let us suppose that we are dealing with a play written when Shakespeare was not familiar with the feminine ending and that it was reworked at a period when an average of 30% of his lines had feminine endings. If Shakespeare was satisfied with adding several long passages, these new bits will be easily distinguished by their percentages. But he almost always touched up the play here and there and more or less, and as a result there may be a series of percentages varying between 0 and 30% according to the extent of the modifications. In such cases there will be a way of solving this problem. We will put the passages which have a minimum of feminine endings on one side and on the other those which have a maximum. This will give two extreme averages which will yield the percentage of the original form and of the revision.

All this, it may be said, is put to us merely as a supposition; but it is the supposition on which Feuillerat works. He adopts as the basis of his distinctions the hypothesis his more careful predecessors hesitated to adopt: he assumes that having ascertained the total number of Feminine Endings in a play you may reduce them to a percentage and expect to find the distribution of Feminine Endings arrange themselves throughout in accord with this figure; any marked deviation from the calculated average can be treated as significant. Now the real difficulty here is to know what deviations can be regarded as significant. We can all see the deviations for ourselves, but there is nothing whatever in Feuillerat's percentages that can tell us what these deviations signify—unless we assume with him that Shakespeare must have maintained more or less an average distribution throughout, this uniformity remaining constant from period to period, only the percentage of Feminine Endings changing.

Professor Feuillerat, like so many who rely on verse tests, does not seem to think it necessary to test in any way the hypothesis on which all his conclusions rest; he merely takes it for granted as self-evident. That it is not so a very simple test will suggest. In establishing his trochee-spondee counts Feuillerat confined himself to the *Poems* and *Sonnets* and implied that *Venus* and

Adonis was wholly by Shakespeare and the composition of one period. We can now test on this poem Feuillerat's hypothesis: we shall assume the truth of the hypothesis that a work of any one period by Shakespeare will show a fairly even distribution of Feminine Endings. Counting in the poem gives approximately 200 Feminine Endings and as there are 199 stanzas and the endings must go in pairs since the verse is rhymed, we may say there should be on the average a pair of double endings to every alternate stanza. What we find, however, is a very different distribution: 118 stanzas have no Feminine Endings, 2 have six, 15 have four, and 64 have two. The distribution is made all the more irregular by the fact that Shakespeare placed the two stanzas of 6 Feminine Endings together, so that we have here a solid block of 12 such endings, while elsewhere we can find stretches of seventy lines or more with none. There may, of course, be different views as to the limits within which deviation from uniformity may be regarded as insignificant. But the deviations from uniformity in *Venus and Adonis* are such that if they are insignificant then Feuillerat's hypothesis is unproved. The deviations are insignificant, for we have accepted with Feuillerat *Venus and Adonis* as a work of one particular period. The hypothesis, therefore, is rejected. We can see the same lack of uniformity in the *Sonnets*: sonnet 20 has fourteen Feminine Endings, while sonnets 19 and 21 have none, and they are generally regarded as of the same period.

The uniformity of the distribution of spondees and trochees would now have to be tested in the same way. If in the sonnet already considered a count of over 30% of spondees was admitted, Feuillerat's assumption could be rejected out of hand. A much more extensive count is required; but as there would be no general agreement about which feet were spondees there could be no general acceptance of the results. Measurement and counting must be by fixed standards or recognized units; as spondees and trochees do not provide such units Feuillerat's test is worthless.

To offer us counts from short stretches of text as the basis of "inevitable deductions" was not as Feuillerat seemed to think a device discovered by himself; it is an old and long discredited procedure that merely shows that its advocates had no knowledge of statistical method.

A structure however elaborate based on so capricious a treatment of textual evidence and so imperfect a conception of the use of statistics cannot be regarded as secure. As Feuillerat himself says in his *Retrospect*:

The ghosts of three authors whom I have called A, B, and C have throughout haunted the analysis of the plays.

It is not within the power of a reviewer to prove that ghosts do not exist; but when he is told in all seriousness about ghosts he has a right to ask for very good evidence for their existence. Feuillerat cannot be said to have provided evidence that will satisfy even the mildly sceptical. He obviously found the new detective methods applied to Shakespeare's text interesting and entertaining and, as any man may, indulged his fancy by suggesting new combinations and situations. His friends and admirers should have let it go at that and refrained from making exaggerated claims for a work that does indeed reveal in its author industry and knowledge but little critical power.

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Critics and Criticism, Ancient and Modern. Edited by R. S. CRANE. University of Chicago Press, 1952. Pp. [vi] + 650. \$6.00.

This book is a collection of essays by a group of critics, who in the main either are or have been associated with the University of Chicago, and who hold certain broad critical principles in common. These principles have their source in Aristotle's *Poetics*, and regard the poem as an imitation, in the sense of a made object like a tool, though, unlike a tool, it is constructed primarily for beauty and pleasure rather than usefulness. Words are the material but not the form of a poem: its central form is not a verbal pattern but an imitated action, or what Aristotle called a *praxis*. Poems are concrete wholes (*synola* in Aristotle); the whole is the imitated action (*mimesis praxeos*), and every detail must be considered in relation to that whole.

Aristotle distinguished poetics from rhetoric, but later critics, from Horace and Cicero through Quintilian to the Middle Ages, tended to think of poems rhetorically as *verbal* structures to be compared with other verbal structures. The poet thus becomes a kind of orator. This attitude develops in criticism, first, a great interest in tropes and figures of speech, and, second, an interest in the moral and didactic value of poetry. In the Middle Ages this latter aspect of the rhetorical view was expanded into elaborate theories of meaning imported from theology. The rhetorical tradition survives today in "new criticism," with its theories of verbal ambiguity and irony, and the allegorical school survives in "myth criticism," which, like its predecessor, attempts to isolate a subject-matter instead of studying a form.

These ideas are presented first, negatively, through a series of hostile analyses of the new critics; second, historically, through a series of essays on the history of criticism from antiquity to the romantic movement; third, positively, through theoretical and practical criticism by the group itself.

The learning and acuteness of the book makes it indispensable for the serious student of criticism, whatever his special field. It is admirable to have so clear and erudite an exposition of Aristotle; it is admirable to have so much philosophical precision brought into the discussion of criticism; it is invaluable to have so much information about the history of criticism brought together in one place. Almost any of the essays in the second part would be worth the price of admission in itself, and many of them cover fields that are not adequately surveyed at all anywhere else. The main thesis is offered as one to supplement, not to replace, current theories of criticism, and as such it may be accepted without reservation. What reservations one has would have to take the form of supplementing their thesis in the reverse direction, showing what may still be valid in the critical positions attacked with such lively polemic. A full consideration of the whole book is out of place here, but the issues involved for the criticism of Shakespeare may be briefly indicated.

Students of the Renaissance will perhaps be most immediately interested in the two essays by Mr. Weinberg on Robortello and Castelvetro. What emerges from a careful analysis of their commentaries on Aristotle's *Poetics* is that they are continuing to think in medieval and rhetorical terms. They are still pre-occupied with moral values, with persuasion of an audience to good, and with the oratorical role of the poet. They are thus adapting Aristotle to a radically different critical theory, and many of Castelvetro's most important critical positions are explicitly anti-Aristotelian.

These facts, though to my knowledge never made quite so clear before, are in themselves not surprising. We are by now accustomed to learn that in

all fields connected with literature and philosophy the continuity with medieval ideas is profounder than the revolt against them and the return to Classical standards which used to be thought distinctive of the Renaissance. We are familiar too with the eclectic attitude of Renaissance humanism; whatever differences a modern philosopher may see between Plato and Aristotle, for example, the Renaissance humanist was usually quite determined to make them both fit into his own intellectual pattern. Thus the second book of *The Faerie Queene* unites an essentially Aristotelian ethic with an essentially Platonic psychology.

This last fact raises a difficulty about the conception which the whole scheme of the book makes necessary, the conception of an opposition between mimetic and didactic forms of literature. The latter, according to these critics, results from the effect on literature of a rhetorical view of it which stresses the morally beneficial. But if we take an English critic of the period not too far away from Castelvetro—Sidney—we see there that he takes for granted the Horatian principle that poetry delights *and* instructs. From there he develops an easy, flexible and catholic synthesis of mimetic and didactic standards. The poet for him has a relation to the philosopher as well as to the historian; poetry unites the precept of the one with the example of the other. This view is quite inconsistent with Mr. Olson's view that mimetic poems "are of a quite different order and are constructed on, and hence have to be judged by, quite different principles from those of works in the second" or didactic class. Sidney may be wrong, though he does not seem to me to be particularly muddled, but he is certainly representative of Elizabethan good taste. So any approach to literature that puts *The Faerie Queene* and the plays of Shakespeare into separate categories, beyond the difference of genre, is likely to be, in the first place, a historical anachronism. Elizabethan critics thought of the mimetic and didactic as complementary and inseparable aspects of the same thing; and the evidence seems to show that most Elizabethan poets (Sidney being of course a most influential poet) thought so too. And a careful comparison of, say, the sixth book of *The Faerie Queene* with the *Winter's Tale* would, I think, establish the fact that they are actually much closer together than the theory of this book would permit them to be.

The critics of this book may have reacted too far against the rhetorical confusion of *praxis* and *lexis*, the confusion which reduces, for instance, a stage play to a tissue of verbal ambiguities. They seem to me to have fallen into the opposite error (for which, I admit, there is justification in Aristotle) of identifying *praxis* and *mythos*, action with events and narrative. A well constructed imitation of an action, however, has a *dianoia* or thought-form as well as an event-form, or rather, these are two aspects of the same thing. This *dianoia* is the total internal idea of the poem, and it exists both in mimetic and didactic poetry. Mr. Olson's doctrine that didactic poetry is dominated by external ideas applies only to bad or naive didactic writing, sugar-coated moral pills and the like. Dante and Spenser begin with a *praxis* as much as Shakespeare or Fielding do, and then, with the most prodigious contrapuntal skill, keep several lines of events and ideas continuously related to it. They never allow the external events and ideas to mould the *praxis*; an allegorical poet who allows that to happen is simply incompetent or not interested in poetry at all. In literature, as in music, the dramatic genre necessitates a considerable simplification of contrapuntal texture. So Shakespeare's technique differs generically from Spenser's, but is no more different in kind than the technique of Monteverdi is different in kind from that of Palestrina.

The converse of this principle (*i.e.*, that Shakespeare may be more didactic,

as Spenser is more mimetic, than the book admits) is involved in the treatment of Shakespeare, who is throughout accepted as the very type of mimetic poet. There are two essays on *King Lear*, one a review by Mr. Keast of a "new criticism" treatment, the other an approach by Mr. Maclean in the terms favored by the group. Mr. Keast has a field day showing how an attempt to relate *King Lear* to an external structure of ideas reduces the whole play to an illustration of the most melancholy platitudes. Whatever the real merits of the book he is reviewing, it is certainly wrong to approach Shakespeare as though he were a bad didactic poet, trying to "show" that good is better than evil or what not. And it is true that to look for an illustrated philosophy in Shakespeare is like looking for good theater in the *Critique of Pure Reason*. But it is not wrong to assume that part of the profundity of Shakespeare is profound thought, a *dianoia* or inner meaning (not a hidden meaning) which is inseparable from the action but is still a part of that action. The inductive studies of the recurring imagery of *King Lear* by Wilson Knight and Caroline Spurgeon have, for me at least, gone a long way to illuminate this meaning, and I think a careful comparison of the different contexts in which such words as "nature" and "nothing" appear would do a good deal more.

As a positive critical method of approaching Shakespeare, the viewpoint of this book seems to me to be most valuable as a counsel of prudence, urging us to have some sense of proportion about a practising dramatist. In itself, lacking a sense of the quality of poetic thought, it presents a central conception as barren as anything offered by its rivals. There is a whole; it has parts. Mr. Maclean's essay on *King Lear* breaks a large part, the theme of madness, into smaller parts, coming down to the line, "Didst thou give all to thy two daughters, and art thou come to this?" and ending with an enormous movie closeup of the word "this." He has no difficulty in showing that every detail, however small, is a significant and relevant part of the total action. But we still have platitudes, though they are platitudes about the creative process and not about the moral order. "We shall see how Shakespeare uses actions, which are more discernible than emotions, to mark the descent into the pit; here we are concerned with the fact that Shakespeare added 'thought' to action and emotion, and 'thought' in many ways is more precise than either of the other two. In solving this problem of intelligibility, then, Shakespeare was 'abundant,' utilizing the maximum of means. . . ." We are still too close to a critical diagram, and still too far from the play. The virtues of Mr. Maclean's essay are considerable, but they are virtues which bring him close to the better rhetorical critics. The moral seems to be that one's critical processes should be as flexible and as little confined to one methodology as possible. The best mental equipment that any critic, whatever his school, can bring to Shakespeare is still none too good.

NORTHROP FRYE

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Love's Labour's Lost (New Arden Shakespeare). Edited by RICHARD DAVID. Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. lli + 196. \$3.25.

The second volume in the revised Arden edition is, like its predecessor, a handsome book, attractive in format and typography. It continues the tradition of the old Arden volumes in supplying for the general reader and the scholar an edition which is delightful to use and which, at the same time, gives a reliable and copiously annotated text. Admirable as it is in many respects, however,

Mr. David's edition of *Love's Labour's Lost* falls considerably short of its intentions and, indeed, of what one would expect of any modern edition of a Shakespearian play.

The treatment of the text is, as Dr. Alice Walker has already pointed out in detail in a brilliant review, perhaps the principal weakness of this edition. Like some other disciples of the new bibliography, Mr. David has made a fetish of absolute fidelity to the copytext, though, as he himself remarks, the Quarto of this play is carelessly printed and full of obvious blunders. To give only one example, he has disfigured the text of his edition by keeping, alone among editors since Pope, the stumbling Quarto version, "Why should I joy in any abortive birth?" of I.i.104, on the grounds that, "Where the Quarto reading makes sense, it is better retained." But most misprints must originally have made some kind of sense to the compositor who created them. If a metrically irregular and clumsy line appears in a speech and a play characterized by great metrical regularity, it is not enough to say that the line makes literal sense. The editor's judgment, while it can not be used irresponsibly, must still be used.

Mr. David proclaims his indebtedness to the teaching of J. Dover Wilson; and he has taken over from his master two highly questionable theories about this play. One is the concept of multiple revision, the assumption that Shakespeare reworked this play at least once, some years after its first production, and that the Quarto text is in some places a composite of the different versions. This is not the place to urge all the objections to this theory or to give the arguments for Greg's much simpler explanation of the double passages in the play as the results of Shakespeare's revisions in the course of original composition. The important point is that in an edition which claims to summarize the results of modern scholarship, a partisan and one-sided emphasis is given to a fundamental textual question.

The same thing is true of Mr. David's discussion of the possible topical significance of the play. No reader of *Love's Labour's Lost* can doubt that this work had many meanings for its original audience of which we are now unaware. Perhaps it was written to satirize particular individuals or particular aspects of Elizabethan thought or behavior. But the whole School of Night interpretation of the play, which Mr. David presents with assurance, rests upon the flimsiest of foundations. This is not the place to go into a full discussion of the lack of proof of this now widely current reading of the play. It is sufficient now to protest against the attempt to give the reader of this edition the notion that unproved speculation is almost undeniable fact.

The most valuable feature of this edition is its annotation. Few of Shakespeare's plays need commentary more than this one. Mr. David's notes, many of them wisely retained from the Old Arden edition by H. C. Hart, are frequently highly informative and interesting. If anything, the notes are too elaborate and sometimes overbalance the text. Not many readers of Shakespeare, for instance, need a long note to tell them that "unlettered" means illiterate, or to explain still current colloquialisms (see note for I.i.291).

Despite its shortcomings, one must still be grateful for this eminently usable edition of an undeservedly neglected play, one of Shakespeare's wittiest and most sportive comedies.

SIDNEY THOMAS

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Studies in English Theatre History In Memory of Gabrielle Enthoven, O.B.E., ed. M. ST. CLARE BYRNE. London: Printed for the Society for Theatre Research, 1952. Pp. viii + 133, 6 plates.

This volume, the third annual publication of the Society for Theatre Research, honors Mrs. Gabrielle Enthoven, first president of the Society, whose great interest in theatrical history brought into being the collection of playbills (more than 100,000), prints, books, and documents which bears her name at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The volume is an appropriate memorial, since its nine essays utilize the kinds of sources she collected and preserved. It includes studies of actors, costuming, playbills, puppets, provincial drama, and stage properties, as well as theatrical reminiscence. An extensive index provides prompt access to this diversity of detail.

In breadth of scope the essays go beyond specific Shakespearian studies, but most of them deal with aspects of stage history which illuminate Shakespearian production, especially in the eighteenth century. Theatrical reminiscence is represented by Sir Barry Jackson's "Barnstorming Days," a personal recollection of the portable or barnstorming theater between 1910 and 1930, with glances at the earlier history of this phase of the popular stage where lack of documents and printed materials handicaps the historian. George Speaight examines another area of the popular theater—the puppet play—by documenting fully Martin Powell's highly successful puppeteering in London between 1709 and 1714. Although Powell based some of his shows on English history, he did not present any puppet adaptations of Shakespeare, yet Speaight's essay provides a background for the neglected popularization of Shakespeare undertaken by Charlotte Charke for her puppet shows in March and April 1738, when she offered at Punch's Theater in the Old Tennis Court in St. James' Street many performances of *Henry VIII*, with the "Christning of the young Princess Elizabeth," followed by puppet acting of *1 Henry IV*, with Falstaff played by Punch.

Another relatively untouched field of theatrical document, the playbill, is discussed by James Laver, who contributes also a memoir of Mrs. Enthoven. Laver, describing the Enthoven Collection, shows the development of the playbill into the theatrical program, both important sources of knowledge for the stage history of Shakespeare's plays, especially in the eighteenth century, when the playbill is a major source for the casting and the scenes, songs, and dances which accompanied Shakespearian texts. Richard Southern's "A Bristol Theatre Royal Inventory" is a rich mine of information on another topic about which too little exact information is available: the scenery, back-stage and on-stage properties, and furnishings for the paint room, tailor's room, property room, pit, orchestra, boxes, galleries, kitchen, etc., in this case an inventory of the Bristol theater around 1829.

Two essays on the provincial theaters bring us closer to the actual staging of Shakespeare's plays. Miss Sybil Rosenfeld continues her intensive studies of local theatrical history by examining "The Players in Cambridge, 1662-1800," where known performances of Shakespeare's plays—*Richard III*, *Othello*, *Henry IV*—occurred in the 1760's. Norma Hodgson's "Sarah Baker, 1736/7-1816, 'Governess-General of the Kentish Drama,'" treats with equally full documentation the Kentish circuit under Mrs. Baker, one of the few women who managed theatrical companies in the eighteenth century and who apparently gave more attention to Shakespeare in her repertory than did the various Cambridge troupes. In a lively account of "Theatre Riots in London," Sir St. Vincent Troubridge gives many examples of the temper of the spectators (and London was not essentially different in this respect from the provinces) singly

and *en masse* when irked by manager, actor, author, or fellow auditor. Another phase of dramatic studies appears in William Van Lennep's "Henry Harris, Actor, Friend of Pepys," probably the most complete account yet published of a Restoration actor. Harris, a performer of Shakespearian roles, is presented as a man of diverse talents: painter, actor, singer, Yeoman of the Revels, and government official. We need more biographies of Restoration and eighteenth-century actors which bring new facts to light and which sift so carefully the gossip upon which contemporary biographers of theatrical figures thrived.

Of direct importance to Shakespeare scholars is a skilfully developed essay by Miss M. St. Clare Byrne on "The Stage Costuming of *Macbeth* in the Eighteenth Century," who re-examines the tradition that Charles Macklin introduced kilts into the costuming of *Macbeth* 23 October 1773. Out of a variety of reference—contemporary newspapers, which are teasingly vague about the exact habit worn, the recollections published some years later by theatrical historians, contemporary prints of stage costumes, and theatrical correspondence—Miss Byrne argues persuasively that Macklin in Act I wore no kilts but a Scottish costume like one caricatured in Plate 41 (facing p. 49) and in Act II changed to a "more dignified gentleman's costume, with Scottish touches" (p. 58). Miss Byrne substantiates these conclusions by means of a hitherto unpublished letter in which Garrick, writing in 1777, discusses and sketches the kind of habits worn by *Macbeth* at Covent Garden, and concludes that "tartan was not necessarily used and that the tunic did not come into favour until taken up by Henderson and the Kemble brothers" (p. 63).

EMMETT L. AVERY

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The Structure of Complex Words. By WILLIAM EMPSON. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, [1952]. Pp. [x] + 452. \$5.00.

The editor's request for a notice of "the Shakespearian portions" of Mr. Empson's new book is not without sanction from Mr. Empson himself, since he states at the beginning that "The reader interested in literary criticism will find his meat only in a central area," and goes on to express a hope that such a reader "will turn to the literary parts rather than abandon the whole book in disgust at the first two chapters." This is unduly modest, of course, for there is much of interest in Mr. Empson's proposals for a technique of word-analysis, his plan for an ideal dictionary, and his discussion of the nature of metaphor. But, for the student of Shakespeare, the main value of the book lies in its examination of four plays: *King Lear*, *Timon of Athens*, *Othello*, and *Measure for Measure*.

Mr. Empson's method is to single out a particular word which occurs frequently in each of these plays and which seems to him of special importance for the interpretation of that play. After a preliminary chapter subjecting the word to close analysis and investigating not merely its various "dictionary" meanings but also the tones and attitudes that have clustered around it, he passes on to an examination of all the passages in the play in which it is used. The words thus chosen are all common and familiar ones, but simple is exactly what they are not, even in present-day English and without the additional complication of the nuances of three hundred or more years ago. They are specified in the relevant chapter-headings: "Fool in *Lear*" (ch. 6), "Timon's Dog" (ch. 8), "Honest in *Othello*" (ch. 11), "Sense in *Measure for Measure*" (ch. 13), and

no one can read Mr. Empson's analyses without becoming aware of a richer texture of meaning than he had previously suspected. It is true that it is possible sometimes to become exasperated with Mr. Empson and find him over-subtle, and at some point or other most readers will probably feel outright disagreement with him. Yet, in a review at least, there is probably little to be gained by registering dissent from his interpretation of any particular passage, for he can reply, quite safely, that such occasional distortions, or even errors, do not overthrow his main contentions. However, it does seem worth pointing out here that he has missed a very effective illustration, and one which might have been expected to occur to so acute a mind, to illuminate the discussion of "Timon's Dog." The image of the famished, snarling cur, so often in the background of the thought of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, is unfamiliar to most of us (and therefore acceptable to us only by an effort of the understanding) simply because we are no longer accustomed to the sight of the masterless, underfed dog; but it is portrayed with unmatched vigor in the paintings of Hogarth, and Hogarth's feelings towards it are still those of the Elizabethans.

It might be thought that a method of minute and verbal analysis such as Mr. Empson employs would cause a critic to lose sight of the wood for the trees. But Mr. Empson has a full sense of the larger issues. On the one hand he is quite clear about his critical assumptions: "a key word, or better no doubt a whole pattern of related key words, is the proper thing to follow in considering a poetic drama"; "Iago may not be a 'personality,' but he is better than these; he is the product of a more actual interest in a word." But such apparently extreme statements are tempered by others which involve a recognition of the claims of more conventional scholarship: "it is clearly wrong to talk as if coherence of character is not needed in poetic drama, only coherence of metaphor and so on," and "if the character is puzzling nowadays, the answer must be a matter of recalling the assumptions of the audience and the way the character was put across." In other words, for all his interest in verbal niceties, Mr. Empson never forgets that Shakespeare's plays were plays, written to be acted and with a definite audience in view.

I found the essay on *King Lear* the most stimulating, although the central thesis, that "the idea of renunciation is examined in the light of the complex idea of folly," does not, to my mind, adequately account for all the elements in the play. The essay on *Timon* is interesting for its demonstration that there is incomplete verbal fusion just as there is of the larger elements of the drama. In writing of *Othello* Mr. Empson is handling more familiar material and sometimes gives the effect of muddying the waters, although his comments on previous critics are always pointed and apt. The essay on *Measure for Measure* seemed the most satisfying, but this, I realize, is the kind of judgment which reviewers are guilty of when they are most fully in agreement with an author's conclusions.

In more ways than one *The Structure of Complex Words* is bound to be an influential book, especially in the more advanced critical circles. It is often difficult reading, but it is continually lit up by the alertness of Mr. Empson's mind and the pungency of his style. And it is a book that no Shakespearean can afford to ignore.

R. C. BALD

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The Triumphes of Oriana. A Collection of Thirty-Two Madrigals Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.
By THE RANDOLPH SINGERS. Westminster, WAL 212.

With the Westminster release of the Randolph Singers' latest recording, *The Triumphes of Oriana*, we have at hand one of the most important collections of English madrigals as well as one of the most valuable documents of Elizabethan music. David Randolph, the group's able and sensitive leader, has also provided comprehensive notes, both on the collection as a whole, and on the individual madrigals, which add materially to a sympathetic understanding of the complicated musical form involved.

The Triumphes of Oriana was published by Thomas Morley in 1601 as a tribute to the aging, but still triumphantly popular, Queen Elizabeth I. There are twenty-five madrigals, the work of twenty-three different composers, in the first edition, with Michael East's contribution, arriving after the printer had finished the others, being placed in front of the first madrigal, Daniel Norcome's "With angel's face." Those musicians who thus joined Morley in honoring their sovereign lady included most of the famous composers of the day, lacking only William Byrd, who evidently was not writing at this time; Orlando Gibbons, still young and comparatively unknown; Giles Farnaby, who probably died about 1601; and John Dowland, who never wrote in the madrigalian style.

The idea of a collection of songs thus honoring a lady was probably suggested by a similar work published nine years before in Venice, *Il Trionfo di Dori*, which consisted of twenty-nine madrigals, each by a different composer, and each ending with a refrain, "Viva la bella Dori." This Italian refrain is echoed in the English songs,

Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana:
Long live fair Oriana.

These words appeared first in Michael Cavendish's madrigal, "Come gentle swains," published in his *Ayres* in 1598, and suggest that the idea of such a collection might have originated with him. While retaining the words of the first version, Cavendish rewrote the music for the appearance of the madrigal in the *Oriana* collection.

The Randolph Singers have very wisely added all the known songs of Oriana connection or interest to their recording, bringing the total number of madrigals up to thirty-two: two by Thomas Greaves, "Sweet nymphs that trip along," and "Long have the shepherds sung this song," both published in his *Songes of sundrie kindes*, 1604; "Hark, hear you not?" by Thomas Bateson, published in his set of madrigals in 1604; Pilkington's "When Oriana walked to take the air," published in 1613; Bateson's setting of the same text in 1604; and Thomas Vautor's "Shepherds and nymphs," published in 1619, the last of the Oriana songs. In addition to these, the recording gives us Giovanni Croce's "Hard by a crystal fountain," one of the original Italian *Trionfo di Dori* madrigals, adapted to English words and published in the *Musica Transalpina* in 1597.

Westminster's engineering experts have produced an excellent recording of this tonally challenging music, and Mr. Randolph has led his singers through an extraordinarily difficult text with dignity and with unfailing good taste. If the complexities of the contrapuntal structure sometimes result in effects which may prove dull and even a little confused, we should not cavil too much, for great riches have here been placed before an audience that may well learn to appreciate the greatness as well as the *esprit* of the music of the first Elizabethan age.

The Written Word and Other Essays. By HARDIN CRAIG. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. Pp. 90. \$3.00.

This attractively printed little book contains six lectures delivered at Centre College of Kentucky by its distinguished alumnus, Hardin Craig, now internationally recognized as a Renaissance scholar, a discerning critic, and a sound editor of Shakespeare. These lectures, addressed to a popular audience, make no attempt to solve such problems as Craig attacked in *The Enchanted Glass* and his many other learned studies. Rather, in the role of a humane preceptor he endeavors "to reassure those who are confused by the din of new communications," persuading them that time is not lost in reading Shakespeare, Milton, Burns, or even Lucian—in translation.

Two essays relate to Shakespeare. The first one, "Hamlet and Ophelia," centers attention on the Polonius group, suggesting that the Prince's sincere love for Ophelia failed because of her attachment to the mores of her family. The second, "These Juggling Fiends," reveals a strong morality influence pervading *Macbeth*. The real meaning of that tragedy, he concludes, is simply that the Devil is a Liar.

The genuine charm of the small volume lies in the perfectly natural self-revelation of its author, who does not conceal his timidity in venturing away from more familiar ground, or even his affectionate interest in the development of his grandson. Thus he ends his preface on a nostalgic note in two sentences worthy of quotation: "It has been pleasant after more than fifty years to come back to Danville with something to do. I have met a good many people whom I knew in those far-off days, and it has cheered me up to see how young, sweet-tempered, and hospitable they still are."

ROBERT ADGER LAW

The University of Texas

Marlowe and Shakespeare: A Thematic Exposition of Some of Their Plays. By H. RÖHRMAN. Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1952. Pp. x + 109.

This book is not the usual kind of study of Shakespeare and Marlowe relationships. Rather, it seeks to show that in five plays selected for examination—*Tamburlaine*, *Faustus*, *Hamlet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Macbeth*—both dramatists were exploring the psychological and sociological implications of the same central theme, the rise of individualism in the Renaissance. Like T. S. Eliot, Christopher Dawson, and other modern conservatives whom he quotes with approval, Dr. Röhrman sees modern life as a spiritual waste land in which we have lost the unity of man with God and man with man. Our only hope is "to return to the guidance of life's great mysteries." The process by which man, unwisely seeking freedom, cut himself off from his roots in society and from transcendental reality began in the Renaissance. Since this is the central problem of our time and since as moderns we must look at the literature of the past with modern eyes, we should trace the problem's beginnings in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, specifically in the five "most representative plays" mentioned. This new way of approach "may lead to an assessment of that drama satisfactory to contemporary modes of thought and feeling."

Any reader who is inclined to some optimism about the present world, who is undispensed to trace all its spiritual ills back to the Renaissance, and who is concerned for the preservation of historical scholarship, will naturally find much to disagree with in a book based on these massive assumptions. Never-

theless they are applied with intelligence and sensitivity. According to Dr. Röhrman, Tamburlaine speaks for Marlowe personally in his break with traditional faith and morality. The only limit that Tamburlaine comes to recognize is death, and even this is robbed of all transcendent meaning. He is a symptom of the beginning of man's disastrous quest for power and freedom. Whether or not Marlowe intended the play to have this meaning is, in Dr. Röhrman's view, unimportant, since from present perspectives we can see that it was there. Faustus then represents Marlowe's recantation, his recognition of human limits and the sterility of egoistic ambition. There is no discussion of Marlowe's other plays. Nor is there any attempt to illuminate either *Tamburlaine* or *Faustus* through biographical evidence or allusion to Renaissance thought, especially theology, or through analogy to works of other Renaissance playwrights.

Shakespeare next took up Marlowe's theme of individualism, says Dr. Röhrman, and in three significant plays carried forward the discussion. Hamlet is the portrait of a man completely adrift. Unable to belong to his world, able only to poison it with sterile criticism, he can make no definite choice and suffers from a paralyzing irresolution. He is both a projection of the inner experience of Shakespeare's own life and at the same time a prophecy of what has happened to our modern intellectuals. All these conclusions Dr. Röhrman reaches by impressionistic methods, with little or no recourse to source studies, Elizabethan psychology, Elizabethan dramatic techniques, and the tradition of the revenge play. Similarly, in his interpretation of *Troilus and Cressida*, he is quite severe with scholars like W. W. Lawrence and J. Q. Adams who believe that the Troy story sources may have helped to shape the play. For Dr. Röhrman the drama is Shakespeare's personal presentation, through Therisides, of a foul world where both love and war are corrupt. In such a milieu an ideal and beautiful individual like Troilus can only go down to defeat. Here, in the vileness of Troilus' society, Shakespeare probes by anticipation the vileness of our own where the higher values are denied. And in *Macbeth* we have the end result of Tamburlaine's urge to power, demonstrated by Shakespeare in all its criminal psychological and social consequences. Today this new type of individualist has become Mr. Everyman. Thus in the few years from Marlowe's treatment of the subject to Shakespeare's "the fatal road that man began to take in their days has been completely telescoped."

Within the limits of its method, the discussion has some excellent qualities. The candor, vigor, and sensitivity with which Dr. Röhrman displays his point of view draw admiration. He is a thoughtful critic, conscious of his own bias and correspondingly unwilling to be dogmatic. He has, I think, a fundamentally sound, though by no means new, conception of Marlowe's character and of its projection into his work. And in discussing Shakespeare he has some penetrating things to say about tragedy and human life. Best of all, perhaps, Dr. Röhrman is a deeply committed spirit; he writes with earnestness and eloquence.

His method, however, is wholly deductive and a priori. Instead of analyzing a large number of Tudor and Stuart plays by various dramatists, or even at the very least all the works of the two writers he has chosen to discuss, in order to reach some overall interpretation, he comes to this body of drama with a modern preconception of his own, selects five plays which can be squeezed into the pattern, and then dubs them "most representative." Apparently the meaning of these plays to their authors or their contemporaries is of no consequence. The sole criterion is what they mean to us today. Hence Dr. Röhrman is suspicious or neglectful of all the aids of literary scholarship, such as studies

of sources, dramatic techniques, literary genres, contemporary Renaissance ideas. A critic taking this delusively easy position is all too quickly tempted to recreate plays in his own image. And this, it is to be feared, is largely what has happened here. In reading the book one is haunted by the suspicion that from among the many hundreds of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays five could always be selected to show thematic development towards any modern point of view, including Marxism and Freudianism. The more so if each critic is entitled to interpret them as he sees fit, without the sometimes tedious but always necessary control of historical scholarship.

PAUL H. KOCHER

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Flaming Minister. A Study of Othello as Tragedy of Love and Hate. By G. R. ELLIOTT. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1953. Pp. xxxvi + 245. \$4.50.

Professor Elliott has turned from *Hamlet* to *Othello* and has found that, in these and in Shakespeare's other major tragedies, pride is the root-cause of the human disaster. After presenting, in some twenty pages, his view of the play in general terms, his method is to go through the text almost line by line and to comment, with much sympathy and sadness, on each piece of behavior that the play offers. The book is the fruit of close study and shrewd observation, but the method leads to reiteration and apparent over-emphasis: there is a sharp contrast between the elaborateness of the paraphrase and the taut structure of the play in question. At times Professor Elliott's analyses of scene or speech may remind us of Granville-Barker's, but the total effect is very different. Here there is not the approach of the man of the theater, concerned to discover how best the play can live on the stage: rather we have the impression that a benevolent Olympian gazes, with the sorrow of complete understanding, on every manifestation of virtue, and every slip, that his worldlings make. The idea of a tragedy, as a general picture of the human situation presented through a particular instance, escapes. The play becomes the case-history of a group of candidates for salvation.

Concerning these candidates, and all those remotely associated with them, the examiner seems in a position to know everything. When Iago voices his suspicions concerning Othello's relations with Emilia, we are told that the "crude, jocular soldiers in the field" have made the tale current. The audience must laugh aloud, says Professor Elliott, when Iago thinks that Cassio too has been Emilia's lover, for Cassio is too "fastidious" for that. Remembering Bianca and, still more, Cassio's behaviour to her, we may wonder if the adjective is well chosen. And because the world of *Othello* is here studied as if it were reality, the book inclines to that recent type of bardolatry which will claim total consistency for every major Shakespeare play. Thus Cassio in I.ii, though he asks "To who?" on hearing of Othello's marriage, is to be understood as expressing surprise at the timing of the elopement. Certainly we are later told that Cassio accompanied Othello on his wooing, but Professor Elliott's interpretation of his question strains belief. A commentary of the kind here given leaves no room for the human fallibility of the dramatist and no room for that inexplicable residuum which criticism, having exhausted itself, should be prepared to recognise in great art.

It seems important to make this reservation because Professor Elliott's com-

ments on the characters are often shrewd and compelling. He sees that the pride in Othello is not only the root of his deception but can on occasion become "jocose 'bombast,'" and that in his dealings with Iago Othello soon comes to take the lead in gross imaginings. Though yielding to no one in the desire to see a fund of spiritual goodness in Desdemona, Professor Elliott is aware of her imprudence in III.iii and her simple delight in her power over Othello. He has no illusion about the threadbare virtue of the "silken" Cassio, ashamed to confess to his commander but persistent in importuning that commander's wife. If the pictures of Iago and Emilia offered here are not so convincing, it is doubtless because Professor Elliott is not seeing the play in terms of the stage. For him Emilia is "this unhappy woman," but an audience is more likely, until the last scene, to enjoy the simple contrast between her untroubled liveliness and the passion and exaltation of her mistress. The relation between the two characters, though of much greater subtlety, is akin to that of Juliet and her Nurse. And on the stage Iago is hardly the creature of petty spite that Professor Elliott has come to see. His Machiavellian ancestry is not to be so lightly dismissed. Certainly he has breathed the atmosphere of the barrack-room; we are conscious, as he is conscious, of the junior officer's clothes; he wants not a kingdom but a lieutenantcy; his words have not the Marlovian leap. But on the Elizabethan stage he would retain something of the Machiavel's fascination, and on any stage he can come near dominating the whole drama. The life in him is indeed abundant, as is Othello's and Desdemona's: because of that, the three play out their drama in close relationship with each other.

It is, however, in his interpretation of the play's ending that Professor Elliott raises most doubts. For him there is at last a true "wedding" for Othello and Desdemona: he has come to see her spiritual stature, to love her with a Christian humility: his act of suicide is an execution of justice on a wrongdoer, and his final kiss is the seal on his repentance, the promise of his salvation. This, of course, depends on a view of Othello's last speech very different from Mr. T. S. Eliot's. For those of us who discern an element of irony even in Othello's earlier farewell to military glory, with its naive regret for the simplest splendour, it is difficult not to see in him, at his death, a will to atonement rather than the reality. Certainly there is something odd in his persisting lack of self-knowledge and in his curious pride in the Turk's killing. But, most of all, the fact of his suicide is a stumbling-block in the way of Professor Elliott's interpretation. He thinks "the Christian condemnation of suicide would not seem much in point here to the judicious members, at least, of the Elizabethan audience," but if the audience were made to think in terms of a continuing existence for Othello and Desdemona (and clearly Professor Elliott assumes that it was), the fact of suicide is not so easily dismissed. Mr. S. L. Bethell, in presenting a heavily Christian view of the play in *Shakespeare Survey* 5, followed his argument unrelentingly and insisted on Othello's damnation: that would appear logical if the question of salvation or damnation anyway lifted its head. But for the tragic hero (as distinct from the unqualified villain) such questions do not appear to obtrude in Elizabethan drama: we hardly think of the dying Lear as going to his reward. And if Shakespeare, anticipating Mr. Graham Greene, is to be understood as postulating a last-moment "perfect contrition" for Othello, he has been curiously reticent about it. Such difficulties are bound to arise if we try to see a Shakespeare tragedy as a dramatised compression of *The Divine Comedy*.

Perhaps no one will read this book without understanding many details of the play more fully than before, and in particular the words and actions

of Othello and Cassio are sharply scrutinized. But there are serious limitations in Professor Elliott's overriding desire for an orderly arrangement of the play's implications, and in his general disregard of stage-experience.

CLIFFORD LEECH

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One Crown with a Sun. By RUTH HOLLAND. London: Jonathan Cape, 1952. Pp. 286. \$4.00.

It is difficult to know how to review a book of this kind. It is a novel about William Shakespeare, following him from his adolescence to his death, and the author has attempted the impossible. A novelist ought to be greater than his characters, to know them better than they know themselves. He ought to encompass them, as Shakespeare encompassed both Falstaff and Hamlet, and where is the creative writer who is going to encompass the mind and heart of William Shakespeare?

The problem of presenting Shakespeare in a novel is also complicated by the fact that his outward life was apparently commonplace—as far as the records go—while his inward life obviously was not. Ruth Holland is faithful enough to the outward events of his life, and in spite of a few imaginative flourishes she shows a decent respect for the available facts. But as a novelist she is obliged to enter into the inward life of her character (an obligation from which the biographer is mercifully free) and this she cannot do. Her light, pretty, rather sentimental imagination is helpless in that vast territory where the plays were conceived.

Ruth Holland's imagination is happiest when she is dealing with little things. She is much more at home, for instance, in a small town like Stratford than she is in London. A novelist never welcomes advice that is both belated and unsolicited, but she would probably have written a more successful book if she had narrowed her subject to Shakespeare's boyhood and youth. Unfortunately there are only a few pages, charmingly done, on his boyhood, and by page 77 he has left Stratford for London. In the more than two hundred pages that remain the novelist has attempted to follow him through his creative years in London, and it would have been better if she had chosen a different emphasis. Hers is a decorative, watercolor talent, and it is at its best with a reasonably simple subject.

Every novelist of course likes to give Shakespeare a love affair in London. There is no objection to that, but it should be something more than a vague duet with one of Elizabeth's maids of honor. Moreover, it is curious that Ruth Holland should have been unwilling to use any of the material in the Sonnets. If the Sonnets are autobiographical (and a novelist is entitled to make that assumption although a biographer is not) they contain a rich vein that ought to exercise an irresistible fascination over anyone who is interested in Shakespeare's emotions.

One Crown with a Sun is better than the average fictionized life of Shakespeare. There is an occasional gleam of humor, the style is lyrical without descending to the Gadzooks kind of writing, and there is no tampering with the known facts. But Ruth Holland is not an exceptionally good novelist; and even if she were the best novelist on earth it is not likely that she could re-create the inward reality of William Shakespeare.

MARCHETTE CHUTE

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The "Othello" of Shakespeare's Audience. By JOHN W. DRAPER. Paris: Marcel Didier, 1952. Pp. 246.

Among contemporary Shakespearian scholars, Professor Draper is our most indefatigable writer of articles, and occasionally he gathers some of his materials into book form. This volume is the fourth in his series of Shakespeare interpretations. The separate chapters were delivered as lectures in European Universities and were thus designed for oral presentation, but here they are carefully documented with useful footnotes. The breadth of reading therein shown compels the reader's respect for Professor Draper's industry.

To this reviewer, the most valuable portion of the book is the careful study of Venetian and English social backgrounds of the sixteenth century. Some of the Venetian material seems superfluous, especially when it is presented to show that Shakespeare was *not* familiar with it. Still, we do get many useful side-lights on the characters, particularly the minor ones. For instance, Brabantio and the Duke emerge as something more than mere lay figures of the drama, and the reader's comprehension is enriched thereby.

Having said this, I shall proceed at once to discuss a well-nigh fatal defect of the book, Professor Draper's constant preoccupation with Tempo and Humors. He is in danger of riding these two hobbyhorses to death. He constantly intrudes them into every discussion of character, whether they are relevant or not, and magnifies their importance out of all proportion to the facts. Even when his basic assumptions are correct—as they are not always—his zeal often leads him to an inept presentation of these two themes.

In analyzing Tempo, Professor Draper assumes that material irregularities enable us to determine the speed with which a speech was spoken and that the speed indicates the mood of the speech; e.g., emotional speeches are likely to be fast, meditative speeches to be slow. He further thinks that each character has an individual tempo which distinguishes him from others, and that this tempo can be statistically expressed. Extra syllables in a line, or elisions such as "Tis," indicate rapid tempo. Conversely, "It is" expresses slow tempo. Elaborate charts and statistical analyses are used to buttress the argument.

Perhaps because of mathematical obtuseness, I cannot see that Professor Draper has revealed anything significant about tempo or that his basic assumption is correct. As a test, one may compare the opening lines of Hamlet's second soliloquy—"O, what a rogue and peasant slave"—with the opening lines of his third soliloquy—"To be, or not to be." If extra syllables and elided words are indications of speed, then the third soliloquy should be spoken more rapidly than the second, at least in their first few lines. This conclusion would seem to be contradicted by the nature of the speeches themselves, as any actor will quickly discover. I am not prepared to say that no valid conclusions can be drawn on the subject of tempo, but it does not seem to me that Professor Draper has drawn them.

A similar excessive zeal marks his discussions of the four humors. That Shakespeare knew of blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy is evident from his use of the terms; and it is also probable that he sometimes allowed them to influence the behavior of certain characters. (Cf. the books of Ruth Anderson, Lily B. Campbell, Lawrence Babb.) But Professor Draper insists that every character must have a dominant humor and speculates at length on what it may be. For instance, in a paragraph on page 114, he reasons that Roderigo's humor was sanguine or choleric or phlegmatic or melancholy, and on pages 66-73 that Desdemona's was choleric lapsing into phlegmatic, or possibly sanguine. With this much uncertainty, would it not be better to say that Shake-

speare did not trouble himself to assign these characters a dominant humor? It is the dramatist's intent that counts; lacking that, one might as logically apply the same terms to the characters in Dickens' novels.

Even with characters who show a dominant humor, Professor Draper seems inept in deciding what it is. He disagrees with Miss Campbell's opinion that Iago was melancholic and decides that he must be choleric. Yet a bit of comparative study would support Miss Campbell's opinion. Iago's plot, his jealousy, his brooding desire for revenge and his means of obtaining it, are much like those of Don John, in *Much Ado About Nothing*; and Hero plainly says of Don John, "He is of a very melancholy disposition" (III.6). In the melancholy man, anger is kindled more slowly but lasts longer than in the choleric man.

As viewed by Professor Draper, Iago was basically an "honest" man and sought revenge only in accordance with the code of honor which he felt compelled to follow. This view, while novel and persuasively presented, is best read as a counterbalance to the "diabolical villain" theory; somewhere between the two is the correct interpretation. Even a buck private might hesitate to agree with Professor Draper that Iago's conduct compares favorably with that of top sergeants in the American Army. The author's purpose is to elevate Iago, not to depreciate the sergeants, but he characteristically overstates his case.

JOHN E. HANKINS

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The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (The New Nonesuch Edition). Ed. HERBERT FARJEON, with a new Introduction by IVOR BROWN. London: The Nonesuch Press; New York: Random House, 1953. Vol. I, Comedies, etc., pp. [LIV] + [1082]; Vol. II, Histories, and *Troilus and Cressida*, pp. [X] + [1200]; Vol. III, Tragedies, *Pericles*, etc., pp. [X] + [1474]; Vol. IV, Poems, pp. XVI + [250]. \$35.00.

This is a sumptuous edition, excellent in design and typographically beautiful. Issued in the coronation year, and dedicated by permission to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, this edition is a boon to those who, because of its price, could never hope to own the original seven-volume Nonesuch Shakespeare published in 1929, but yet believe it is not too much to ask that Shakespeare should be available at a moderate price in volumes typographically worthy of the text they contain. The volumes are newly designed by Francis Meynell and printed and bound by William Clowes and Sons. The title-pages and all of Volume IV are printed on specially made Japon vellum; specially made India paper is used elsewhere. The text type is Goudy Moderne with Garamond for the marginal notes. The open letters of the title-pages and the half-title pieces and dedications are from wood engravings by Reynolds Stone.

The edition has more to offer than physical beauty and legibility. The first Volume prefixes to the Comedies all the introductory material of the First Folio and follows the Folio text of *Merry Wives* with the text of the Bad Quarto of 1602. Volume II, Histories, is enriched by the inclusion of the Bad First Quartos of *Henry V* and 2 and 3 *Henry VI*. *Troilus and Cressida* is inserted after *Henry VIII* to end the volume. In Volume III, Tragedies, will be found the Bad Quartos of *Romeo* and *Hamlet*. *Pericles*, which did not appear in a Folio until 1664, is reprinted from the First Quarto of 1609. And three doubtful plays follow: *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *Edward III*, and *Sir Thomas More*. After *Venus*, *Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets* in Volume IV, the reader will find at hand *A Lovers Complaint*, *The Passionate Pilgrim* (complete), and *The Phoenix and Turtle* from Chester's *Loves Martyr*. This is bounteous fare.

With so much to be grateful for, of which Farjeon's careful text is not the least, a reviewer is not inclined to be captious. It might be suggested, however, that Volume III, Tragedies, could have been reduced in thickness and weight by transferring the three apocryphal plays and even the Bad Quarto texts to Volume IV, which would then have had to be printed on India paper. But it must be admitted that to have done so would have destroyed the logic of arrangement and jeopardized the comparison of Good and Bad texts that the inquiring reader is now invited to make for himself.

The pleasant essay by Ivor Brown that introduces the edition needs amendment in several particulars. There is no mention (p. XII and XIII) of *Willoughby his Avis*. The reference (p. XIX) to the location of *Troilus* in the Folio ignores the discussions in recent years by Dawson, Greg, and Miss Walker, which throw a flood of light on one of the most puzzling textual and bibliographical problems of the First Folio. The dating of the Sonnets (p. XXVI) proposed by Hotson is too readily accepted; the weight of scholarly opinion leans toward later dates. Most scholars, too, would omit "rough short hand versions" (p. XXX) as a source of the Bad Quartos. In the discussion of *Sir Thomas More* (pp. XXXI-XXXII), it is implied that the play was performed after Shakespeare and others had removed objectionable passages and written in some lines acceptable to authority. Perhaps it was, but there is far less than sufficient evidence in the manuscript to support such a conjecture—and outside the manuscript there is no evidence. Some recent commentators would set an upward limit for the play, not at 1596, but at 1601. In Volume IV, the note (p. 217) on *The Passionate Pilgrim* is inaccurate because it takes no account of the unique Folger Shakespeare Library fragment of the first edition or of the facsimiles of the first and third editions of this little volume with introductory essays by Adams and Rollins. These are details. The Introduction is exemplary in its deftness and brevity.

J.G.M.

Queries and Notes

NOTES ON DR. RICHARD HOSLEY'S SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE RECEIVED TEXT OF *ROMEO AND JULIET*

CLIFFORD LEECH

These brief comments are not concerned with Dr. Hosley's general principles¹ which he suggests should guide an editor of *Romeo and Juliet*: they indicate only a measure of doubt concerning some of his applications of those principles.

(1) He suggests that the first two lines of III.i should not be printed as verse, because lines 3-4 are unmetrical and arranged as prose, and because "the first thirty-nine lines of III.i are prose." But, with the "received" line-division after "brawle," lines 3-4 seem satisfactorily metrical:

And if we meete we shall not scape a brawle,
For now these hot daies, is the mad blood stirring.

And Dr. Hosley overlooks the way in which the change from Benvolio's opening verse-speech to Mercutio's prose in line 5 is an indication of Mercutio's refusal to follow the mood of his companion and of his taking Benvolio with him into the prose-medium. When Tybalt enters, he speaks two lines of verse (40-41); Mercutio responds in prose and takes Tybalt with him (41-52); then Benvolio again turns the scene to blank verse with his appeal to prudence and dignity (53 ff.). The "received text" in its alternation of prose and verse indicates the contrast of moods, and at its beginning anticipates the later seriousness of tone.²

(2) In the concluding lines of II.ii, he prefers the Q2 assignment of speeches to that of Q1. This divides the couplet of lines 187-188 thus:³

Iu. Sleep dwel vpon thine eyes, peace in thy breast.
Ro. Would I were sleepe and peace so sweet to rest

This is surely impossible. It would mean that Romeo would like to rest as sweetly as "sleepe and peace" resting on his own eyes and in his own breast. The case for assigning both lines to Romeo seems incontrovertible. Dr. Hosley further assumes that a speech-heading ("*Ro.*") has dropped out in Q2, line 185, between the two half-lines:

Good night, good night.
Parting is such sweete sorrow,

¹ "The Corrupting Influence of the Bad Quarto on the Received Text of *Romeo and Juliet*," *SQ*, IV (Jan. 1953), 11-33.

² There is a misprint in Dr. Hosley's quotation of Q2's III.i.2: as he points out in his comment, "are" is omitted in that text after "*Capels*."

³ In his quotation from this scene and his comments on it, Dr. Hosley's line-numbers are one in advance of the Globe numbering which is used in these notes.

This would not in itself be impossible, although the division of the line may well indicate the pause that is required if both half-lines are spoken by Juliet. But if lines 187-188 both belong to Romeo, as they surely must, an additional speech-heading here would confuse our text beyond repair. Juliet has also a better exit-line with line 186 than with the line 187 that Dr. Hosley wishes to assign to her.

(3) Concerning the four-line "revisional duplication" in Q2 at the ending of II.ii and the beginning of II.iii, Dr. Hosley thinks that we should use the wording of the second version but should assign the passage to Romeo's last speech in II.ii and not to the Friar's opening speech in II.iii: his case for this is that "in all other instances of revisional duplication in Q2 the second version gives the revised text and the first version indicates the correct position of that text." That seems convincing until we turn to Q1 and find that the passage in question is there assigned to the Friar at the beginning of II.iii. This presents us with a remarkable coincidence: "Shakespeare or a manuscript corrector" has inserted the Friar's speech-heading in the wrong place in the copy for Q2, and the reporter of Q1, misremembering the location of the four lines, has also, but independently, assigned them to the Friar. In a footnote Dr. Hosley suggests the possibility that the compositor of Q2 set up the ending of II.ii from Shakespeare's manuscript and the beginning of II.iii from Q1. That would, of course, remove the disturbing coincidence, but, as Dr. Hosley admits, we should then have to accept the wording of the first version of the passage as the authentic one.

(4) In III.v.173-175, he would keep the Q2 speech-assignments:

Nur. I speake no treason,
Father, ô Godigeden,
 May not one speake?
Fa. Peace you mumbling foole,
 Vtter your grautie. . . .

where Q1 has:

Nur. Why my Lord I speake no treason.
Cap. Oh goddegodden.
 Vtter your grauity. . . .

The "received text," following Q4, interprets "Father" as a speech-heading for Capulet (elsewhere "*Fa.*" in this section of Q2), and then inserts another speech-heading to assign "May not one speake?" to the Nurse. Dr. Hosley says "it is difficult to believe that *Father* was a speech heading in the manuscript copy, since in Q2 it is neither abbreviated, italicized, nor indented." But "*Father*" for "*Fa.*" could easily be a memorial error in composing: as it makes sense as a vocative, it would not be italicized or indented. Once that mistake had been made, the omission of the Nurse's speech-heading would be a reasonable corollary, not involving the "unwieldy additional assumption" that Dr. Hosley suggests. Although his argument here less readily invites challenge than in the other instances referred to, he would appear to overstate his case against emending the Q2 reading.

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THE "GOOD NIGHT, GOOD NIGHT" SEQUENCE IN
ROMEO AND JULIET

RICHARD HOSLEY

I agree with Professor Leech that the received text of *Romeo and Juliet* is probably correct in the assignment of speeches at III.v.173-174, and his well-taken point that the lines of the couplet at II.ii.187-188 cannot be divided between two speakers forces me to modify my original position on the "Good night, good night" sequence (II.ii.185-188). I have reconsidered in detail the problem of whether to assign the "grey-ey'd Morn" passage (II.iii.1-4) to Romeo between II.ii.188 and 189 or to the Friar at the beginning of II.iii, but I can add nothing essentially new to the argument. My present position is briefly summarized. Since there is no evidence of contamination by Q₁, the second version in Q₂ is a revisional duplication of the first; and the Q₂ location of the first version shows that Shakespeare originally assigned the passage to Romeo. The passage is the sort of stuff which Romeo speaks at II.ii.3-4 and III.v.7-10 and which other characters speak apropos of Romeo at I.i.125-126, I.i.140-142, and III.ii.1-25, whereas the Friar never elsewhere alludes to Greek mythology or personifies Day or Night or their aspects in the Homeric manner. There are many possibilities behind the texts in Q₂ and Q₁, but in each case the problem sooner or later resolves itself into the question whether Shakespeare intended the passage to remain in Romeo's speech or to be transferred to the Friar's. Probably we shall never have a definitive answer. I advocate the former interpretation, even though it depends on the "disturbing" coincidence of independent errors in Q₂ and Q₁ in their assignment of the revision to the Friar. Obviously, it is this coincidence which has obscured what I allege to be the correct assignment of the passage to Romeo; and it was, in fact, the existence of independent errors in Q₂ and Q₁ which led me to formulate the principle which I must again invoke in the present note, namely that the editor of *Romeo and Juliet* should reject the authority of Q₁ where a conjectural emendation of Q₂ seems to take fuller cognizance of the facts of the text in that more authoritative edition (see pages 20-21 of my article). Perhaps the coincidence will seem less disturbing if I am right about the "Good night, good night" sequence, for its four lines would appear to contain two sets of independent errors in Q₂ and Q₁.

My original proposal in regard to the "Good night, good night" sequence overlooked an important point, but Mr. Leech's defense of the assignment of speeches in the received text is also open to challenge. It seems clear that the lines of the "breast: rest" couplet (II.ii.187-188) cannot be divided between two speakers; and from this point it follows that Romeo's speech heading prefixed to line 188 in Q₂ is in error. But we must begin at the beginning. The chief fact requiring explanation in Q₂ is that two speech headings for Juliet appear in succession, at lines 183-b and 187. This error can be explained by assuming either that Juliet's heading at line 187 is intrusive or that a heading for Romeo has dropped out somewhere between lines 183-b and 187. In the first case, Romeo's heading at line 188 was probably printed a line too low. The editor who therefore corrects Q₂ by removing Romeo's heading from line 188 and substituting it

for Juliet's heading at line 187 will arrive at the assignment of speeches in the received text, where lines 185-186 are given to Juliet and lines 187-188 to Romeo. (There is another possibility: if we again assume the intrusion of Juliet's heading, Romeo's heading at line 188 may have been printed a line too high. The editor who made this interpretation would remove Juliet's heading from line 187 and lower Romeo's to line 189, thus assigning the whole "Good night, good night" sequence to Juliet along with lines 183-b and 184. But this possibility can, I think, be safely discounted.) This "received" interpretation is, of course, supported by the assignment of speeches in Q1. Against the interpretation, however, I would urge that it does not take into consideration the printing on separate lines of the two parts of line 185, "Good night, good night" and "Parting is such sweete sorrow." In explanation of their separation Mr. Leech suggests that "the division of the line may well indicate the pause that is required if both half-lines are spoken by Juliet." This may be so, but I can find no analogue in Q2.

On the other hand, if we assume that the repetition of Juliet's speech heading was caused by the compositor's (or the scribe's) having omitted a heading for Romeo between lines 183-b and 187, the omission immediately explains the separation of the part-lines of 185, and the separation in turn locates the point of omission before line 185-b, "Parting is such sweete sorrow." I may add that at two other points in Q2 the second half of a verse line was printed separately from the first and without a speech heading. The first instance occurs at II.i.6, where line 6-b ("Nay Ile coniure too") is separated from 6-a and should have been prefixed with Mercutio's speech heading, erroneously printed a line too low at line 7. Thus here we can see the compositor dividing the parts of a line of verse, even though the second part-line seemed to him to be assigned to the same speaker as the first (Benvolio); and the line-division clearly originated in the manuscript assignment of the parts of line 6 to different speakers. The other example is perhaps less valuable because more corrupt, but if the assignment of speeches in the received text at III.v.173-174 is correct we have there an analogous situation: line 173-b ("ô Godigeden") is separated from 173-a and should have been prefixed with Capulet's speech heading, erroneously printed as text. (If the Nurse's heading at line 174-a was missing from the copy, the compositor might have interpreted the heading of line 173-b as text in order to set right the sequence of speech headings. Again the compositor divided the parts of a line of verse, even though he considered the two part-lines of 173 as spoken by the same character (the Nurse); and the line-division apparently originated in the manuscript assignment of the parts of line 173 to different speakers. (The Q2 text of this example is quoted in another context by Mr. Leech.) The collateral evidence in Q2 therefore supports the interpretation that II.ii.185-b was printed on a separate line from 185-a because it belongs to a different speaker. This interpretation was, in fact, made by the Q3 editor (the first to deal with the crux), who inserted a speech heading for Romeo at line 185-b and left standing (partly in error) the Q2 assignment of the balance of the "Good night, good night" sequence. If, then, the addition of Romeo's speech heading to line 185-b is correct, it follows that Juliet's heading at line 187 in Q2 is probably also correct; and, since lines 187-188 cannot be divided, it follows further that Romeo's heading at line 188 in Q2 was erroneously printed a line too high. (Speech headings a line out of place in Q2 also occur at III.ii.72-73, where the Nurse's

and Juliet's headings are each printed a line too low.) The editor who makes this interpretation will therefore prefix line 185-b with a heading for Romeo and lower Romeo's heading at line 188 to the immediately following line (either line 189 in the Globe numbering or the first line of the "grey-ey'd Morn" passage, depending upon his assignment of the latter), thus assigning lines 185-b and 186 to Romeo, and lines 187-188 to Juliet. (Line 185-a, of course, is continued from Juliet's speech at lines 183-b and 184.) This is, in fact, my corrected recommendation. Against the interpretation stands the authority of Q₁, but in view of that edition's nine uncontested errors in speech-assignment (see pages 26-27 of my article) the probability that it is here also in error seems reasonable; and in this respect I would again call attention to the principle that the authority of Q₁ should be rejected where the facts in Q₂ suggest a variant emendation. There is, finally, an aesthetic consideration in favor of the interpretation which I am here proposing. The "breast: rest" couplet (lines 187-188, quoted by Mr. Leech) is especially appropriate to Juliet since it closely echoes a sentiment expressed by her earlier in the scene: "Goodnight, goodnight, as sweete reprove and rest, Come to thy heart, as that within my breast" (lines 123-124). (The earlier lines are omitted from Q₁, a fact which presumably made it easier for the reporter to make the erroneous assignment of the later lines to Romeo.) One may, of course, argue that it is Romeo who is echoing Juliet's earlier lines, but such an argument leaves untarnished the peculiar appropriateness of the later lines to Juliet. Line 188 I take to be a satisfactory exit-line for Juliet.

University of Virginia

THE DANCING HORSE OF *LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*

RUSSELL A. FRASER

In the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, few names recur more often than those of "Master Bancks" and his performing horse, Morocco. Their exploits, the most famous of which was an ascent of the steeple of St. Paul's, are described in a pamphlet of 1595, *Maroccus Extaticus, or Bancks his bay horse in a trance*, and in the writings of Nash and Dekker and Jonson, among others.¹ Shakespeare himself is supposed by some to mention the horse² when, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, he has Moth declare: "How easy it is to put years to the word three, and study three years in two words, the dancing horse will tell you" (I.ii.49-51).

Because Moth's description seems to fit Banks's horse, and because there is no mention of Morocco before 1591,³ several editors have assumed that *Love's Labour's Lost* could not have been written earlier than that year. References to a performing horse by Richard Tarleton, who died in 1588, and William Clowes,

¹ Almost sixty references are collected by Sidney H. Atkins (drawing on Halliwell-Phillips, "Memoranda on *Love's Labour's Lost*," pp. 21-57) in *Notes and Queries* (July 21, 1934), CLXVII, No. 3, 39-44.

² See G. B. Harrison, ed., *Shakespeare: Major Plays and the Sonnets* (New York, 1948), p. 159, n.

³ See the Arden edition of *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. Richard David (1951), p. 21.

in *A Prooued Practice for all Young Chirurgians* (1588) are discounted on the grounds that Morocco had not then been born.⁴ Now it is very unlikely that *Love's Labour's Lost* was written, in whole or in part, before 1593.⁵ Moth's allusion to the dancing horse, however, cannot really be advanced in support of any date whatsoever. For if the references in Tarleton and Clowes may be explained away, there is yet another, still earlier than these, which undercuts further discussion. It occurs in John Hall's *Court of Vertue*, published by Thomas Marshe in 1565. In the midst of a diatribe against traitorous prophecies, sacrifices to the devil, lewd jugglers, and puppet players, Hall observes:

Some throw a houpe would trimly daunce,
And some with hoby nagge
For gayne of gold wold play trim tricks,
With turne round kycke and wag. (Sig. U3^r)

For the "yonge nagge" which was noticed in a ballad of 1595, and the "little naig" which impressed Prince Henry in 1608⁶ to be coupled with the "hoby nagge" of John Hall's censorious lines would be a feat rather beyond the powers of even so redoubtable a horse as Morocco. The conclusion seems inescapable that more than one horse danced in Elizabethan England. No precise date can be educed, then, from Shakespeare's reference in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Duke University

⁴ See Atkins, p. 39.

⁵ See *A Study of "Love's Labour's Lost,"* F. A. Yates (1936), pp. 169-172; *The Date of "Love's Labour's Lost,"* R. Taylor (1932), pp. 72-90.

⁶ Atkins, pp. 40, 41.

Notes and Comments

FRONTISPIECE

The Christmas carol that is reproduced as the Frontispiece occurs in the unique Henry E. Huntington Library copy. The burden and two lines of the first stanza appear on A 6^r; the next four and one-half stanzas fill A 7; and the three concluding stanzas are on A 7^r. The book is the second item in a little volume cherished in 1733 by Samuel Marriott, who tried—successfully—to insure its preservation by inserting a leaf inside the front cover with a moving plea to posterity:

This old Pamphlet was a part of y^e Collection of Curiosities made by that famous Antiquary and Historian M^r. Roger Morrice late of Hoxton in the County of Midd^x. decēd; . . . and was Printed . . . about the Year of our Lord 1520. Wherefore, it having been preserved thus long from the devouring Jaws of Time, I thought it to be valuable purely for its Antiquity; and have accordingly carefully lay'd it up & preserved it for about or near to 30 Years, that it has been in my Hands. And that it may not be thrown away as an imperfect and good-for-nothing Piece, after I am Dead and gon, is what is designed in my Writing of this Recommendation of it.

Octob^r. 15. 1733. Sam^l. Marriott

Actually the volume contains parts of at least five books. The First, complete, is listed as STC 5204 +, *Christmas Carolles newly Inprynted*. London, by Richard Kele, n.d. The second and third books are complete except for title-pages. The remaining leaves are fragments of at least two books. For further information, see Edward Bliss Reed's *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century*, where the volume is reproduced in facsimile, and Richard L. Greene's *The Early English Carols*.



SHAKESPEARE COURSES ON TELEVISION

Late in November, Professor Frank C. Baxter of the University of Southern California was flown from Los Angeles to New York City to receive the Sylvia Award "for outstanding contribution to creative television technique, 1953, in the field of education." All of the fourteen awards except this one went to programs or people on nation-wide hookups. The local station, KNXT, Channel 2, CBS-TV, of Los Angeles, shares with Professor Baxter and the Extension Division of his University in this signal honor. The citation describes this novel program.

Dr. Frank Baxter's vast knowledge of and immense enthusiasm for his subject make wonderful entertainment out of the business of learning to know and appreciate Shakespeare. Offering college-level and more adult students the opportunity to obtain credits in the course by participating at home is only one of the laudable aspects of this outstanding series. The

popularity of the program in the Los Angeles area suggests that it might be well received by a larger national audience.

The daring experiment of offering a series of televised lectures from September to mid-January has been successful beyond all expectation. *Life Magazine*, which reported the Sylvania Award and published Professor Baxter's photograph, estimated that 1193 students had enrolled and that by the end of the course the lectures would have been heard by as many as 750,000 people.

Students enrolled in the course on Option A paid a tuition fee of \$12 and received a study-guide. Those on Option B paid \$5 for enrollment and the study-guide. All are entitled to take a written examination. And those on Option A who meet college entrance requirements and pass the examination will receive a unit of college credit from the University of Southern California. The programs have been recorded, and it is possible that they may become available for re-broadcast elsewhere.

SHAKESPEARE COLLECTION TO TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

Early in November, President E. M. Sadler announced the magnificent gift by the Amon Carter Foundation of a collection of 1500 rare books to the Burnett Library of the Texas Christian University. According to Mr. Amon G. Carter, President of the Foundation, the books come from the library of the late William Miller Lewis of New York City. The chief treasure of the collection is the volume of Shakespeare Quartos published by Thomas Pavier and William Jaggard in 1619. Its discovery and auction in London several years ago occasioned great excitement. The set is complete but not quite in perfect condition. Only two other bound sets of these Quartos are known, both in the Folger Shakespeare Library. There are twenty-two other Shakespeare items in the collection, including the Bridgewater copy of the Second Folio and the Lowther Castle copy of the Third Folio. The earliest Quarto is *Richard II* (1608). Other Renaissance authors represented in early editions include Spenser, Donne, Jonson, Lovelace, and Milton.

SHAKESPEARE AROUND THE WORLD

For the first time this year, Theater Notes records a performance of each of the thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare. Over two hundred and sixty different productions are listed. How many performances these represent, and how many thousand people attended, there is no way to calculate. According to available records, the most popular choice was a comedy, *Twelfth Night*, with twenty productions. A tragedy, *Hamlet*, was the closest possible second with nineteen. A comedy and a tragedy, *The Shrew* and *Julius Caesar*, tied for third honors, with seventeen productions. Then followed *Othello* with sixteen, *Merchant* and *Dream* with fifteen, *As You Like It* fourteen, *Romeo* thirteen, *Much Ado* eleven, and *Macbeth* and *Tempest* ten each. What is most gratifying is the ability to report at least one production each of *Titus Andronicus*, *Timon*, *All's Well*,

King John, *Henry VIII*, and Parts 2 and 3 of *Henry VI*. 1 *Henry VI* had two productions, as did *Troilus*, *Cymbeline*, and 2 *Henry IV*.

This is a wonderful record. Shakespeare wrote his plays to be acted, and one of the best ways to know and enjoy them is to watch or participate in performances—"who understandeth thee not, loves thee not."

There must be hundreds of performances, however, that are not reported. That is a pity. If you see or take part in a production of Shakespeare, particularly one by a school or an amateur group, send a report and a program to Mrs. Donald F. Hyde (see p. 51). And if you want suggestions about details of production, costuming, or music, write to someone in Theater Notes who has recently put on your play. You will be gratified by the generous response.



SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW ROCHELLE

As a feature of the semi-centenary year of the College of New Rochelle (New York), Props and Paint, the dramatic society, presented *As You Like It* in Chidwick auditorium on Monday evening, 23 November. Edgar Kloten, a member of the Shakespeare Association of America, directed.

As You Like It was the first production of the college dramatic society, given out-of-doors on 12 June 1907. The play was repeated at the Astor Gallery of the old Waldorf Astoria in New York City on 18 February 1909.



"OUT OF PRINT"

The continuing demand for copies of each 1953 issue of *Shakespeare Quarterly* prompts the Treasurer to appeal once more for assistance. If you have copies of these or other issues of *SQ* (or of the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*) that you do not intend to keep as a permanent part of your library, please send them to Mr. John Fleming, 322 East 57th Street, New York City, or write him what you can spare. Some library needs these out-of-print numbers.



INDEX TO VOLUME IV AND VOLUME TITLE-PAGE

Attention is called to the fact that the General Title-page and Table of Contents to Volume IV (1953) of *Shakespeare Quarterly* will be found inside the back cover of this issue.

The Index to Volume IV will be issued in connection with the April number.

Shakespeare Clubs and Study Groups

In 1904 the Shakespeare Section of the Pomona Ebell Club of Pomona, California, withdrew from the larger organization and formed its own club, known as the Shakespeare Club of Pomona. The object of the Club was to study the works and times of Shakespeare, with supplementary study of other authors. Originally the Club met twice a month at the homes of the members; later the meetings were held once a month. Almost all of Shakespeare's plays have been studied or performed by the members.

Character Day, when each member dressed in a Shakespearean costume and quoted a few lines from the plays, was an annual event. As the Club grew larger, Character Day gave way to guest night, at which time the services of a speaker were enlisted. During the past few years, the Club has heard from such speakers as Dr. Frederick Hard, Dr. William H. Davenport, Dr. Louis Evans, and Mrs. Kent Roberts.

Meetings are still held in the charming homes of the members, and tea is served after the program. Guest night is always formal, and the wassail bowl is used at the Christmas party.

This year the Pomona Shakespeare Club is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary in honor of the charter members who are taking an active part in the Club today, namely: Mrs. W. L. Eggleston, Mrs. C. C. Zilles, Mrs. Carlton Seaver, Mrs. George Phillips, and Mrs. Charles Schwan.

Contributors

PETER ALEXANDER, Regius Professor of English at Glasgow University, is the author of *A Shakespeare Primer* and *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III*, and editor of *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, the first complete independent text published in England in half a century.

Professor EMMETT LANGDON AVERY, of State College, Washington, is the author of *Congreve's Plays on the Eighteenth-Century Stage*.

Editor of two of Middleton's plays, Professor R. C. BALD, University of Chicago, has also written extensively about Wordsworth and Coleridge. His present studies center about John Donne, about whom he published a book as early as 1932.

Miss MARCHETTE CHUTE writes as the author of the highly successful *Shakespeare of London*. Her most recent book is *Ben Jonson of Westminster*.

Professor ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH has returned to his post in the English Department of Queen's University, Kingsland, Ontario, after a year of research at Cambridge University.

Dr. RUSSELL A. FRASER is an instructor in English at Duke University. Recently he has completed a critical and bibliographical edition of *The Court of Venus*, the earliest Tudor poetical miscellany.

Professor NORTHROP FRYE, of Victoria College, University of Toronto, is the author of *Fearful Symmetry, A Study of William Blake*.

Shakespeare's Derived Imagery by JOHN ERSKINE HANKINS, Professor of English at the University of Kansas, has just come from press and will be reviewed in a future issue. Earlier books by him are *The Life and Works of George Turberville* and *The Character of Hamlet and Other Essays*.

JOHN LESLIE HARRISON, now completing his doctoral work under the direction of Miss Muriel C. Bradbrook of Girton College, was an editor of *Northern Review* (Canada) before going to Cambridge to complete his graduate studies.

Professor RICHARD HOSLEY, of the University of Virginia, is the editor of *Romeo and Juliet* in the Yale Shakespeare, soon to come from press.

Professor PAUL HAROLD KOCHER of the Claremont Graduate School has recently published *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England*. He is also the author of *Christopher Marlowe, A Study of his Thought, Learning, and Character*.

HUGO KLAJN, a Director of the National Theatre, Beograd, is a Professor at the Academy of Dramatic Arts. His translation into Serbian of *Much Ado* was performed in 1951 and of *The Merchant of Venice* in November 1953.

ROBERT ADGER LAW, who has edited volumes in the American Arden and the Tudor Shakespeare, is Professor of English in the University of Texas. His special interest just now is the composition of Shakespeare's plays with reference to their sources.

CLIFFORD LEECH of the Durham Colleges, University of Durham, is the editor of *Mildmay Fane's Raguaillo d'Oceano, 1640*, and *Candy Restored, 1641*, and more recently the author of *Shakespeare's Tragedies and Other Studies in Seventeenth Century Drama*.

Miss DOROTHY E. MASON, who is Reference Librarian of the Folger Shakespeare Library, was one of the editors of the Variorum Edition of Spenser's *Minor Poems*.

Professor THOMAS A. PARRY is Chairman of the Division of Languages and Literature at Central College (Missouri).

Professor SIDNEY THOMAS, Queens College, Brooklyn, is the author of *The Antic Hamlet and Richard III*. For four years he has been the compiler of the Annual Shakespeare Bibliography that appears in the April issue of *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

KARL WENTERSDORF, one of the very active members of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft; is the author of numerous articles on the life and works of Shakespeare.

A Survey of Shakespeare Scholarship in 1953

HEREWARD T. PRICE



THE year 1953 has produced some startling and revolutionary work, some other work continuing the solid advances made in previous years, and a spate of interesting sidelights on Shakespeare. We begin with the books.

Albert Feuillerat¹ discusses the authorship and chronology of six plays, 2, 3 *Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*. He has formed some very decided judgments. In the *Contention* he can trace two authors and there is not a line that can be attributed to Shakespeare, while 2 *Henry VI* is a hybrid play, partly from the *Contention*, the greater part by Shakespeare. The *True Tragedie* was written by the same authors as the *Contention*, but 3 *Henry VI* is made up of parts from three plays, two parts are from pre-Shakespearian plays, the rest is by Shakespeare. In *Titus* it is the same. It was written by author A, touched up by author B, finally revised by Shakespeare. *Richard II* was written by authors A and C and Shakespeare. *Richard III* contains work by author A. Again it is an old play which Shakespeare revised more or less superficially. *Romeo and Juliet* also has a complex history. An old play, written in rhymed verse about 1562, was first recast by author A, and Shakespeare revised A's revision. Feuillerat supports his conclusions by a great wealth of argument and illustration and long discussions of textual and bibliographical problems.

Fluchère's² book appeared in French in 1947 but one may be allowed to call attention to its English version (1953). Unfortunately too many of our students must either read this translation or go without. T. S. Eliot in his Foreword sets up such an incredible array of qualifications necessary for the critic that he makes us exclaim almost in the words of Imlac, "Enough! thou has convinced me that no human being can ever be a critic." However, T. S. Eliot is "struck by his [M. Fluchère's] comprehension of all the problems involved." And since the book is of 1947 vintage, we may leave it with Eliot's high commendation.

In this huge book Reese³ endeavors to cover the whole of Shakespearian

¹ Albert Feuillerat, *The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays. Authorship. Chronology*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

² Henri Fluchère, *Shakespeare* translated by Guy Hamilton with a Foreword by T. S. Eliot. London: Longmans, Green and Company.

³ M. M. Reese, *Shakespeare His World and His Work*. University of London: Edward Arnold and Company.

scholarship. Where so much is offered, there will be many mistakes. For instance, his account of Shakespeare's pronunciation is full of errors. But on the whole Reese presents his facts ably and with lucidity. He argues his opinions with great acuteness, and he has much to say that is both new and valuable. His book is an admirable storehouse of facts and criticism which all scholars will find useful to keep handy as a book of reference.

Whitaker⁴ sets out to correlate the growth of Shakespeare's mind and art with his learning. In effect Whitaker subordinates Shakespeare's intellectual growth to his learning, to the books he had read. He believes that the best clue to the meaning of a play is to compare it with its sources. He develops the theory that after 1600 a new understanding of life comes to Shakespeare in terms of traditional Christian thought. He pays relatively little attention to plays later than *Lear* and *Macbeth* because with the exception of *The Tempest* these plays reveal no significant development of learning or of thought.

Acting on these principles Whitaker finds little intellectual content in the Histories that is not in Halle or Holinshed and in the Roman plays that is not in Plutarch. The interpretation of life in the tragedies is traditionally Christian, and it is based, among others, on Hooker, the Bible, St. Augustine, the Stoics, Aristotle, and Plato. Whitaker argues his thesis with obvious enjoyment of the fun he is having, and he communicates to his reader his own immense delight in the game.

Schilling⁵ starts out from the same point as Whitaker, that Shakespeare inherits the great traditions of the ancient and medieval cultures and that his figures live in the world of the renaissance and of humanism and they show traces of the influences of Petrarch, Machiavelli, and Montaigne. As against T. S. Eliot he insists that religion penetrated Shakespeare's whole life, a religion beyond party, most probably closely resembling medieval religion. He admits Shakespeare kept close to the facts that his sources gave him but says the poet's business is not to invent facts but to interpret them. Schilling says his purpose is to analyze the poetical interpretation of humanity in Shakespeare's works and from such a collection of examples to answer the question, What is man? Schilling gives us both less and more than he promises. He does not answer his question, but he interprets the plays not from without but within. Like a good philosopher, he always considers the function of any aspect of the play that he is discussing. His subject is Shakespeare's increasing knowledge of man, especially shown in Shakespeare's study of man in his struggle with fate. Schilling, however, interprets the plays not only philosophically as giving a meaning to existence, but also aesthetically. What he discusses, he sees as belonging to the organization of the play. The book is full of subtle perceptions, and although it misses the mark at times, it is a real addition to our knowledge of Shakespeare.

On pp. 98-109 Morris⁶ discusses Shakespeare's political ideas. Morris argues

⁴ Virgil K. Whitaker, *Shakespeare's Use of Learning, An Inquiry into the Growth of his Mind and Art*. San Marino, California: The Henry E. Huntington Library.

⁵ Kurt Schilling, *Shakespeare, Die Idee des Menschseins in seinen Werken*. München, Basel: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag.

⁶ Christopher Morris, *Political Thought in England, Tyndale to Hooker* (Home University Library). Oxford University Press.

that Shakespeare did not despise the First and Second Citizen or the mob. He made the multitude "one composed of intelligible human beings. He was too great a dramatist not to find a conflict between right and right more satisfying for his purposes than a crude conflict between right and wrong." Inevitably, Morris discusses the order-disorder theory, and he uses the *Tempest* to show that there must be law and government, "that no man is really good enough to govern, and, therefore, . . . governors and governments, though always necessary, can always be reformed." No scholar should overlook this discussion.

Spalding⁷ in the main traces the development of Shakespeare's philosophy from his early plays in which he considers "the chaos of man's world," through his middle plays, where he is perplexed by the difficulty of reconciling tragic evil to the "necessary perfection" of the divinity that rules the world, finally to his last plays, where "men who had lost themselves were now to find their loss their profit. . . . It is for man's ultimate benefit that Heaven has admitted evil into the world." Of such is Shakespeare's Philosophy.

Miss Lascelles⁸ traces with great acuteness the history of the "myth" in *Measure for Measure* up to Shakespeare and also its treatment by his contemporaries. She then subjects the whole play to a close running analysis, paying special attention to the reasonableness of the action and to the question whether any special passage makes stage-sense. Her handling of the problem is brilliant, and at times, as in her analysis of Angelo's second interview with Isabella, she is profound. She finds good reasons to reject the disintegration advocated by Professor Dover Wilson. If anything, she is too analytical. Although she has a "Verdict" and a "Conclusion" she fails, in my opinion, to see the play sufficiently as a whole. But for all that her book, original in method and in its findings, is an extremely valuable contribution to our knowledge of this difficult play.

Presson⁹ believes that Chapman's translation of eight books of the *Iliads*, published in 1598, furnished the basis of Shakespeare's plot. Shakespeare extends the action precisely over the field covered by these books, beginning at the withdrawal of Achilles and ending with his return to slay Hector. In characterization too he is dependent on Chapman's material. Those characters which appear in the eight books are strong in Shakespeare's play, the characters taken from outside Chapman are relatively weak in their effect. For the rest, Caxton is more important than Lydgate. Chaucer supplied the love-story. Peele's *Tale of Troy* may have supplied hints. In Peele's poem as in the play Achilles falls in love with Polyxena before Patroclus is slain. Presson believes that Heywood's *Iron Age* owes something to Shakespeare. (However, Presson may be mistaken. It is possible that the *Iron Age* was written before *Troilus and Cressida*.) Unlike earlier scholars Presson sees the play as unified by a theme—all the chief warriors—Achilles, Hector, Troilus—are conceived as men whose judgment is overcome by passion. In the same way Othello, Lear, Macbeth, Coriolanus, Antony are subject to an overgrowth of a faculty that wrecks their judgments and indirectly the societies about them. So "*Troilus and Cressida* may be regarded as the gateway to the later tragedies. To consider it, however, as a problem play, or

⁷ K. J. Spalding, *The Philosophy of Shakespeare*. Oxford: George Ronald.

⁸ Mary Lascelles, *Shakespeare's Measure for Measure*. University of London: Athlone Press.

⁹ Robert K. Presson, *Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and the Legends of Troy*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

dark comedy, or comical satire, is to remove this extraordinarily rich, and fascinating play from the current of Shakespeare's developing dramaturgy."

This very important book¹⁰ contains too much for brief review. Miss Walker discusses the theory, which may now perhaps be regarded as established, that in the case of *Richard III*, *King Lear*, and *Troilus and Cressida*, the text of the Folio was based on a Quarto that had been collated with some sort of authentic manuscript. She prefers to think the manuscript was in the nature of a prompt-book or some other playhouse document. She extends this theory by endeavoring to show that the same thing happened in the case of 2 *Henry IV*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*. She makes the theory of memorial reconstruction by actors look shaky. She calculates the probable number of mistakes a compositor would make, infers that many of these mistakes have gone unnoticed, and concludes that the modern editor is justified in emending more freely than he does at present. There is no space to discuss her arguments in detail; one can only say that this book is so good that no student of Shakespeare's text can afford to miss it.

It is impossible to summarize the findings of this enormous book¹¹ in the space at our disposal. It must suffice to indicate generally the method used and the ground covered. The raw material consists of the First Folio and the Quartos preceding the Folios. These have been excerpted for rhymes, phonetic spellings, homonymic puns, and various metrical indications of contraction and elision. Kökeritz collects the evidence afforded by the work of the orthoepists, by orthography, by meter, by rhyme, by puns and jingles. He discusses the pronunciation of each vowel and consonant separately. He discusses stress. He transcribes various passages in phonetic script. In the Appendixes he discusses syncopated words, and the accentuation of words stressed on the first or second syllable, and he gives an index of Shakespeare's rhymes. It is a work, take it for all in all, we shall not look upon its like again, indispensable to every Shakespeare scholar, and, be it said, to every critic of Shakespeare. One peeve may be allowed to me perhaps. Why does Professor Kökeritz speak of New English, when he obviously means Modern English?

This is a revolutionary book¹² and in some details it supports Hotson's article (see below). Hodges develops the Elizabethan stage from the street-theater. He dismisses the traditions about the inn-yard theater as being without authority. He starts then from the stage of the street-theaters, which is basically a platform on trestles or posts, at the back some sort of house or tiring-room from which the actors emerged. It was 5½ to 6 feet above the ground. Such a stage was erected in inn-yards. He imagines it "having room to expand in Burbage's newly built arena, enlarging itself, and that little tabernacle at the back, the rudimentary tiring-house, enlarging itself also, adding an upper storey or even two, incorporating itself into the structure of the main building, and presently, with the further addition of a canopied Heavens, becoming the façade we know." The marsh on which the Globe was built makes it impossible to suppose that a deep cellar was excavated under the stage to provide for the

¹⁰ Alice Walker, *Textual Problems of the First Folio* (Shakespeare Problems Series, VII). Cambridge University Press.

¹¹ Helge Kökeritz, *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

¹² C. Walter Hodges, *The Globe Restored. A Study of the Elizabethan Theater*. London: Ernest Benn Limited.

"Hell." So the platform of the stage was probably on a level with the spectators' heads, and this, with a very shallow excavation, provides room for the activities under the stage. Of the four stages known only one was certainly paled in. The Globe was probably an open structure draped round with hangings.

At the back of the stage there was a part which might be hung with curtains, but this area did not constitute an "inner stage" in the sense that modern scholars have given to that expression. On the other hand there was an upper stage. In the fifth act of *Antony and Cleopatra* it was a small temporary structure, not too far back from the audience, brought somewhat forward from the tiring-house wall. If hung with curtains, it would serve many of the purposes of the "inner stage."

In addition the theater was brilliantly decorated, adorned with marble and allegorical painting, the pillars, pilasters, posts being either gilded or tricked out in bright colors.

Hodges gives us 62 reproductions of sketches, drawings, or pictures of contemporary stages in England and on the continent, including a Jacobean "heavens" from Cullen, Banffshire. In an Appendix he reconstructs in eight drawings the history of the Elizabethan stage from the inn-yard to the second Globe Playhouse of 1614.

In connection with this book we may mention an important article from a periodical.¹³ In this revolutionary article Hotson puts forward the proposition that Shakespeare used an arena stage. From the Works Accounts for the court-performances he quotes passages like "*a broad Stage in the middle of the Haul,*" "*the haul . . . with a stage in the myddle.*" For the other scenes requiring action at an upper level, like the balcony-scenes, or for cells, tents, and the senate-house, the producer built "houses" or "mansions," light structural units, which were placed left and right of the playing-area. Such arena-stages persisted until at least 1665. Hotson proceeds to argue that the professional theaters also used arena-stages. The evidence for this is not so convincing as for the private stages in the Royal halls. However, scholars will have to weigh this article very carefully in writing the history of the Elizabethan theater.

Whitehouse's book is a summary of information about Shakespeare's boys.¹⁴ It contains a reproduction of the elder Brueghel's picture, "Children's Games," which may help to explain some references to games in Elizabethan literature that would otherwise be obscure.

The first four chapters of this book¹⁵ deal brilliantly with Marlowe's career. The fifth entitled "Marlowe and Shakespeare," is the only chapter that comes within the scope of this review. Wilson advances the view that "there were no popular plays on English history before the Armada and that Shakespeare may have been the first to write one." Wilson suggests that since the chronology of Shakespeare's plays is uncertain, it may be possible to push back their dating. That would involve having Shakespeare write maturely in his plays before 1590 and immaturely in *Venus and Adonis* in 1594. It is, however, clear that the passages in 2 and 3 *Henry VI* which resemble passages in *Edward II* were taken

¹³ Leslie Hotson, "Shakespeare's Arena," *The Sewanee Review*, LXI, 347-361.

¹⁴ J. Howard Whitehouse, *The Boys of Shakespeare*. Birmingham: Cornish Brothers.

¹⁵ F. P. Wilson, *Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare* (The Clark Lectures, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1951). Oxford University Press.

by Shakespeare from the Chronicles, while there are no corresponding passages in the Chronicles which Marlowe used for *Edward II*. For the rest Shakespeare's range is much wider than Marlowe's. His style is different, he thinks in images and he can present, in a way Marlowe cannot, visual images sharply to the eye. Shakespeare's Histories have a unity of theme, a sharpness of characterization, and an epic sweep that we do not find in Marlowe. On the other hand, Marlowe's poems add a new dimension to Marlowe. As Lamb says, his works are all of a different kind. *Hero and Leander* moves forward so powerfully that the digressions, conceits and rhetorical extravagancies of the time do not fatally injure it. "Can as much be said of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*?" If we could date Shakespeare's Sonnet 86 back to the last year of Marlowe's life, "we should be compelled to believe that when he wrote of 'the proud full sail of his great verse,' he meant Marlowe."

The most important edition of a single play to appear in 1953 was the Variorum edition of *Troilus and Cressida*.¹⁶ Harold N. Hillebrand brought it to practical completion, and after his illness T. W. Baldwin as supplemental editor saw it through the press and added to Hillebrand's work material of his own. The editors print as their text the play as it is in the First Folio, adding those passages in the Quarto which appear to have been omitted from the Folio. This edition is the first to give the first printing of the first page of the Folio. It would be impossible to pick out all that is new and important in this huge volume. Hillebrand's interpretations of the text are full, clear, and sound. Baldwin gives additional useful information. On p. 356 Baldwin insists "that there is no known instance in Shakespeare's working days where any play was ever written for such private performance," i.e., for the Inns of Court or elsewhere. There is a long pedigree of the famous speech on degree (pp. 397-410). The conclusion is reached that Shakespeare elsewhere repeatedly insists that it is love which prevents chaos, the attribution of this function to degree is not Shakespearian, this fact argues against Shakespeare's authorship of the passage, and the speech should not be made the keystone to explain Shakespeare's view. The volume contains, as all Variorum volumes should, an inexhaustible treasure of useful things.

Another good edition of a single play is *Titus Andronicus*,¹⁷ by J. C. Maxwell. Maxwell has brought out a completely new edition, that has little or nothing to do with the old Arden edition of H. B. Baildon. Maxwell has done a thorough job of investigating the editions, sources, and the date. He follows the text of Q1 closely, including spellings that most modern editors ignore. He has been able to add a surprisingly large number of new notes illustrating Shakespeare's usage. On the whole and with reserves he is inclined to regard *Titus* as the work of Shakespeare. He has produced the best edition of *Titus* that we have.

Brook writes an important introduction upon how to stage *As You Like It*.¹⁸ He goes beyond his text by illuminating remarks on Shakespeare's style. The book reproduces in fine color the designs for costumes and one or two back-

¹⁶ H. N. Hillebrand and T. W. Baldwin, eds., *Troilus and Cressida* (New Variorum Edition). Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.

¹⁷ J. C. Maxwell, ed., *Titus Andronicus* (New Arden Edition). London: Methuen.

¹⁸ *As You Like It*. Introduction by Peter Brook. Décor and costumes by Salvador Dalí. London: The Folio Society.

cloths which Salvador Dali made for a recent performance in Rome. Both the introduction and the illustrations make this an important book to possess.

The annual journals produce a rich crop of scholarship and criticism. Harold Jenkins opens *Shakespeare Survey* 6¹⁰ by discussing the studies which scholars published on the Histories between 1900 and 1951 (pp. 1-15). The Histories have become much more important than they were considered to be in the nineteenth century. Popularity has shifted, *Richard III* has lost, *Richard II* has gained. There has been much detailed study of sources, text, and canon. The disintegrators have been losing ground. When scholars came round to giving 2, 3 *Henry VI* to Shakespeare, they also ceased to doubt Shakespeare's complete authorship of *Richard III*. Instead of thinking Shakespeare a dunce, critics now say that the Histories reflect contemporary political thought and they even go further and see that these plays involve the question of "the vast pattern of order." New critical problems have arisen, such as the question of imagery, of naturalism in characterization as against "dramatic" characterization, and the integration of 1 *Henry IV* and 2 *Henry IV*. Clifford Leech discusses the unity of 2 *Henry IV* (pp. 16-24). Leech is uneasy about the clash of feelings in the play. The great figures compel our awe, but they are petty and villainous as well. Shakespeare is doubtful, he feels less secure in his assumptions. "Elizabethan dramas are rich in implication because they have emotional, but not logical, coherence. We travel two roads, or more, at once." Wolfgang Clemen discusses anticipation and foreboding in Shakespeare's early Histories (pp. 25-35). He shows that these feelings are built up by prophecies, by spirits who are conjured up, by direct prescience, the plain declaration that certain events are bound to come, by curses and warnings, by dramatic irony of various sorts. Karl Brunner finds middle-class attitudes prevalent in the Histories (pp. 36-38). The middle classes "wanted peace and order at home, a thrifty government, freedom from interference by rival aristocratic factions—just the opposite of what had happened during the civil wars." Kenneth Erwin is inclined to find Shakespeare's hand in *Edward III* (pp. 39-47). Hart's vocabulary-tests would support the theory. The use of iterative imagery and of clusters of imagery suggests Shakespeare. The play manifests also some of the mannerisms of Shakespeare. Perhaps Shakespeare, as in *Pericles*, hastily revised a play by another dramatist. Sir Barry Jackson in discussing his production of *Henry VI* (pp. 49-52) says it is clear the play was by a dramatist of the first rank, although immature. The battles, alarms, excursions, beheadings present difficulties. Some scenes such as the son killing his father and father killing his son were tremendously impressive. Sir Barry thinks he has proved that the play has "theatricality." Charles Tyler Prouty describes an early Elizabethan playhouse (pp. 64-74). Prouty gives the history of a playhouse at Trinity Hall in London, at least so far as he can reconstruct it from records. The accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Botolph without Aldersgate record receipts for the rental of the hall from players or for plays between 1557-1568. We have a sketch of the hall (reproduced in the *Survey*) made in 1782 from which we are able to estimate the size of the building. There was a gallery which would provide for action on two levels and a curtain let down from the gallery would provide an inner

¹⁰ *Shakespeare Survey* 6. Ed. Allardyce Nicoll. Cambridge University Press.

stage, although it is not clear that an inner stage was used. Terence Spenser writes (pp. 75-78) to show that Shakespeare did not know when he began *Timon* how much a talent was worth, that he found out as he went along, and then in several places got his figures right. J. W. Lever shows (pp. 79-90) that Shakespeare used John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593) as a source for some of his figures in poetry and of his jokes in prose. Joan Rees believes from a passage in Daniel's *Cleopatra* that the poet had been present at a performance of the play (pp. 91-94). John Money discusses in detail Othello's speech, "It is the cause . . ." (pp. 94-105). He comes to much the same judgment as T. S. Eliot on Othello. "It is the cause" is an exposure of "the human will to see things as they are not." "To see Othello here as he wishes himself to be seen is to distort the tragedy. For it is Othello's self-deception, and not his bad luck, that is essential to that tragedy." On pages 126-128 there is a list of Shakespeare productions in the United Kingdom in 1951. Richard David discusses the performance of the Histories at Stratford (pp. 129-139). He has some very illuminating things to say about the difficulties of presenting the Histories and about the failures, mistakes, and successes at Stratford. The conclusion is that the performances proved that *Richard II*, 1; 2 *Henry IV*, *Henry V* were not epics but really plays. George Rylands discusses the performances of *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *Othello* during the Festival of Britain (pp. 140-146). In the course of the discussion Rylands makes some acute critical judgments of the plays themselves. The *Survey* ends with the usual chapter on the year's contributions to Shakespearian study by Bradbrook—Leech—McManaway.

The current volume of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*²⁰ contains the usual report on performances of Shakespeare's plays in German-speaking countries and the survey of the "literature" about Shakespeare that appeared in 1952. It also contains a Shakespeare bibliography for 1947-1948.

The papers open with a posthumous article by the late Saladin Schmitt on "Shakespeare, Drama and Stage" (pp. 18-34). In opposition to the Greek drama Shakespeare's work is "character drama." His plays contain no profession of belief, no religion, no teaching. Above everything in his plays we see the Hero, and Hero-ism (*Heldentum*) is the one thing his characters cannot do without and must show. This idea of the heroic secularizes (*verweltlicht*) the drama and excludes any Christian tendencies. Shakespeare was the first modern dramatist. He did not want to be a poet (*Dichter*) but to be what we call in modern times a writer for the theater (*Theaterschriftsteller*). He did not want to be a great dramatist but only to be nothing more than a regular theatrical hack (*ein regelrechter Stückeschreiber*). Later on Schmitt makes his meaning plain. Shakespeare began as an actor, and his desire to act found an outlet in his plays. They were a compensation for his not acting. It is an absolute impossibility to speak about his *Weltanschauung*. Shakespeare's *Weltanschauung* is that of each of his characters. Each of Shakespeare's characters has his own distinctive language. All these characters were born from the pleasure of representing, of presentation, not from the religious joy of declaring a faith. Man and his controlling passion—that is Shakespeare's subject. He places his persons in a situa-

²⁰ *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch . . . der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Bd. 89. Ed. Herrmann Heuer, Wolfgang Clemen, and Rudolf Stamm. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer.

tion that conflicts with the fundamental bases of their characters. He carries his characterization so far that he often neglects his plot and his hero forgets for long passages at a time why he is in the drama. Often a play is almost ended and then Shakespeare suddenly remembers that he must tidy up and he resolves everything in a summary fashion. This occurs most frequently in comedy. Alpha and Omega with Shakespeare is the art of the actor. Herder's saying is still valid, the reader of Shakespeare must have the stage inside him.

Shakespeare's stage was the first illusion-stage in the history of the theater. However primitive his stage may have been, in every scene there is illusion, this is a forest, this is a room, this is the sea-shore in Illyria. The drama is calculated for a particular scene, the scene is as it were an actor; and it wins power as a symbol. The modern Shakespearian stage ought to be as primitive as possible, with modest decoration, a little painted scenery perhaps, in the front of the stage only practicable things like chairs and tables. Since Shakespeare's stage was the first illusion-stage (*Illusionsbühne*) scenic realism is the important thing. The art-theater (*Stilbühne*) belongs to antique drama and not to Shakespeare. The scenery must always play a subordinate part and not be allowed to become too prominent as it was in the theater at Meiningen.

Flatter writes about Shakespeare the actor (pp. 35-50). His thesis is that in all his plays Shakespeare was a great actor. His diction, therefore, is that of an actor. Flatter shows from numerous examples how Shakespeare's language reveals an intimate knowledge of stage-practice. Many of the so-called broken lines indicate a pause for reflection or for stage-business. The punctuation, also, is frequently intended to serve the purposes of the actor. The examples that Flatter gives are well worth the attention of editors and other students of Shakespeare's text.

Benno von Wiese discusses in a profound essay Shakespeare's representation of evil (pp. 50-71). Shakespeare does not glorify his villains because of their towering superiority to ordinary man, nor on the other hand does he hold them up as moral examples, "such actions, such men come to no good." Evil cannot be represented as being alone or predominant, it can only be shown in conflict with other forces that oppose it, fall before it, or conquer it. The primitive power of evil develops in opposition to the highest good, which alone is a match for evil even when evil defeats the good. In two plays, however, *Richard III* and *Macbeth*, evil prevails almost to the very end. Richard III, indeed, is replaced by Richmond, and Macbeth by Malcolm, but in both cases the representatives of a new order seem to pale before the sturdy power and satanic brilliance of the men they defeat. But Richard is not what Gundolf called him, "intellect as tragic power," on the contrary he is devilish, and his kingdom is the kingdom of calamity. Richard has deliberately adopted the *summum malum* and put his life under the categorical imperative of evil. But his principle, "I am I," is a gigantic self-delusion. Conscience pierces his defenses and catches up with him at last. All absoluteness of evil is only a show, the most terrible negation comes to meet an opponent, which even the man most resolute in evil seeks to deny in vain, we may call him God, Eternity, or Transcendence. Man is never alone, the godhead always remains his invisible partner and opponent in the game.

Richard III is the exponent of a corrupt world, in which he tries to strangle his conscience. Macbeth, on the other hand, comes from a world that is whole, and Duncan is a good king. Conscience plays a decisive role in the play, since Macbeth distinguishes between good and evil. Macbeth remains a psychological riddle that will never be fully explained. Not the highest good but the extreme of evil is a paradox in Shakespeare's work. Richard and Macbeth are tragic figures because the tragedy of evil consists in its consequences that the energy, strength of soul, intellectual ability are in vain. Evil confutes itself. Whoever tries to realize evil absolutely, arrives at a point where he succumbs to what is limited, even to nothingness. Richard learns this at the end of his terrible career, Macbeth knows it against his will from the very beginning.

The highest degree of tragedy is reached when noble souls are born into a time of rottenness. This may be seen in *Hamlet*. Nobility in this play is consciousness of the highest ethical values, conscience in a sovereign meaning that which penetrates the whole man, consciousness of responsibility for the salvation or perdition of mankind. Gundolf's saying that intellect is tragic power suits not Richard but Hamlet. For in this world that is out of joint the highest nobility can only appear in perverted forms such as melancholy, cynicism and under the mask of madness. Claudius is a doughty and formidable opponent, but he attempts the impossible, he wishes to erect a system of law and order on the foundations of chaos. To all appearance sovereign, in reality he is unfree and guilty, involved against his will in the complicated work of Nature, Time, and Fortune. But the final victory of truth can only come about by means of tragedy. When Hamlet speaks of a special providence watching over the fall of a sparrow, he knows that what is happening is not a game played by capricious Fortune but something sent by the will of God, and here the nobility of man's will reaches a limit beyond which it cannot go.

Horst Oppel discusses the problem of the conflict of one will against another in Shakespeare (pp. 72-105). A scene in which one character breaks down another's opposition and fetters his will is frequent both in Shakespeare and in the Elizabethan drama generally. A typical example is I.ii of *Richard III* in which Richard converts Ann's loathing of him into something like love and completely wins her over to his will. Other examples are the Claudius-Laertes episode in *Hamlet* and the full supremacy that Cleopatra exercises over the spirit of Antony. The humanistic doctrine of the soul's capacity for variation or change led men to study carefully the technique by which they could influence a person whom they wished to make "their own." It is the virtuosity in the use of such techniques which produces so many great scenes in Elizabethan drama. Secondly, the Renaissance idea of the will as the power which ensures our spiritual growth enables Shakespeare to soar to higher levels above finite aims and purposes. Hamlet gives up the old conviction of the autonomous morality (*Sittlichkeit*) of man and the rational foundation of our nature and is rewarded by a higher vision: "There's a divinity that shapes our ends." Here Shakespeare transcends the work of his contemporaries. Without Shakespeare, man's gift of capacity for change, which the humanists valued so highly, would have become just the basis for a pragmatic technique of winning power over other people. Of course Shakespeare shows himself interested in very much the same psycho-

logical problems that occupied his contemporaries. But as in everything else so here he comprehends the soul of man in its completeness, in its lower aims as well as in its higher obligations. And it is just this that makes him a great creator of character.

Hermann Heuer (pp. 106-127) ably discusses the modern views of *Troilus and Cressida* in a long and thorough article. He passes in review all the "literature" of the subject that has been published in the last thirty years or more. He also goes back to the sources to Chaucer, Lydgate, Caxton, and Chapman's Homer. He rejects the theory that the play is a "comical satire" on the ground that the disillusionment of Troilus destroys his existence. Moreover he suffers such torture in the tent-scene that a satirical interpretation misses the point. Heuer finds the construction of the play admirable. It is based on the counterpoint of scenes in Troy alternating with scenes in the Greek camp, debates of the Greeks corresponding to those of the Trojans. The two parties have their corresponding figures, Paris-Diomedes, Helen-Cressida, and the commentators Pandarus-Thersites. The love-plot is carried to an exciting crescendo, the separation of the lovers falls together with the exchange-agreement of the Greeks and Trojans, and the parallel action of the war reaches its turn-about when Hector rejects the offer of the Greeks to raise the siege if Helen is returned to them. Here are pivotal points of the action which decide the fate of Hector and of Troilus. The play has for us moderns a special charm because it combines penetrating and acute analysis with a passionate style which finds a parallel in the metaphysical poetry of Donne. Speculative themes are experienced and discussed with an intensity that we find elsewhere only in the great tragedies, in *Hamlet* or in *Lear*. Heuer ends by reminding us of Goethe's words. *Macbeth* is Shakespeare's best play for the theater, in this he has shown the greatest understanding of the stage. But if you want to recognize the freedom of his intellect (*seinen freien Geist*), then read *Troilus and Cressida*, in which he has treated the matter of Iliad in his own way.

August Ruegg in a paper on Caliban and Miranda (pp. 128-131) draws attention to some parallels between Caliban and Ovid's Polyphemus.

Gerda Prange (pp. 132-161) discusses Shakespeare's use of the dances of his time. Shakespeare mentions twelve kinds of dances in his plays. They are the *measure*, *passy measures pavin*, *galliard* and *cinque pace*, *brawl*, *canary*, *lavolta*, *coranto*, *jig*, *morris*, *hay*, *bergomask*, *dump*. The passages referring to these dances are given and interpreted and the dances are described.

In *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. V,²¹ there are three articles of immediate interest to Shakespeareans. Richard Hasker²² takes up a theory which Pollard put forward only to reject, namely that the Folio text of *Richard II* was made up from Q3 together with some pages from Q5. Hasker proves that the theory is true and furthermore he makes it plausible that the copy of Q3 used by the printers was a prompt-book and the Q5 leaves were supplied while Q3 was still being used in the theater and before the quarto was sent to the printer for copy. This would further imply "that *Richard II* was still being acted as late as 1615,

²¹ *Studies in Bibliography*. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1952-1953. Vol. V.

²² Richard E. Hasker: "The Copy for the First Folio *Richard II*," pp. 53-72.

the date of the publication of Q5." This study is a valuable contribution to our knowledge.

Using the principle of examining characteristic spellings as put forward by Satchell and especially by Willoughby and Hinman, Cauthen²³ comes to the conclusion that the whole of *Lear* was set by Willoughby's compositor B.

In a revolutionary article Todd²⁴ upsets all established ideas about the sequence of issues and states of F2 and proposes a new order. He proves that the original issue is the one usually described as Allot 4-5-Effigies C. By an examination of paper and water-marks he proves that the issues hitherto known as "Allots 1-3" were not printed until 1640. They were in fact "nothing more than sweepings from the ware-house floor." He then determines the order of variants in the first issue. Then he goes on to count the number of copies belonging to each issue and how they were distributed among the publishers and book-sellers interested in the edition. He then clears up the mess with regard to the relationship between the variants in the commendatory poems on leaf A5 recto, which is conjugate to the title. He goes on to give the history of Charles I's copy. He ends up with a tabulation of Variants and a Register of Copies. It is impossible to convey in a short space the intricate reasoning upon which Todd's conclusions are based. They carry conviction. All those papers in *Studies in Bibliography* may serve as models of research in a difficult terrain. They are thorough, exact, based on observation of fact, and acutely reasoned.

A new undertaking by the University of Miami offers twelve papers on Shakespeare.²⁵ Fredson Bowers starts the volume by a detailed discussion of the textual problems that must be solved before we can expect a definitive edition of Shakespeare. E. W. Parks calls attention to the discussion of Shakespeare's authorship of various plays in Simms's edition of the Shakespeare Apocrypha. Allan Gilbert discusses satire and patriotism in *Henry V* to show that although Shakespeare makes out Henry V to be a great soldier and a devoutly religious man, yet there is implied comment, pitiable, ironic, and a rebuke to man's folly. Robert H. West in discussing Elizabethan Belief in Spirits and Witchcraft shows how the Protestant and especially Calvinistic arguments against angel-worship and devil-lore prepared the way for rationalism. Reginald Scot, however, is unique in his unflinching attack on demonology. Ants Oras shows how Marlowe's new, brilliant methods of orchestrating vowel-music influenced Shakespeare's early blank verse. John H. Long analyzes IV.ii of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* to show how Shakespeare placed a clear delivery of the word-play against a background of instrumental music. He goes on to show that there is plenty of appropriate Elizabethan music now available to modern producers if they wish to achieve the effects Shakespeare desired. John Earle Uhler sets out to prove that *Julius Caesar* is not the tragedy of a person, of Caesar or of Brutus, but it is like a morality, a tragedy of Respublica. The hero is Rome. Richard P. Janaro discusses the dramatic significance in *Hamlet* in order to deny dramatic significance. *Hamlet* "is a congeries of situations the

²³ I. B. Cauthen: "Compositor Determination in the First Folio *King Lear*," pp. 73-80.

²⁴ William B. Todd, "The Issues and States of the Second Folio and Milton's Epitaph on Shakespeare," pp. 81-108.

²⁵ *Studies in Shakespeare*. Ed. Arthur D. Matthews and Clark M. Emery (University of Miami Publications in English and American Literature. Volume I). University of Miami Press.

dramatic significance of which can only be whatever happens to be going on at any given moment." Beyond this, an interpretation of *Hamlet*, as we understand the term, is not profitable or possible or necessary. Carmen Rogers in discussing heavenly justice in the tragedies of Shakespeare argues that Shakespeare's concept of heavenly justice stems from a belief in God who by laws immutable made the world with right order, diversity and rank for all created things. Man has free will, and after great errors in judgment and deed the wheels of retribution move irrevocably but compassionately. Retribution brings to Shakespeare's tragic heroes, with the single exception of Macbeth, "a new harmony with the universe and a new vision to replace the one-time blindness." Paul N. Siegel attempts to show that in his portrait of Shylock Shakespeare is attacking contemporary Puritanism. J. Max Patrick argues that in his portrait of Ophelia Shakespeare deliberately suggests many contradictory interpretations at the same time—that she was chaste, that she was Hamlet's mistress, that she committed suicide because she was pregnant. Such a complex of contradictions, he argues, makes Ophelia dramatically more effective and at the same time more delightful. Josephine A. Pearce in discussing the constituent elements in Shakespeare's Histories shows that there is a double causation in the Histories. Shakespeare sees history as a working out of God's plan together with the inescapable consequences of human action. Shakespeare's truth is not the truth of historians. He can manipulate chronology or event and still his fundamental truth remains intact. The controlling idea in the Histories remains their moral purpose. Tudor history and the Mirror tradition offer Shakespeare substance and purpose, a third factor, rhetoric, gives him modal design in support of his construction.

The periodicals are too numerous to discuss fully or in detail. The following mentions some of the most important articles of the year. I realize that I have been unable to make a complete review.

Shakespeare Quarterly, Vol. IV. Mrs. Josephine Waters Bennett in her article (pp. 3-9) "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes" (*Hamlet* I.iii. 55-80) shows that the speech is "a familiar and conventional set of wise saws," "familiar to every school-boy." "Laertes knew them by heart." "Polonius is in his first scene as in his last" a "foolish prating knave." Mrs. Bennett improves the occasion to demolish the theory that Shakespeare intended through Polonius to caricature Burghley. Richard Hosley in discussing the corrupting influence of the Bad Quarto on the received text of *Romeo and Juliet* (pp. 11-34) deals faithfully with various theories about the relations between the bad and good Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*. He says that the copy of Q₂ must be regarded as consisting of Shakespeare's foul papers and that an exemplar of Q₁ served as auxiliary copy for the printing of certain passages in Q₂. Then Hosley sets up certain principles which should guide the editor of *Romeo and Juliet*. They are chiefly to the effect that the editor should be very cautious about adopting readings of the bad quarto. Where the good quarto is corrupt in any way, the editor should only have recourse to the bad quarto "after he has exhausted the possibilities of emending a good text error within its own textual and bibliographical contexts." Ernest Brennecke in discussing the Willow Song in *Othello* (pp. 35-38) shows how Shakespeare altered the original text of the ballad with

diabolical cunning to make it correspond with Desdemona's situation. "When the old ballad is sung with all of Shakespeare's verbal interruptions in their proper places, the effect of the scene may be recognized as one of his triumphs of insight, pathos, and tragedy." Fredson Bowers in a note on *Hamlet* I.v.33 and II.ii.181 (pp. 51-56) discusses two similar variations. At I.v.33 Qq 1,2 read *rootes*, F1 *rots*. At II.ii. 181 Q2 and F1 agree on *good*, which Warburton changed to *God*, an emendation most editors still adopt. The similarity, of course, consists of the o:oo variation. After setting forth the innumerable permutations and possibilities Bowers comes to the sound conclusion that since both Q2 readings make excellent sense and since Q2 is our ultimate authority, we should follow Q2 in both cases. From pp. 39-50 and 57-75 the *Quarterly* discusses various productions of Shakespeare's plays and lists the performances which were put on the stage in America and England from the latter months of 1951 to the end of 1952. *Macbeth* appears to have been the most, and *Titus* the least popular play.

Arthur C. Sprague argues in "Gadshill Revisited" (pp. 125-137) in great detail, acutely, and most impressively that Falstaff *was* a coward.

Paul N. Siegel (pp. 139-144) discusses the wedding guests at the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Cary B. Graham in "Standards of Value in *The Merchant of Venice*" (pp. 145-151) discusses the different "values" in the play, friendship, appearance and reality, the value of money. Shylock's losses drive him to value revenge above money. Jessica's values are not those of Shylock.

Warren D. Smith in "Duplicate Revelations of Portia's Death" (pp. 153-161) shows by comparison with Plutarch that these duplicate revelations are authentic. Shakespeare found in Plutarch discrepancies which he introduced into his text. Moreover Brutus was always willing to conceal private distress for the sake of others. He was equally secretive with Portia. He concealed his pain from Messala in order to strengthen Messala's courage before the battle was joined.

John Arthos in "*Pericles, Prince of Tyre*: A Study in the Dramatic Use of Romantic Narrative" (pp. 257-270) shows that *Pericles* turns narrative subjects and devices to dramatic use. Romantic stories present a difficult problem to the dramatist because he must maintain the coherence and achieve the culmination of a power which his audiences had come to expect in drama, while he is developing a different sort of material. The scenes change wonderfully, but what gives interest is the succession of one man's misfortunes, and the ability of Pericles to meet these misfortunes. The suspense comes from the revelation of depth after depth in his consciousness. "The purpose of the play—the purchase is to make men glorious—is developed in the continuing revelation of the nature of Pericles, where each misfortune, each despair, increases our knowledge of his desolation, and where each revival explains the nature of that initial excellence of his, the man on whom perfection waits."

Professor Northrop Frye investigates (pp. 271-277) characterization in Shakespeare's Comedy. He points out that "characterization depends on function: what a character is follows from what he has to do in the play. Dramatic function in its turn depends on the structure of the play." By studying the structure we see that the same devices are used over and over again. Professor

Frye quotes from a treatise, *Tractatus Coislinianus*, which may be close to Aristotle, to the effect that there are three types of comic characters: the *alazon* (the impostor, boaster, hypocrite), the *eirone* (the person who deprecates himself, and thereby deflates or exposes the *alazon*), and the *bomolochos* (the buffoon, the entertainer, the character who amuses by his mannerisms or powers of rhetoric). To these Professor Frye adds the *agroikos* (the "rustic," the "gull"). If there are four typical characters in comedy, and character depends on function, it follows there are four typical functions in comedy and four cardinal points of structure. Professor Frye works out this theory by applying it to Shakespeare's comedies. The notion of an antithesis between a lifelike character and a stock type is a vulgar error. Shakespeare's characters owe their consistency to the appropriateness of the stock type which belongs to their dramatic function. That stock type is not the character, but it is as necessary to the character as a skeleton is to the actor who plays it.

In his "Variant Readings in the First Folio of Shakespeare" (pp. 279-288), Charlton Hinman reports on the discoveries made possible by the instrument he has invented for collating the Folios. Hinman demonstrates "(1) that no two copies of the First Folio selected at random should ever be supposed textually identical throughout; and (2) that no single copy is likely to preserve anything that can properly be considered 'the First Folio text'." Different plays were proof-read with different degrees of care. In the case of *Romeo and Juliet* seven of its fifteen formes show variants, one of its formes, indeed, shows twenty-five variants. And yet the text of this play teems with uncorrected errors. Moreover, the proof-reader did not always bother to consult copy, he corrected what seemed to him to be wrong. Press-corrections may "represent only the sophistications and hasty 'improvements' arbitrarily introduced by a none-too-meticulous proof-reader." Hinman not only backs up his conclusions by a wealth of evidence but he goes on to point out the implications which future editors of Shakespeare must consider. Prof. Lucyle Hook in "Shakespeare Improv'd, or a Case for the Affirmative" (pp. 289-299) shows that the changes made in Shakespeare's plays by Davenant, Otway, and other adapters of the Restoration period were all in the direction of increasing the roles of women. It was a "shift from the male to the female play which continues to dominate drama today." Paul Elmen in his paper on "Shakespeare's Gentle Hours" (pp. 301-309) seeks to prove that in the line "those howers that with gentle worke did frame" (Sonnet V), Shakespeare means the *Horae*. Elmen supplies plentiful quotations to show that hours was used in this sense by Elizabethan poets before and after Shakespeare. He then relates this meaning of "howers" to the problem of time in the Sonnets.

Professor Warren D. Smith in "Stage Business in Shakespeare's Dialogue" (pp. 311-316) shows that Shakespeare's plays "contain nearly three thousand directions for stage business (action performed without shifting position) in the dialogue to fewer than three hundred marginal notations in the basic texts." The reason for many of them was that since the play was viewed from three sides of a projecting platform, much of the action was hidden from the view of the spectators. Shakespeare's directions in dialogue describe the action on the stage for spectators who were prevented from seeing it clearly. When Macbeth

cries out, "Why sinks that cauldron?" (IV.i.106), his outcry "includes the practical function . . . of informing those spectators who could not see it easily at the moment that this property was about to disappear, probably through a trapdoor." Smith shows how Leontes describes for the audience the by-play between Hermione and Polixenes, or how the Doctor gives an exact account of what Lady Macbeth is doing in the sleep-walking scene. At times the speech will tell the audience that something is not being done, that an order, for instance, that they have heard a character utter, is not being carried out. This is a most revealing article.

Paul N. Siegel in discussing the meaning of the title of *Measure for Measure* (pp. 317-320) says that *Measure for Measure* shows the "elaborate working out of retaliation." The retaliation follows the law of comic justice, the punishment fits the crime. Siegel takes the characters one after the other and shows that although they escape the legal punishment of their crimes, they are all punished severely by having to accept the social consequences of their offences. Shakespeare "was attempting to produce not a coherent and consistent doctrine but an effective play." Roger J. Trienens in discussing the inception of Leontes' jealousy in *The Winter's Tale* (pp. 321-326) rejects the view that he suddenly became jealous somewhere in the first scene. He adopts Dover Wilson's theory that Leontes was jealous from the very first and his invitation "to Polixenes to stay longer is merely the device of jealousy seeking proof." Trienens believes that the opening is all the more impressive on account of the disparity between appearance and reality, the contrast between the general opinion of Leontes' happiness and his real state of mind is a stroke characteristic of Shakespeare's genius. Shakespeare only hints at how jealousy is born because his matter is estrangement and reconciliation. "If Shakespeare were to have described its development dramatically he would have had to introduce matter irrelevant to his theme."

Harold S. Wilson, "Action and Symbol in *Measure for Measure* and *The Tempest*" (pp. 376-384). A comparison with *The Tempest* will show that *Measure for Measure* is logical and consistent. The Duke in both plays prompts and controls the action. In *Measure for Measure* the Duke's action shows a firm consistency. Claudio did wrong and was brought to repentance by expecting justice; instead he received mercy. The same is true of Angelo and the others who are pardoned. Measure for measure means that the measure of justice Angelo metes to Claudio is meted to Angelo, but the grace that saved Claudio also saves Angelo. The significant pattern is revealed cumulatively. In *The Tempest* Prospero is not secret like Vincentio but overt. However *The Tempest* shows the same cumulative pattern. Neither Duke controls anyone else's choice, they guide but do not compel.

Brents Stirling, "The Unity of *Macbeth*" (pp. 385-394). *Macbeth* unifies the poetics of setting and mood with motivation and structure. Four themes run through it, darkness, sleep, raptness (Banquo's word), contradiction ("Nothing is but what is not"). Works of art manifest integration of themes into plot and structure.

Andrew J. Green in "The Cunning of the Scene" (pp. 395-404) establishes Shakespeare's superb skill in developing the play within the play in *Hamlet*.

The dumb-show Hamlet deliberately planned in order to work upon Claudius more effectively. Claudius sees it, of course, and from that moment he must be in a state of hypnotic attention to the play. The audience must be made to feel the mounting tension in Claudius.

Warren D. Smith's "The Elizabethan Stage and Shakespeare's Entrance Announcements" (pp. 405-410) shows that there are 405 entrance announcements (e.g. *Look, there he comes . . .*) in Shakespeare. Of the enterers 203 draw attention to themselves by speaking immediately after the announcement of their entrance. The announcements were necessary because of the great depth of the stage and the absence of a proscenium.

Bobbyann Roesen (pp. 411-426) shows that certain scenes in *Love's Labor's Lost* manifest masterly development. The play as a whole is devoted to the working out of the theme of appearance (illusion) and reality. The play is about reality destroying illusion.

T. M. Parrott (pp. 426-432) in discussing whether we should read *God's* or *gods'* in *Lear* V.iii.17, decides for *gods'*.

E. E. Stoll in discussing "Slander in Drama" (pp. 433-450) shows that slander requires both a postulate and a supporting structure. Taking *Othello* as an example, he works out in a masterly fashion the importance of correlating the postulate with the supporting structure. On his way he subjects various scholars to devastating criticism.

Philip Williams in "Two Problems in the Folio Text of *King Lear*" (pp. 451-460) shows that the F text is not the work of a single compositor. While most of it is by compositor A, twelve pages are by B. His final conclusion on the F text: "In 1623, the prompt-book of *King Lear* was a conflation of 'good' pages from Q1 supplemented by inserted manuscript leaves to replace corrupt passages of Q2. Reluctant to let the official prompt-book leave their possession, the company permitted a scribe to make a transcript of the conflated text to serve as copy for the First Folio."

Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Vol. LXVIII. Robert B. Heilman in "The Economics of Iago and Others" (pp. 555-571) discusses Iago's speech "Good name . . . / Is the jewel of their souls. / Who steals my purse steals trash" (II.iii.155-157) and shows how the imagery of this speech is integrated into the play. By a continuous chain of images relating to theft Shakespeare illustrates Iago's destruction of values. Robert H. Goldsmith's "Touchstone: Critic in Motley" (pp. 884-895) points out that a fool served a double function, he both entertained his master and mistress and at the same time ministered to their sense of self-importance. Touchstone revels in his role. Touchstone exercises his wit through parody. Goldsmith illustrates this by parallels from early English comedy and the *Commedia erudita* and the *Commedia dell'arte*. Goldsmith shows how Touchstone's parody affects one character after another in the play. He does not think that Shakespeare is going beyond the play to attack any particular satirist of the time. He uses Jaques, rather, to "get at" several formal and dramatic satirists of his time and to reject the tone of their writings. Touchstone parodies the pastoral tradition, he is an agent of literary satire, and he sees things as they are, he is wise. Paul N. Siegel in "The Damnation of Othello" (pp. 1068-1078) attempts to show that for the

Elizabethans *Othello* had no loose metaphoric meaning. Desdemona in her forgiveness and perfect love is reminiscent of Christ, Iago is reminiscent of Satan. *Othello* had to choose between Christian love and forgiveness and Satanic hate and vengefulness. Choosing the latter, he is damned forever. Roderigo is also damned, killed in the very manner he had devised for Cassio. Iago is damned, suffering torments before his death anticipatory of those he will suffer in Hell. "Othello's agony at having deprived himself of the divine goodness of Desdemona may also be regarded as the temporal prelude to the eternal agony he is to suffer." The element of dramatic justice in the play reconciles us to this damnation, "for it causes us to see it as the sentence of a divine power passing merited judgment upon all."

Studies in Philology, Vol. L. Robert A. Law, in "Links between Shakespeare's History Plays" (pp. 168-188), rejects the theory of Tillyard that the Histories form "a single great sequence." He thinks *1 Henry VI* comes after *2, 3 Henry VI* and the bridge between the two plays (Margaret's marriage) was tacked on to Part One after the agreement between France and England, "the logical conclusion for that play of international conflict." The links between *3 Henry VI* and *Richard III*, of course, are numerous. Law thinks that Shakespeare was moved to write his second tetralogy by reading the Introduction to Halle's *Chronicle*. *1 Henry IV* goes back to *Richard II* in many ways, e.g., the vow to make a voyage to the Holy Land and the riotous life of Prince Hal. In *1 Henry IV* Hotspur remembers how Henry fawned on him while Richard was still king. And Henry tells his son how he plucked allegiance from men's hearts. *2 Henry IV* contains frequent allusions to events in *Richard II* and *1 Henry IV*, and in *Henry V* such allusions are frequent. Finally in the Epilogue to *Henry V* Shakespeare links the two tetralogies. These allusions point to a constant purpose. Shakespeare takes pains in the final scene of one play to build an approach to the opening scene of the next play. In most cases the echo involves a motif not found in Holinshed but wholly of Shakespeare's invention. Although these plays are linked together, Law does not regard them as forming one great epic. Rather they are coupled like separate coaches in a railway train. The two tetralogies are, with the possible exception of *2, 3 Henry VI*, eight individual dramas. Alwin Thaler in "'The Devil's Crest' in *Measure for Measure*" (pp. 188-194) interprets this famous crest (IV.iv.17) in a sense complimentary to the devil. "Let's give the devil his due; write 'good angel' under his coat of arms. The devil himself is not much blacker than everyman."

Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Vol. LII. Ants Oras, "Extra Monosyllables in *Henry VIII*" (pp. 198-213). Oras discusses that form of the feminine ending which consists of an extra monosyllable and he considers the frequency of extra monosyllables in relation to the total number of feminine endings. The proportions are as follows: In the parts of *Henry VIII* attributed to Shakespeare 14.2%, in those attributed to Fletcher 29.00%. In the relative parts of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* Shakespeare's proportion of such endings is 19.4%, Fletcher's 36.00%. In *Cymbeline* it is 18.1%, *Winter's Tale* 20.2%, *Tempest* 23.2%. In *Valentinian* it is 32.4%, in *Bonduca* 30.4%, in *Monsieur Thomas* 42.4%. The figures for Shakespeare show the percentage increasing according to the accepted chronological order. Oras concludes that his statistics show

unmistakable differences between Shakespeare and Fletcher. "It is as sharp as can be expected of prosodical statistics." Furthermore the extra monosyllable in Shakespeare is light, in Fletcher it is heavy. Fletcher repeats the same monosyllables in close succession, Shakespeare prefers variety. The statistics are supported by definite contrasts of technique, and all of these together "speak in favor of the traditional theory" [that Shakespeare and Fletcher divided *Henry VIII* between them]. Shakespeare's extra monosyllables are varied, usually light, and even if heavy, fit naturally and smoothly into the metrical context. Fletcher's extra monosyllables create an effect of top-heaviness.

In *Neophilologus*, Vol. XXXVII, Miss Una Ellis-Fermor (pp. 104-112) seeks to make clear in Shakespeare his distinctive mode of dramatic expression; some way of transmitting his perceptions, something in his revelation of character or his articulation of structure which is distinctive precisely by reason of its service to dramatic ends. We remain continuously immersed in the character's experience; we never cease to be Macbeth, we are never invited to observe him. Corneille in *Polyeucte* shows us Sévère, receiving the news that his betrothed has married another man and Sévère responds with a lecture on his emotional condition. Macduff on receiving bad news "stumbles towards realization, now seeming to grasp it entire, now faltering back into incredulity . . . this is the image of a mind as yet in chaos . . . the equilibrium only comes at the end of the fifth act." Lady Macbeth in the sleep-walking scene, on the other hand, is revealed point by point. "There is not a word in her speeches which cannot be traced to an earlier moment in the play or found to be implicit in the action, a moment, which, when it occurred, was met with a demeanor as firm, as clear and effective as this is haunted and tormented." Shakespeare's mode is the distinctive mode of all supreme drama.

Essays in Criticism, Vol. III. D. S. Bland in discussing the Heroine and the Sea (pp. 39-44) says that Shakespeare's last plays present a pattern of tragedy followed either by a promise or by the actuality of regeneration. The storm or tempest is, as most critics recognize, the symbol of tragic conflict. But in the last plays it is also the means by which the heroine is removed for the time being from the center of conflict. The heroine is the symbol of the process of regeneration. The storm serves a double function. It is a symbol of tragedy and at the same time it takes the agent of regeneration out of the tragic center and sets her apart until the time is ripe for her return. G. K. Hunter considers "The Technique of Shakespeare's Sonnets" (pp. 152-164), comparing Shakespeare's Sonnets with those of his contemporaries in order to bring out the essence of Shakespeare's achievement. He finds that although Shakespeare, like his contemporaries, may be using Petrarchan material, he gives to his sonnets a unique quality by writing as a dramatist. "A dramatist describes a series of emotional situations between persons . . . in a series of separate short poems; the Petrarchan instruments turn in his hands into means of expressing and concentrating the great human emotions, desire, jealousy, fear, hope and despair, and of raising in the reader the dramatic reactions of pity and terror by his implication in the lives and fates of the persons depicted."

Huntington Brown in discussing the Shakespearian Hero (pp. 285-302) divides the Shakespearian heroes into "unsympathetic" (Titus Andronicus, Corio-

lanus, Timon) and "sympathetic" (Romeo, Brutus, Hamlet, Othello, Lear, Macbeth, Antony). He wishes to state the difference from the technical side. The decisive thing is our first impression. Unsympathetic heroes all make their first appearance as aggressive, fluent, taking the initiative. The sympathetic heroes, with the one exception of Lear, appear first in a passive position. They tend to be at cross-purposes with themselves and to soliloquize. *Zwei Seelen wohnen in der Brust* of these sympathetic heroes, there is an inner and an outer man. The logic of such a method of portraiture is that we cannot identify ourselves or "feel sympathy" with any person in his individual aspect, for that is what distinguishes him from all other persons. We can only identify ourselves with those features in another person that are non-individual or generally human. Shakespeare's great virtue is that he sharpens the distinction between "everyman" and the individual. He does this especially by making the hero reveal his inner self in soliloquies and asides, whose content and style set them apart from the immediate context. The soliloquy combines the effect of an all-knowing narrator on the one hand and on the other of a *dramatic person* speaking in his own character, but to nobody but himself and in unspoken words. Brown concludes by applying his ideas to the controversy about the causal relation between character and action (Bradley's School against Stoll-Schücking-Lewis). Our "sympathy" goes out to Othello or Macbeth because we unconsciously identify ourselves with the "everyman" in them. The outward character may be impelled to act on motives, it seems, as illogical as those in a dream, and yet be credible. In the inner man no motives for action are to be sought. The inner man is only contemplative, he takes no part in the councils where policies are decided or executed. But the inner man is the means by which the hero's career becomes an adventure in our lives.

Kenyon Review, Vol. XV. William Empson's "Falstaff and Mr. Dover Wilson" (pp. 213-262). Empson begins by driving Dover Wilson from pillar to post, smashing up one argument of his after another. Empson is not merely negative, he develops his own idea of Falstaff's character. He agrees with other critics that Falstaff is the Vice, the cowardly swashbuckler, he is amusing, and he must be punished. Beyond that, he is the scandalous upper-class man whose behavior embarrasses his class. As a nationalist and an upholder of Machiavellianism he is a good tutor for the Prince. Empson finds a great deal of truth in what Johnson says about Falstaff, because Johnson had known his sort of life at first hand and also could understand "the pain of deformity." Falstaff must have had a heart, otherwise he would have had no power, not even enough to get a drink. One reason why Henry must break him was that he was dangerously strong, he might have led the mob against the King. He was bound to die and, as is the way of old men, he received a severe shock and collapsed suddenly. The Sonnets would indicate that in the person of Falstaff Shakespeare was making a come-back against his aristocratic patrons, not, however, in a bad temper or coarsely. He turned his private humiliation into something different and very entertaining.

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Simms's Border Romances and Shakespeare

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WILLIAM Gilmore Simms (1806-1870), the most important Southern novelist prior to the Civil War, whose best known works of fiction include *The Yemassee*, seven romances dealing with the last years of the American Revolution in South Carolina, and a group of border romances, was steeped in Shakespeare and greatly indebted to him.¹ His works contain many Shakespearian quotations and allusions. The violence, melodrama, strong imagination, and powerful emotion that permeate his works suggest the same qualities that are often found in Shakespeare and other Elizabethan dramatists. Although recent discussions of Shakespeare's influence on Simms have been concerned mainly with the novels about the American Revolution,² Simms's indebtedness to Shakespeare in a group of six novels known as border romances of the South—*Guy Rivers*, *Richard Hurdis*, *Border Beagles*, *Charlemont*, *Beauchampe*, and *Confession*—is greater than in the Revolutionary fiction. An examination of these border novels will reveal clearly the general and the specific types of influence that Shakespeare exerted on Simms as well as some of Simms's most interesting criticism of Shakespeare and his works.

In *Guy Rivers* is seen the influence of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*. *Guy Rivers*, the villain-hero, is ambitious, fierce-tempered, brutal, murderous, and highly imaginative. Obviously like *Macbeth* in several ways, he is, on the other hand, never the admirable person that *Macbeth* was prior to his murder of Duncan. He attempts to blame fate, his mother, Walter Munro (an older outlaw), and other persons for his career of crime. Speaking to Munro, Rivers says:

You taught me first to be the villain you now find me. . . . When I acquired new views of man, and began, in another sphere, that new life to which

¹ William P. Trent has referred to Simms's knowledge of Shakespeare: *William Gilmore Simms*, "American Men of Letters" (Boston, 1892), pp. 135, 310. Vernon L. Parrington has stated that Simms learned from Shakespeare and other Elizabethans how to write "picturesque speech" and that Simms's Porgy, "the most amusing and comic character in our early fiction, was considerably influenced by Falstaff": *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1927), II, 131.

² Hampton M. Jarrell has asserted that Simms's Porgy is modeled rather closely after Falstaff: "Falstaff and Simms's Porgy," *American Literature*, III (May, 1931), 204-212. C. Hugh Holman has objected to Jarrell's statement, maintaining that Porgy, though influenced somewhat by Falstaff, is not so closely modeled after him as Jarrell says. Holman also states that the English drama of the Renaissance and the Restoration influenced Simms in "the description of character through action and soliloquy, the conception of character in terms of the 'humours' theory, and the borrowing of attributes and attitudes from drama": "Simms and the British Dramatists," *PMLA*, LXV (June, 1950), 346-359.

you would now turn your own eyes—when I grew strong among men, and famous, and public opinion grew enamored with the name, which your destiny compelled me to exchange with another, you sought me out—you thrust your enticements upon me; and, in an hour of gloom and defeat and despondency you seized upon me with those claws of temptation which are even now upon my shoulders, and I gave up all! I made the sacrifice—name, fame, honor, troops of friends—for what?³

The last sentence quoted contains the exact words of one of Macbeth's famous speeches; the preceding sentences suggest Rivers' respected position before he succumbed to the temptation to murder. Also like Macbeth in his vivid and morbid imagination, Rivers, on the way to murder Ralph Colleton, says to Munro:

"But is not that the chamber where he sleeps?"

"No; old Barton sleeps there—he sleeps at the end of the gallery. Be calm—why do you work your fingers in that manner?"

"See you not my knife is in them? I thought at that moment that it was between his ribs, and working about in his heart. It was a sweet fancy, and though I could not hear his groans as I stooped over him to listen, I almost thought I felt them." (P. 245)

The preceding is only one of several similar examples of the Macbeth-like type of imagination found in other speeches and reveries in this novel. Later on, Rivers, having murdered a friend of Ralph Colleton named Forrester, causes suspicion to fall on the innocent Colleton by placing Colleton's dirk "smeared with blood" upon the corpse of Forrester (p. 338). Here his actions are like Macbeth's using the daggers of the innocent grooms to murder Duncan.

Besides the foregoing situations and speeches, all of which may well have been suggested by *Macbeth*, *Guy Rivers* has quite a few echoes from *Hamlet* (pp. 287, 289, 469, 300). After having been murdered, Forrester is "sent to his account with all his sins upon his head." Concerning this murder Munro says, "It was a rash and bloody deed." Speaking of Lucy Munro, now a widow, Simms remarks: "As a good economist, a sensible woman, with an eye properly regardful of the future, we are bound to suppose that she needed no lessons from Hamlet's mother to make the cold baked funeral-meats answer a double purpose." Regarding Colleton's narrow escape from death, Simms comments: "How few of us ever dream of the narrow escapes we make, at moments when a breath might kill us, when the pressure of a 'bare bodkin' is all that is necessary to send us to sudden judgment." Incidentally, this and all the other *Hamlet* echoes are concerned with death.

The fifty-three chapters in *Richard Hurd* begin with epigraphs, most of them from Elizabethan dramatists, including twelve from Shakespeare, of which two are from *As You Like It* and three from *Macbeth*. The influence of *Macbeth* is much greater in this book than it is in *Guy Rivers*. In the early part of the novel there is also much that is similar to the situation at the beginning of *As You Like It*.

Richard, the hero and narrator of the story, hates his older brother, John, whom he refers to as fat and lazy and with whom he often quarrels. He is

³ *Guy Rivers* (New York, 1882), pp. 135 f.

angry because he thinks that the beautiful Mary Easterby is about to marry his older brother for his wealth. This last thought driving him almost to despair, he resolves to leave home forever:

Such were my thoughts—such the conviction which was driving me into banishment. In deeper forests—in a wilder home—I had resolved to choose me out an abode. . . .⁴

It is easy to follow Simms's mind from the preceding thoughts which conclude Chapter 2 as it turned to the appropriate quotations from *As You Like It* that begin Chapter 3. Richard persuades a friend, William Carrington, to journey with him into the wilderness. The title of the chapter is "Comrade in Exile" and the quotations are Celia's words to Rosalind: "Now go we in content/To liberty and not to banishment"—and the Duke's words: "Brothers in exile/Hath not old custom made this life more sweet/Than that of painted pomp?" Chapter 4, dealing with what almost resulted in a bitter fight between the two brothers, is headed with his long excerpt from the same play:

Oliver. Know you before whom, sir?

Orlando. Ay, better than he I am before knows me. I know you are my elder brother; and, in the gentle condition of blood, you should so know me. The courtesy of nations allows you my better, in that you are the first born; but the same tradition takes not away my blood were there twenty brothers betwixt us. I have as much of my father in me as you; albeit, I confess your coming before me is nearer to his reverence.

Oliver. What, boy?

Orlando. Come, come, elder brother, you are too young in this.

Oliver. Wilt thou lay hands on me, villain?

Orlando. I am no villain: wert thou not my brother, I would not take this hand from thy throat till this other had pulled out thy tongue for saying so.

The hot-tempered Richard twice lays his hand on John; then he says: "You need not tremble . . . That which you have in your bosom of my blood is your protection . . ." (p. 35). The similarity between the situation in the play and that in the novel is clear.

Later John becomes almost insane with jealousy when he suspects that Mary loves Richard and not him. In *As You Like It* the wicked older brother encourages a wrestler to kill Orlando; but Simms now follows *Macbeth*. John, after seeking Ben Pickett, a poor villainous man whom he has known for a long time, urges him to follow Richard into the wilderness and kill him. Richard, on a former occasion, would have severely punished Pickett for stealing corn, but John had protected him. Pickett finally agrees to kill Richard after John reminds him:

Would he not drive you out of the country if he could? Has he not tried to do it? And who was it stood between you and the whipping-post, when at the head of the county regulators, he would have dragged you to it for robbing the cornhouse and buying cotton from the negroes? Have you forgotten all this, Ben Pickett? And do you like Richard Hurdis any better

⁴ *Richard Hurdis* (New York, 1882), p. 25.

when you remember that, to this moment, he has not relaxed against you, and, to my knowledge, only a month ago threatened you with the horse-whip, if he found you prowling about the plantation? (P. 86)

Simms makes this parallelism to *Macbeth* clear by placing the following long quotation at the beginning of the chapter (11) in which these events occur:

Macbeth. Know

That it was he, in the times past, which held you
 So under fortune which, you thought, had been
 Our innocent self. This I made good to you
 In our last conference; passed in probation with you
 How you were borne in hand; how crossed

 Now, if you have a station in the file,
 And not in the worst rank of manhood, say it;
 And I will put that business in your bosoms,
 Whose execution takes your enemy off;
 Grapples you to the heart and love of us,
 Who wear our health but sickly in his life,
 Which in his death were perfect.

Murderer. I am one, my liege,
 Whom the vile blows and buffets of the world
 Have so incensed, that I am reckless what
 I do to spite the world.

Pickett afterwards thinks that he kills Richard, but, instead, he kills William Carrington, who, mounted on Richard's horse, is fleeing from some outlaws. The chapter (29) in which Pickett reports to John that he has killed Richard is headed with Macbeth's words to his wife after the murder of Duncan: "I have done the deed." The following chapter (30), entitled "The Spectre," in which Pickett thinks that he sees the ghosts of Richard and Carrington, begins with Macbeth's words of terror after the appearance of Banquo's ghost: "Let the earth hide thee!" Up to this point Pickett has apparently been free from fear; but, on the way home after reporting to John, Pickett's Macbeth-like imagination gives him a shock:

All on a sudden, he jerked his bridle with a violence that whirled the animal out from his path; and then his grasp became relaxed. He had strength for no more; he had neither power to advance nor fly. In an instant the avenues to all his fears were in possession of a governing instinct. Guilt and terror spoke in all his features. His glazed eyes seemed starting from their sockets—his jaws relaxed—his mouth opened—his hair started up, and the cold dews gathered at its roots! What sees he? What is in his path to make him fear? Why does the bold ruffian, ready at all times to stab or shoot—why does he lift no weapon now? He is sinewless, aimless, strengthless. There rose before him, even at the gate of his hovel, a fearful image of the man he supposed himself to have murdered. It stood between him and the narrow gateway so that he could not go forward in his progress. The gaze of the spectre was earnestly bent upon him with such a freezing glance of death and doom as the victim might well be supposed to wear in confronting his murderer. The bloody hole in his bosom was

awfully distinct to the eyes of the now trembling criminal, who could see little or nothing else. His knees knocked together convulsively—his wiry hair lifted the cap upon his brow. Cold as the mildewed marble, yet shivering like an autumn branch waving in the sudden winds, he was frozen to the spot where it encountered him—he could neither speak nor move. (P. 208)

Pickett learns that he has killed Carrington instead of Richard Hurdis. Then he is bothered by ghostly visitations from the man he really murdered. He speaks to John Hurdis about the death of Carrington: "That's a business troubles me, squire; and more than once since he's been covered, I've seen him walk over my path, leaving a cold chill along the track behind him" (p. 296). Pickett's unhappiness, like Macbeth's, is further accentuated by the fact that his wife is the only person to whom he can speak freely. When because of his evil deeds he cannot confide in her, his loneliness and misery are stressed (p. 221).

Like Macbeth and Pickett, John Hurdis leads a life of fear. "He was doomed never to sleep in peace again—no, nor to wake in peace. Forms of threatening followed his footsteps by day, and images of terror haunted his dreams by night" (p. 262).

Border Beagles, which follows *Richard Hurdis* and carries over some of the outlaw characters, has a large number of Shakespearian quotations and references. Simms's fondness for Shakespeare probably influenced him in creating a humorous would-be Shakespearian actor, Tom Horsey, who utters a quotation whenever he can. This fact, together with the fact that some of the other characters besides Horsey can and do quote Shakespeare and that many of the chapter epigraphs are from Shakespeare, makes it obvious that the reader can feast on Shakespeare.

In the two earlier novels that have already been discussed the Shakespearian allusions nearly always occur in connection with the treatment of serious material, but in *Border Beagles* their use is mainly for the purpose of humor. Several pages, for instance, are devoted to Tom Horsey's recitation of passages from *Romeo and Juliet* while he is walking in his sleep at the home of his beloved and to his interpretation of Macbeth's most famous soliloquy while his gestures overturn a little boat. *Henry V* is said to be his favorite play, but he quotes freely from *Hamlet* and most of the other plays. Although Horsey's courage is of the highest quality and his loyalty to Harry Vernon commendable, his main function in the play is to afford comic relief to prevent the grimness of the serious story from oppressing the reader too much. His "humor," which is acting and quoting Shakespeare, reminds one of the Elizabethan "humor" characters in general and perhaps of Shakespeare's Pistol in particular, since Pistol's "humor" was to use the language of the stage in his ordinary conversation. Only in this one respect, however, are the two similar, for Horsey's courage and other manly qualities prove him to be far superior to Pistol. In commenting on the fact that the material and "leading characters are drawn from the life," Simms, in his preface to this novel, singles out Tom Horsey for special comment: "Even my actor, absurd as such a character may seem, emanating from the wild woods of Mississippi, is no less real as a personage

than any of the rest. The levity is his, not mine. I can no more answer for his absurdities than I can excuse the gravity of the preceding work."⁵

In his presentation of the limitations and faults in the earnest Horsey's declamation and acting, Simms utters some sharp criticism of a few prominent Shakespearian actors and of the bad examples that they offer to an aspiring but poorly trained amateur like Horsey. Simms, after presenting Horsey reciting to a new acquaintance, remarks:

He treated his comrade to the choicest selections of the old fathers of dramatic literature, and mouthed in the becoming style of the best modern artists. Now he gave imitations of Kean, excelling in the spasmodic hoarseness of his utterance—in the fury of the Pythia without her inspiration—now the lugubrious whinings of Cooper, when declining toward the fifth act; and now the guttural growl of Forrest, when, with singular bad taste, he imitates even the death-rattle in the throat of the obese Vitellius. With much talent, and a good deal of taste for the profession to which he so desperately inclined, the want of a proper education in schools furnishing intrinsic standards, left Horsey entirely open to that worst of all misfortunes to talent in any country—and one which is the particular evil in ours—the formation of his style and judgment upon models essentially erratic, and unregulated by any just principle. To make a point, rather than to act well the part, was too much his desire, as it seems the prevailing ambition with all our Daggerwoods; and in the course of a brief hour, Saxon was treated to a dozen different readings of all the disputed passages in *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Richard*, and the rest.

It was curious to see with what industry the youth had accumulated authorities on Shakespeare. He had Gifford, Malone, Steevens, Seymour, Rowe, Farmer, and some thirty or forty more at his fingerends. . . . (Pp. 80f.)

Horsey, after joining Vernon, who is riding on a serious mission, enlivens the journey with his histrionic ability. Simms uses this occasion to continue his comments on the unfavorable aspects of theatrical training. Although Horsey reads well, he has the fault of not "subduing his utterances to the demands of the character and the capacities of his own voice." This fault, which Simms blames on "the too great size of the theatre," is a fault which, in Simms's opinion, plagued practically all of "our artists." (P. 106)

On this same occasion Simms points out that Horsey frequently quoted Shakespeare and that "there was no lack of passages to fill out his own remarks, and enliven their deficiencies." What Simms here has to say about Horsey's use of Shakespeare might well apply to his own use of Shakespeare in his novels:

These declamations, be it understood, however, were not given with the reckless rapidity of one who has nothing beside in store of his own; but the actor ingeniously contrived that they should only occur in such places, in his own dissertations, where they might enforce and illustrate what he said. This was one of his arts additional, by which he contrived that his masterpieces should be brought into play; and, like the fellow who had a gun-story, and in order to introduce it fairly into company, acquired the art of imitating the report of a pistol, so Tom Horsey practiced, when

⁵ *Border Beagles* (New York, 1882), p. 9.

alone, those generalizing opinions on a thousand subjects, under some one of which he could always classify the fine things of Brutus and Cassius, Hamlet, Hotspur, and Macbeth. (P. 106)

An interesting illustration of Simms's method of making the conversation bring out an appropriate quotation from Shakespeare occurs in Chapter 2 without Horsey's even being present. For Tom Horsey is only one of four characters in the book who are supposed to be at least *fairly* well acquainted with Shakespeare. Harry Vernon, the hero, who claims to know him as well as Horsey does, can also make his words fit the occasion. Exasperated because he has tried unsuccessfully to obtain some information from Tom Horsey's father, he says in disgust:

"I am afraid I have wearied and worried you, Mr. Horsey, without much help to myself. What I get from you is to the full as satisfactory as the comparisons of that categorical personage, Captain Fluellen; 'There is,' says he, 'a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth,' &."

The youth gave in full the passage which has been prefixed as an epigraph to this idle chapter, and which we care not to repeat again. (Pp. 32f.)

The epigraph referred to is taken from Fluellen's words in *Henry V* when Fluellen is showing the similarity of the birthplaces of Alexander the Great and Henry V:

If you look in the maps of the 'orld, I warrant you shall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth; it is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis so like as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both. (P. 24)

The influence of *Othello* is apparent in *Confession or the Blind Heart*. This novel deals with an erratic, brilliant, but almost insanely jealous husband, Paul Clifford, who thinks that William Edgerton, formerly his best friend, has seduced his wife. Though Julia Clifford is as innocent as Desdemona, Clifford finally poisons her, learning of her innocence after her death. Edgerton, who wastes away with his unrequited love for Julia, does attempt to seduce her, but without success.

Strangely enough, Julia's own mother, who hates Clifford and bitterly opposed the marriage of her daughter to him, attempts to make Clifford jealous of Edgerton and suspicious of an intrigue between the latter and Julia. She says to Clifford: "But what did you expect? Were you simple enough to imagine that a woman would be true to her husband, who was false to her own mother?"⁶ Clifford, who has become suspicious without an Iago to incite him, is shocked at "the fiendish suggestion of the mother against the purity of her own child" (p. 195). These words of Julia's mother remind one of the warning that Desdemona's father, Brabantio, addresses to Othello: "Look to her, Moor, if thou hast eyes to see;/ She has deceived her father, and may

⁶ *Confession* (New York, 1882), p. 194.

thee." Some time afterwards, when Julia's mother is again working to arouse Clifford's jealousy, he realizes that she is trying to torment him "with the worst pangs which a man can know, even . . . at the expense of her daughter's mind and reputation" (p. 281). Clifford believes, however, that she does not realize "the evil that might accrue to the child of her own womb from her base and cruel suggestions" (p. 281).

The preceding statements show that Julia's mother performs a function similar to that of Iago in making a husband suspicious of the fidelity of an innocent wife, although Clifford is suspicious and jealous even before his mother-in-law aggravates his tormented state of mind. Contrasting himself with Othello, Clifford says:

Mine was eminently a jealous heart! On this subject of jealousy, men rarely judge correctly. They speak of Othello as jealous—Othello, one of the least jealous of all human natures! Jealousy is a quality that needs no cause. It makes its own cause. It will find or make occasion for its exercise in the most innocent circumstances. The *proofs* that made Othello wretched and revengeful were sufficient to have deceived any jury under the sun. He had proofs. He had a strong case to go upon. It would have influenced any judgment. He did not seek or find these proofs for himself. He did not wish to find them. He was slow to see them. His was not jealousy. His error was that of pride and self-esteem. He was outraged in both. His mistake was in being too prompt of action in a case which admitted of deliberation. This was the error of a proud man, a soldier, prompt to decide, prompt to act, and to punish if necessary. But never was human character less marked by a jealous mood than that of Othello. His great self-esteem was, of itself, a sufficient security against jealousy. Mine might have been, had it not been so terribly diseased by ill-training. (Pp. 135f.)

Simms thought of *Othello* repeatedly as he wrote *Confession*. Thinking that Edgerton has attempted to seduce his wife, Clifford muses: "I felt, in the words of the cold devil, Iago, those 'damned minutes' of him 'who dotes, yet doubts, suspects, yet strongly loves'" (p. 260). Looking at Julia asleep, Clifford feels that if she were awake, "she would have shared the fate 'of the gentle lady wedded to the Moor'" (p. 291). He tells his friend Kingsley, "I am no Othello—I have no visitations of the moon" (p. 321). Referring to his own unhappy suspicions, he asks (p. 185):

Has not the great poet of humanity said—
Trifles, light as air,
Are, to the jealous, confirmation strong
As proofs of Holy Writ?

Near the end of the story, tortured by the thought that he has killed his wife, he says (p. 367):

I remembered the insuppressible anguish of Othello's apostrophe, to make all its eloquence my own. I murmured audibly:—
My wife! my wife! What wife?—I have no wife!
Oh, insupportable—oh, heavy hour!

Besides the preceding references and quotations pertaining to Othello's suspicions and anguish, other quotations from the play which are not concerned

with *Othello* indicate, in an interesting way, how much this play influenced Simms. For instance, Mrs. Clifford is characterized as a silly woman—"born, according to Iago, 'to suckle fools and chronicle small beer'" (p. 75). Again, Kingsley, wishing for Clifford to join him in exposing some cheating gamblers, uses Iago's words to Roderigo: "Put money in thy own purse, Clifford" (p. 203).

The strong influence of *Othello* on *Confession* is evident. Unlike the other border romances in which one finds quotations or situations from several Shakesperian plays, in this play is found practically no Shakespearian echo except from *Othello*.

In *Charlemont*, a story of the seduction of the young, beautiful, independent, proud Margaret Cooper by the shrewd dissembler, Warham Sharpe, in which Simms refers to Shakespeare as "our beloved and bosom friend,"⁷ is a criticism of the practice on the part of Shakespeare and other writers of ministering to the vanity of human beings by having each human disaster accompanied by an upheaval in nature:

Shakespeare is constantly at it, and Ben Jonson, and all the dramatists. Not a butcher, in the whole long line of the butchering Caesars, from Augustus down, but, according to them, died in a sort of gloomy glory, resulting from the explosion of innumerable stars and rockets, and the apparitions of as many comets! (P. 93.)

There are other incidental Shakespearian references in *Charlemont* and in its sequel, *Beauchampe*. In the latter novel Simms digresses from the narrative to criticize long-winded writers of murder stories (pp. 335-337). He remarks that, in these stories, a servant of the household, seeing a blood-spot upon the grass, "mutters—quoting Shakespeare without a consciousness: 'This is miching malico! It means mischief!'" Simms continues: "And the 'crown's quest' itself . . . amplifications of the old case of Ophelia, as to whether the woman went to the water, or the water went to the woman!" Simms then proceeds with the next step in writing a typical murder story: "to render the 'miching malico' more endurable and desirable, you are always sure to have some poor devil of an innocent in the way" to be suspected and arrested and thus to prolong the story. Simms thus ridicules the "great *raconteurs* of the European world—not forgetting Dumas and Reynolds"—by drawing upon *Hamlet* for illustration and phraseology.

In *Beauchampe* an appropriate group of quotations from *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* appears in connection with a discussion of the political ambitions of the brazen but brilliant villain—Colonel Sharpe. His friend, Barnabas, addresses him: "Glamis thou art—Cawdor shalt be—and let me be your weird sister, and proclaim, yet further—'Thou shalt be king hereafter!' governor, I mean."⁸ After Barnabas' departure Sharpe's mind is full of pleasing fancies:

He murmured in the strain of dramatic language, which the quotation of his friend had suggested, as he paced the apartment to and fro:

⁷ *Charlemont* (New York, 1882), p. 111.

⁸ *Beauchampe* (New York, 1882), p. 305.

"I know I'm thane of Glamis,
But how of Cawdor—
—And to be king,
Stands not within the prospect of belief."

"Ay, but it does," he proceeded in the more sober prose of his own reflections; "The steps are fair and easy. Barnabas is no fool in such matters, though no wit. He knows the people. He can sound them as well as any man. This suggestion does not come from himself. No—no! It comes from a longer head. It must be Clay! Hem! this is to be thought upon! His word against a thousand pounds! If he thinks so, it is as good as done; and Barnabas is only an echo when he says, 'Thou shalt be king hereafter!'" (Pp. 305f.)

There is also a likeness to Macbeth's initial refusal to fight Macduff, whose wife and children he has had killed, in Colonel Sharpe's refusal to fight Beauchampe, whose wife he seduced before her marriage. Although a courageous man ordinarily, like Macbeth, when Beauchampe sends a friend to challenge Sharpe to a duel, the latter cries out, "I can not, will not fight Beauchampe! No! I have wronged him—wronged her" (p. 308).

To secure vividness and emphasis, Simms compares his characters not only to the major but also to the minor Shakespearian characters. The fine old foster-father of Beauchampe, Calvert, owes his splendidly preserved body and mind partly

to that abstinence which would have justified in him the brag of good old Adam, in *As You Like It*:

For in my youth I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood;
Nor did not, with unbashful forehead, woo
The means of weakness and debility;
Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
Frosty but kindly. (P. 370)

It is thus apparent that Simms's debt to Shakespeare is great—perhaps greater than to any other writer. The nature of this debt, in addition to the general one which Parrington has referred to as "picturesque speech" and in addition to the influence of Falstaff on Porgy which has already been mentioned,⁹ may be further summarized from this study of the border romances. First, Simms frequently uses appropriate Shakespearian quotations, spoken either by the characters in the novels or by the author in his own person—including the epigraphs at the beginning of some of the chapters—to afford vividness or humor. Secondly, Simms often compares one of his characters to a similar Shakespearian character, major or minor, to emphasize a point. Thirdly, Simms sometimes patterns certain incidents or situations in his romances after similar ones in Shakespeare: the use of *As You Like It*, for instance, in *Richard Hurdiss*; the use of *Macbeth* in *Guy Rivers*, *Beauchampe*, and especially in *Richard Hurdiss*; and the use of *Othello* in *Confession*. Fourthly, Simms sometimes endows his characters with traits that seem to be derived from Shake-

⁹ See the first and second footnotes.

pearian characters: for instance, the wild Macbeth-like type of imagination found in Guy Rivers, in John Hurdis, and especially in Ben Pickett; the Iago-like nature of Julia Clifford's mother in tormenting Clifford about the probability of his wife's infidelity; and the Pistol-like Horsey, full of dramatic poetry. Fifthly, in one of the novels, *Border Beagles*, Simms apparently uses as much of his knowledge and opinions of Shakespeare as he can crowd into the book without doing violence to the serious plot. In order to criticize certain aspects of acting and the proper way to speak Shakespeare's lines and, in general, to furnish comic relief, he introduces a character whose "humor," like that of Shakespeare's Pistol, is to quote lines from plays whenever possible and to make them fit the occasion. Sixthly, it may well be deduced from the preceding statements that in drinking deeply from Shakespeare, Simms absorbed from him and other Elizabethans much of the violence, melodrama, deep emotion, and powerful imagination that permeate his writings.

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Pyramus and Thisbe: A Study in Shakespeare's Method

KENNETH MUIR



It may seem extravagantly pedantic to seek to track down the sources of the Pyramus and Thisbe interlude, and Bottom's own "translation" may seem a fitting punishment. My excuse is that the search may help us to know a little more about Shakespeare's methods of work and perhaps demonstrate the need for a new examination of his use of source-material.

Many editors of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* have referred to one or other version as the source of the mechanicals' play; but no editor, and no critic, so far as I can discover, has given a satisfactory discussion of the question as a whole.¹

Shakespeare was probably led to introduce the story of Pyramus and Thisbe into his play by the fact that in both plots the lovers arrange to meet outside the city walls at night; and also by the resemblances between Ovid's story and the plot of *Romeo and Juliet*, a play which was probably written in the same year as *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. Indeed, it has been conjectured that the *Romeo and Juliet* story, taken by Shakespeare immediately from Brooke and Painter, is ultimately derived from the Pyramus and Thisbe story. For in both tales the lovers, because of their parents' opposition, meet in secret; in both the hero commits suicide in the mistaken belief that the heroine is dead; and in both the man's suicide is followed by that of the woman. The resemblance between the two stories had, indeed, been pointed out by George Pettie,² who remarked at the end of one of his tales

that such presiness of parents brought Pyramus and Thisbe to a woful end,
Romeo and Julietta to untimely death.

Whether because he had seen this remark or because he had himself noticed the resemblance, Shakespeare seems to have turned to the Pyramus and Thisbe story while he was actually writing *Romeo and Juliet*, for there is a slight indication that Golding's translation of Ovid influenced the last scene of that play.³ Not that there is any reason to believe that Shakespeare went merely to the translation. He certainly read some Ovid at school, and at the very end of his

¹ G. Hart, *Die Pyramus-&-Thisbe Sage* (1891), may have forestalled me in much of what I have to say; but there is no copy of this work in the British Museum.

² *Pettie Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* (ed. 1908), I, 168.

³ Golding, like Juliet, uses the word *churl*.

career he still remembered enough Latin to translate certain words in Ovid's account of Medea more accurately than Golding had done.

Now parts of Golding's version of the Pyramus story were unintentionally ludicrous, as we shall see. Even Ovid's original account is a trifle absurd. The whispering through the hole in the wall, the lovers' alacrity in suicide, the way Pyramus' blood spurts out to stain the mulberry leaves, like water from a burst pipe, are more likely to evoke a smile than the emotions Ovid intended to arouse. But the various Elizabethan versions were all positively disastrous in different ways. There is, for example, a strip-cartoon version of the story which appeared as a border on the title-page of several books published by Tottel—though not in his best-known book, *Songes and Sonnets*. One book in which it appears is Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue of comfort against tribulacion* (1553). The upper part of the picture shows a not very fierce lion, with Thisbe keeping a discreet distance. To the left is a crude piece of masonry which may be Ninus' tomb, but seems more likely to be the wall that parted the two lovers, for it contains a slit which one is tempted to call a chink or cranny. The lower part of the picture shows Thisbe bending over Pyramus' body. The picture is very crudely drawn; nor does it seem to have any connection with More's *Dialogue*, unless we assume that Pyramus and Thisbe would not have been so prone to kill themselves if they had had the benefit of More's comfort against tribulation.⁴

Then two of the Elizabethan miscellanies had versions of the Pyramus story. The one given in *A Handful of Pleasant Delites* by J. Thomson is a simple and naive ballad. The one in *The Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* professes to be "truly translated," but not apparently from Ovid. According to Professor Bush, it appears to be descended from a twelfth-century French version of the story. At least two other versions of the story appeared in Shakespeare's lifetime, one by Dunstan Gale, and one by Thomas Mouffet in his didactic poem, *Of the Silkwormes, and their Flies*. No copies of the first edition of Gale's poem have survived, but it seems from the dedication to have been published in 1596 or 1597. Mouffet's poem appeared in 1599, but, as we shall see, it was probably circulating in manuscript for four or five years before that date.

There were four other versions which belong to an earlier date. One, now lost, unless it is that in *The Gorgeous Gallery*, was entered in the Stationers' Register as early as 1562. This may have been a play or a poem. Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*⁵ contained a version of the story which was designed to point a moral; and, still earlier, Gower had retold it in his *Confessio Amantis*⁶ to show that Love's wits are often blind, and that when passion usurps the place of reason the results are apt to be disastrous. But in spite of all these variations on Ovid's theme, Chaucer's tale in *The Legend of Good Women* remained incomparably the best.

The evidence that Shakespeare had read several versions of the Pyramus story is of two kinds, general and particular.

Of the first kind there is the knowledge that he had read Ovid and

⁴ See R. B. McKerrow's article in *The Library* (1924-5, pp. 17-18) and McKerrow and Ferguson *Title-Page Borders*.

⁵ Ll. 3960 ff.

⁶ III. 1331 ff. Cf. *Anglia*, XII, 16.

Golding; that he knew some of Chaucer's works and, indeed, made use of the Knight's Tale in the main plot of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*; and that he had probably read at least one poem in *A Handful of Pleasant Delites*, on the language of flowers, for he remembered some of it when depicting Ophelia's madness:

Rosemary is for remembrance
Between us day and night . . .
Fennel is for flatterers,
An evil thing it is sure . . .
Violet is for faithfulness,
Which in me shall abide.

Then, of the second kind of evidence, there are verbal parallels with *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. When there are several echoes from one version of the Pyramus story, it is reasonable to assume that Shakespeare had read it.

Let us begin, then, with Golding's translation. Here we find the word "cranny."

The wall that parted house from house had riven therein a cranny
Which shrunk at making of the wall.

"Cranny" was also Bottom's word for it (III.i.62) and it was later incorporated in Snout's speech as Wall:

And this the cranny is, right and sinister,
Through which the fearful lovers are to whisper.

No other version uses this word.

Both Golding and Shakespeare say that Thisbe left her mantle behind, and Thomson also calls it a mantle. In Ovid it is *velamina*, and this becomes a *scarf* (Mouffet), a *kerchief* (G.G.G.I.), and a *wimpel* (Chaucer and Gower).

In Ovid the lovers inform the wall that they are not ungrateful to it for enabling them to converse. In Golding this becomes:

And yet thou shalt not find us churls; we think ourselves in debt
For the same piece of courtesy, in vouching safe to let
Our sayings to our friendly ears thus freely come and go.

We seem to have an echo of *courtesy* in the words:

Thanks, courteous wall: Jove shield thee well for this!

One characteristic of Golding's translation is the excessive use as padding of the auxiliary *did*, as in these lines:

This neighb'rhood bred acquaintance first, this neighb'rhood first
did stir
The secret sparks, this neighb'rhood first an entrance in did show,
For love to come to that to which it afterward did grow.

So in Quince's Prologue we get four *did*s in three lines:

This grisly beast, which Lion hight by name,
The trusty Thisbe, coming first by night,
Did scare away, or rather did affright;
And, as she fled, her mantle she did fall,
Which Lion vile with bloody mouth did stain.

Shakespeare does not, however, make use of two of Golding's most ludicrous passages. One of these describes Thisbe's discovery of Pyramus's body:

Alas, what chance, my Pyramus, hath parted thee and me?
 Make answer, O my Pyramus. It is thy Thisbe, even she
 Whom thou dost love most heartily that speaketh unto thee.
 Give ear and raise thy heavy head.

The other describes Thisbe's actual suicide:

This said, she took the sword yet warm with slaughter of her love,
 And setting it beneath her breast, did to her heart it shove.⁷

From Thomson's version in *A Handful of Pleasant Delites* Shakespeare seems to have borrowed the stanza form used in the laments of Pyramus and Thisbe for each other:

In *Babilon*
 not long ago,
 a noble Prince did dwell:
 whose daughter bright
 dimd ech ones sight,
 so farre she did excel.

 Now am I dead,
 Now am I fled;
 My soul is in the sky:
 Tongue, lose thy light;
 Moon, take thy flight:
 Now die, die, die, die, die.

Like Thomson, Shakespeare refers to Pyramus as a knight (V.i.282), and the joke is pointed by Flute's earlier question: "What is Thisby? a wandering knight?" Thomson likewise refers to the fatal thread of the Fates:

Oh Gods above, my faithfull loue
 shal neuer faile this need:
 For this my breath by fatall death,
 shal weaue *Atropos* threed.

Professor Douglas Bush thinks these lines "may have been in Shakespeare's mind when, in providing a tragic vehicle for Bottom, he burlesqued the theatrical heroics of an earlier age."⁸ Certainly the double mixture of metaphor in the idea of a breath weaving Atropos' thread makes the passage memorable; and both Pyramus and Thisbe refer to the Fates in similar terms:

O Fates, come, come,
 Cut thread and thrum;
 Quail, crush, conclude, and quell!

⁷ Perhaps the rhyme in Thisbe's couplet—

Speak, speak. Quite dumb?
 Dead, dead? A tomb—

may have been suggested by Golding's spelling *Tumbe* in the last line of his version of the story.

⁸ *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition*, p. 55. Cf. *C.H.E.L.*, III, 191.

O Sisters Three,
Come, come to me,
With hands as pale as milk;
Lay them in gore,
Since you have shore
With shears his thread of silk.

It is possible, however, that Shakespeare was also influenced by the story of Cephalus and Procris as told by Howell; for Pyramus and Thisbe both refer to Shafulus and Procrus, and Sephalus in Howell's poem calls on the sisters three:

When Sephalus his Procris founde,
Imbrude with blood on euery side,
The arowe stickinge in the wounde,
That bleedinge sore did gape full wyde,
He curst the gods that skies possest
The systers three and all the rest.⁹

Thomson uses an archaic pronunciation for the sake of a rhyme—

For why he thought the lion had,
faire *Thisbie* slaine.
And then the beast with his bright blade,
he slew certaine.

and Peter Quince does the same thing:

This beauteous lady Thisby is certain.

Both Thompson and Shakespeare use the expression "make moan".¹⁰

Shakespeare seems to have been less indebted to the version of the Pyramus story given in *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, for that is mostly dull rather than ridiculous. But his reading of it was not entirely barren. He noticed the lines which describe how Thisbe found the cranny or chink:

And scarcely then her pearcing looke one blinke therof had got,
But that firme hope of good successe, within her fancy shot.

This doubtless suggested Pyramus's line:

Show me thy chink, to blink through with myne eyne!

The anonymous author uses the elegant variation "name" and "hight" in successive lines; and Quince speaks of "Lion hight by name." Pyramus is described as "more fresh then flower in May," and Shakespeare's is described as

most lily-white of hue,
Of colour like the red-rose on triumphant brier.

Pyramus revives a moment just before he dies:

The Gentilman with this, and as the lastest throwes of death
Did pearce full fast at that same stroke, to end both life and breath.

So Quince, trying to persuade Bottom to play the part of Pyramus, assures him that the character is "a most lovely gentleman-like man" (I.ii.90). The last parallel is to be found in the lines describing Thisbe's suicide:

⁹ Cf. Bush, p. 59.

¹⁰ Cf. "Then made he mone" and V.i.341.

Then Thisbe efte, with shriek so shrill as dynned in the skye,
 Swaps down in swoone, shee eft reuiues, & hents the sword hereby.
 Wherwith beneath her pap (alas) into her brest shee strake,
 Saying thus will I die for him, that thus dyed for my sake.

Shakespeare borrows the pap and makes it more ludicrous by giving it to Pyramus instead of to Thisbe:

Out, sword, and wound
 The pap of Pyramus.¹¹

Shakespeare took very little from Chaucer's version of the story, presumably because it is not naturally ludicrous. But we may suppose that the lines—

Thus wolde they sayne, alas thou wicked wal
 Through thyn enuye, thou vs lettest al—

suggested Bottom's exclamation:

O wicked wall, through whom I see no bliss!

And a phrase which occurs in two of Chaucer's lines—

With bloody mouthe, of stranglyng of a beest. . .
 And with her bloody mouth it al to rente—

doubtless gave Quince his phrase "with bloody mouth."¹²

Dunstan Gale's *Pyramus and Thisbe* (of which the epistle dedicatory is dated 25 November 1596) is both dull and bad. It is written in heroic couplets divided into 12-line stanzas, the last of each having a feminine rhyme. These rhymes cause Gale some difficulty, e.g.:

When squint-eyed *Cupid* late vpon his quiuer,
 Viewing his none-cyd body in the riuer. (St. 6)

Sometimes poor souls, they talkt till they were windles
 And all their talke was of their frends vnkindnes. (St. 11)

His hand retired still, further backe and further,
 As lothing to enact so vile a murther. (St. 26)

There are other absurdities, as when he describes how Thisbe escaped from the lion:

The Lion came yet meant no harme at all,
 And comming found the mantle she let fall,
 Which now he kist, he would haue kist her too,
 But that her nimble footmanship said no.

But the only passage which has much resemblance to Shakespeare's version is the couplet at the end of the second stanza:

And this (quoth she) shall be my true loues fauor:
 Her tender homage did of true loue sauer.

¹¹ This version also has the following words and phrases: "cursed blade," "embrude," "wicked cruell wall" (cf. V.i.147, 351, 181.) But *blade* and *embrude* are used by Mouffet, and *wikked wal* by Chaucer.

¹² The quotations from Chaucer are given from the 1542 edition.

Apparently the resemblance to "odious savours sweet" is fortuitous; for there is no reason to believe that Shakespeare saw the poem in manuscript, and if Gale was acquainted with *A Midsummer Night's Dream* it is odd that he should dare to choose the subject of Pyramus and Thisbe, and curious that he nowhere else exhibits knowledge of Shakespeare's version of the story.

There remains to be considered the version from which Shakespeare appears to have borrowed most, that contained in Thomas Mouffet's poem, *The Silkwormes and their Flies*. Mouffet describes himself as "a Countrie Farmer, and an apprentice in Physicke." He was, in fact, a distinguished physician, the author of several medical works, whose reputation brought him many aristocratic patients and led to his appointment to the post of physician to the forces under the Earl of Essex in Normandy in 1591. He was persuaded by the Earl and Countess of Pembroke to settle at Wilton, and he lived there until his death in 1604. His best work, *The Theatre of Insects*, written in Latin, was finished in 1589, but not published until many years later. A translation of it was appended to the 1658 edition of Edward Topsell's *History of Four-Footed Beasts*. I cherish the belief, which the editors of *The Oxford Book of Nursery Rhymes* regard as a delusion, that the heroine of the nursery, Little Miss Muffet, owes her name to the fact that Mouffet wrote at some length about spiders; and some of the illustrations in *The Theater of Insects* would frighten a stouter heart than that of Miss Muffet, and require a more potent charm than the faeries' song:

Weaving spiders, come not here;
Hence, you long-legg'd spinners, hence!

Mouffet's poem on the silkworms was not published until 1599, some years after the staging of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, though not before it was printed. But there is evidence that the poem had been written some years before this date. It is dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, and opens with an address to the Sydneian Muse which would be more appropriate to 1594 than to 1599. There is a reference to 1589 in the poem, and Mouffet mentions that he visited Italy in 1579 when he studied the cultivation of the silkworm. Moreover there is an entry in the *Stationers' Register* dated 15 January 1589 about a lost book of poems "by Mr. Morfet," which may conceivably be our Thomas Mouffet. It is extremely unlikely that Shakespeare would rewrite the Pyramus and Thisbe interlude, just before the publication of his play in 1600, in order to parody Mouffet's verses; and yet there is abundant internal evidence that he must have read them. We may assume, then, that Mouffet wrote the poem between 1591 and 1595, and that Shakespeare read it in manuscript.

The poem was written to advocate the cultivation of the silkworm, and Mouffet introduced the story of Pyramus and Thisbe for the simple reason that silkworms feed on mulberry leaves, and, according to Ovid, the fruit of the mulberry, white before the tragedy, was stained for ever with the blood of the lovers. Shakespeare's interlude, as we shall see, was so close to Mouffet's version of the story that it must have been an intentional parody of it. Mouffet was "a godly and learned phisitian and skilful mathematician," he was a great naturalist, he was a future M.P.—but the gods had not made him poetical.

The art of sinking in poetry has seldom been so superbly exercised. Some of Mouffet's lapses are caused by his blissful unconsciousness of ambiguity. The word *bottom*, for example, is the technical term for the silkworm's cocoon; but when we read at the end of the *Pyramus* story—¹³

Leauing their ouall bottoms there behind,
To shewe the state of eu'ry Louers mind—

we can hardly avoid thinking of the alternative meanings of *bottom* and *behind*. Even more disastrous is the line—¹⁴

Where many silken bottoms hangd in piles.

Another kind of absurdity is illustrated by Thisbe's remark about *Pyramus*—¹⁵

One too too hot, for so imports his name—

to which Mouffet obligingly inserts the marginal note: "*Pyramus* signifieth as much as fiery."

It is not surprising, therefore, that Shakespeare should find Mouffet a fit subject for ridicule, and he read the poem with some care. The leading actor in the Interlude was christened Bottom, and as the Silkworm was a spinner, Bottom was made a weaver. Two of the fairies are also linked with Mouffet's subject by their names Moth and Cobweb. The orange-tawny beard which he offers as an alternative, and the orange-tawny bill of the ousel-cock in the song with which he awakens Titania, were probably suggested by Mouffet's lines describing the white moths by mentioning the colours they were not:

No yellow, where there is no Iealousie . . .
No orange colour, where there wants despight,
No tawny sadde, where none forsaken be.

When Bottom sings his song he feels forsaken and spitefully used.¹⁶

Shakespeare did not confine his attention to the section of the poem devoted to the story of *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*. Theseus' first speech in Act V which begins:

More strange than true: I never may believe
These antique fables, nor these fairy toys. . .

and ends:

Or in the night, imagining some fear,
How easy is a bush supposed a bear!

seems to echo three passages from Mouffet's poem:

¹³ P. 18.

¹⁴ P. 8. Another stanza must be given in the decent obscurity of a footnote:

Yea, when all other creatures looked base,
As mindful onely of their earthly foode:
Or else as trembling to behold the place,
Where iudge eternall sate, and Angels stood:
Then humane eyes beheld him face to face,
And cheekes vnstain'd with fumes of guiltie bloud,
Desir'd no maske to hide their blushing balles,
But boldly gaz'd and pried on heau'nly walles.

¹⁵ P. 17.

¹⁶ P. 28. Cf. I.ii.96-98; III.i.128.

As reft our wittes, and made vs al so mad:
That we resembled melancholique hares,
Or startling stagges, whom euerie shadow scares.

Yet some conceiue when *Theban* singer wanne,
Wood-wandering wights to good and ciuill life,
(Which erst with beares and wolues in desarts ran . . .)

I count it but a tale and fable vaine,
By some olde wife, or cousning friar told:
Supposed true, though time and truth descries,
That all such workes are but the workes of lies.¹⁷

Mouffet's reference to the "Theban singer" may have suggested Shakespeare's reference a few lines later to Thebes and the Thracian singer.

But these casual echoes are less significant than the many echoes of the stanzas in which Mouffet tells the story of Pyramus and Thisbe. Shakespeare copied Mouffet's habit of using words merely to pad out a line. *Eke* and *whereat*, for example, are used over and over again by Mouffet; and Shakespeare uses them with brilliant effect in the lines:

Whereat with blade, with bloody blameful blade. . .

Most brisky iuvenal, and eke most lovely Jew.

Mouffet uses *Chink* in a later section of his poem, and *Chink* in the Pyramus section:¹⁸

If also carelesnesse haue left a rift,
Or chincke vnstopped in thine aged wall; . . .

When night approacht, they ech bad ech adew,
Kissing their wal apart where it was chinckt,
Whence louely blasts and breathings mainely flew:
But kisses staide on eithers side fast linckt,
Seal'd to the wal with lips and Louers glue:
For though they were both thick and many eake,
Yet thicker was the wal that did them breake.

Shakespeare uses the word *Chink* several times, as in the line—

I see a voice: now will I to the chink.

Perhaps, too, this stanza suggested the line:

I kiss the wall's hole, not your lips at all.

Shakespeare and Mouffet both speak of the lion as *grisly*, and both poets use *fell* in the same context:

The grisly wife of bruttish monarch strong,
With new slaine prey, full panned to the chinne,
Foming out bloud, came ramping there along. . .

¹⁷ Pp. 2, 4, 44.

¹⁸ Pp. 58, 11.

O Lions fierce (or if it ought fiercer be,
 Among the heards of woody outlawes fell)
 Rent, rent in twaine this thrise-accursed me:
 From out your paunch conuey my soule to hell.¹⁹

It may even be suggested that Mouffet's curious method of stating that it was a lioness ("grisly wife") rather than a lion, together with the fact that the other sources are divided about the sex of the lion, led Shakespeare to Snug's lines:

Then know that I, one Snug the joiner, am
 A lion fell, nor else no lion's dam.

In the same stanza, Mouffet uses the word *quell*, and refers to the Sisters three:

Whose murdring slouth, and not the sisters three,
 Did *Thisbe* sweete, sweete *Thisbe* fowly quell.

Pyramus in the play refers to the fates, and uses the word *quell* in successive lines; and *Thisbe* invokes the Sisters Three.

Mouffet speaks of Pyramus's weapon as a *blade*, and he uses the word *imbrue*; but he is not alone in this. He refers to *Thisbe* as "poor soul" and to Pyramus as a paragon. Shakespeare followed him in all these points. Indeed, it may have been Mouffet's description of the lovers as "Each of their sex the floure and paragon" which suggested Shakespeare's comparison of Pyramus to flowers, as in *Thisbe's* lines:

These lily lips,
 This cherry nose,
 These yellow cowslip cheeks,
 Are gone, are gone,
 Lovers, make moan!
 His eyes were green as leeks.

But the lines were also suggested by the description of *Thisbe's* reactions on encountering the body of her lover:²⁰

Her lips grew then more pale then palest Boxe
 Her cheekes resembled Ashwood newly feld,
 Graynesse surpriz'd her yellow amber locks,
 Nor any part their liuely lustre held.

Mouffet's similes are somewhat fantastic, and Shakespeare makes matters worse by confusing them. Instead of yellow amber locks, he gives us yellow cowslip cheeks, and he adds the comparison of the eyes to leeks.

Mouffet's lines—

Speake loue, O speake, how hapned this to thee?
 Part, halfe, yes all of this my soule and mee.
 Sweete loue, reply, it is thy *Thisbe* deare,
 She cries, O heare, she speakes, O answere make:
 Rowse vp thy sprights: those heaueie lookers cheere.

¹⁹ Pp. 12, 14.

²⁰ P. 16.

are parodied by Shakespeare in Thisbe's words "O Pyramus, arise! Speak, speak" and in Bottom's words when he wants to act the part:

Ah Pyramus, my lover dear! thy Thisbe dear, and lady dear!²¹

The phrase "those heauie lookers cheere" may have influenced Bottom's line:

That lived, that loved, that liked, that look'd with cheer.

Mouffet's stanza on Pyramus's suicide may have combined with Golding's version to suggest the line:

He bravely broached his boiling bloody breast.

The significant word *broached* is paralleled more closely by Mouffet's words:

Hold earth, receiue a draught eke of my bloud,
(And therewith lean'd vpon his sword amaine)
Then falling backward from the crimson floud,
Which spouted forth with such a noyse and straine,
As water doth, when pipes of lead or wood,
Are goog'd with punch, or cheesil slit in twaine,
Whistling in th'ayre, and breaking it with blowes,
Whilst heauie moisture vpward forced flowes.

Golding does not have a word suggesting the positive action of broaching. In his version the pipe is merely cracked accidentally:

The blood did spin on high
As when a conduit pipe is cracked, the water bursting out
Doth shoot itself a great way off and pierce the air about.

The idea of Bottom's metamorphosis may have been suggested by Mouffet's lines²² (they occur just before Pyramus story):

Transforme thy selfe into a Courser braue,
(What cannot loue transforme it selfe into?)
Feede in her walkes; and in a moment haue
What thou hast woo'd to haue with much adoee:
Whereto, consent the auncient Suter gaue,
In Coursers clothes, learning a maide to wooe,
Filling ech wood with neighs and whinnyes shrill,²³
Whilst he possesst his loue against her will.

This is Venus' advice to Saturn on how to woo the disdainful Phyllyra, by means of craft and force. One phrase, "Feede in her walkes," probably suggested Titania's instructions about Bottom:

Hop in his walks and gambol in his eyes;
Feed him with apricocks.

Moreover, it is possible that Phyllyra's refusal of her suitor and her gathering of healing herbs may have given a hint for the "fair vestal throned by the west."

²¹ P. 16. Cf. V.i.333-344; I.ii.55. Chaucer's version, however, reads "O speke Piramus / I am thy Thisbe, that the calleth thus."

²² P. 7.

²³ In l. 7 of this stanza the original reads *wihyes*.

In any case the transformation of Bottom was doubtless influenced also by memories of *The Golden Ass*, of a similar transformation mentioned in Scot's *Discouerie of Witchcraft*, and of a recipe, given in the same book, for setting an ass's head on a man's neck and shoulders:²⁴

The words used in such case are uncertain, and to be recited at the pleasure of the witch or cozener. But at the conclusion of this, cut off the head of a horse or an ass (before they be dead, otherwise the virtue or strength thereof will be the less effectual), and make an earthen vessel of fit capacity to contain the same, and let it be filled with the oil and fat thereof, cover it close, and daub it over with loam; let it boil over a soft fire three days continually, that the flesh boiled may run into oil, so as the bare bones may be seen; beat the hair into powder, and mingle the same with the oil; and anoint the heads of the standers by, and they shall seem to have horses' or asses' heads.

Even this does not exhaust the probable sources of the Pyramus interlude. It is described as

A tedious brief scene of young Pyramus
And his love Thisby; very tragical mirth.

It looks as though Shakespeare were referring to the play of *Cambises* which is described on the title-page as "A lamentable tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth"; and sure enough, if we examine Preston's play, we find that Shakespeare may have dived there too.²⁵ In the Prologue we read of the fate of Cyrus:

But he when sisters three had wrought to shear his vital thread.

A mother laments the death of her son in words that have been thought to recall the lament of Thisbe; and the boy's lips, "silk-soft and pleasant white," may have suggested the lily lips of Pyramus. There is no need to press the last point. It is enough for my purpose if the reader is willing to concede that Shakespeare consulted six or seven versions of the Pyramus story before writing his tedious brief scene.

It may be urged that we have been dealing with an exceptional case, where for some reason Shakespeare was having a little harmless fun. But although some plays were based on a single source, there is no reason to believe that the case of Pyramus and Thisbe is unique. *Richard II* is apparently based on Hall, Holinshed, Froissart, Daniel, a play, and two French sources. In *King Lear* Shakespeare certainly made use of Holinshed, *The Faerie Queene*, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, the old chronicle play of *King Leir*, Sidney's *Arcadia*, Harsnett's *Declaration of Egregious Popishe Impostures*, and his own *Titus Andronicus*. There is some evidence that he consulted two separate editions of *The Mirror for Magistrates*.²⁶ But besides these conscious sources there were numerous unconscious ones—Horace, Florio, Chaucer, the Bible, for example. I have

²⁴ Cited by F. Sidgwick, *The Sources and Analogues of 'A Midsummer-Night's Dream'*, 1908, p. 139. Most of the parallels with Mouffet's poem have been pointed out by M. L. Farrand (*S.P.* XXVII, 233-243) and A. S. T. Fisher (*N.Q.* 1949, pp. 376 ff.). D. Bush, however (*M.L.N.* XLVI, 144-147), denied Miss Farrand's arguments. He wrote before the more convincing arguments of the later article.

²⁵ Cf. M. C. Bradbrook, *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry*, p. 98.

²⁶ The evidence will be found in my edition of the play, pp. xxvi-xlii.

shown elsewhere that Shakespeare, in describing the portents that preceded the assassination of Julius Caesar, had recourse to Plutarch, Ovid, and Lucan, and perhaps to the *Georgics*.²⁷ Others have shown that for Menenius' fable of the Belly and the Body's members Shakespeare went to four or five different versions. These and many other examples which might be given are a sufficient indication of the need for a full-length study of Shakespeare's use of multiple sources. A study of the tragical mirth of Quince's interlude leads one right to the heart of Shakespeare's craftsmanship and even throws light on the workings of the poetic imagination.

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²⁷ *N.Q.*, 1948, pp. 54-55.

LANTHORNE and Candle-light.

Or
The Bell-mans second Nights walke.

In which

Hee brings to light, a Broode of more strange Villanies,
then euer were till this yeare discovered.

--Decet nonisse malum; fecisse, nefandum.



LONDON

Printed for Iohn Busbie, and are to be sold at his shop in
Fleet-street, in Saint Dunstons Church-yard.

1608.

London Types and Costumes: A nightwatchman. Thomas Dekker's
Lanthorne and Candle-light (1608), STC 6485.

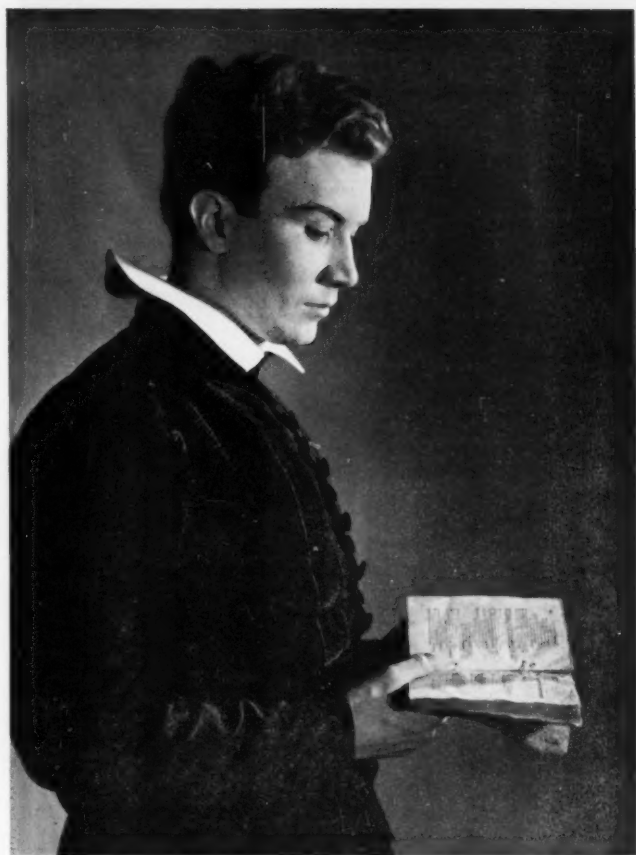


PHOTO BY H. J. MYDTSKOV

Copenhagen: Royal Theater—Jørgen Reenberg as Hamlet

LANTHORNE

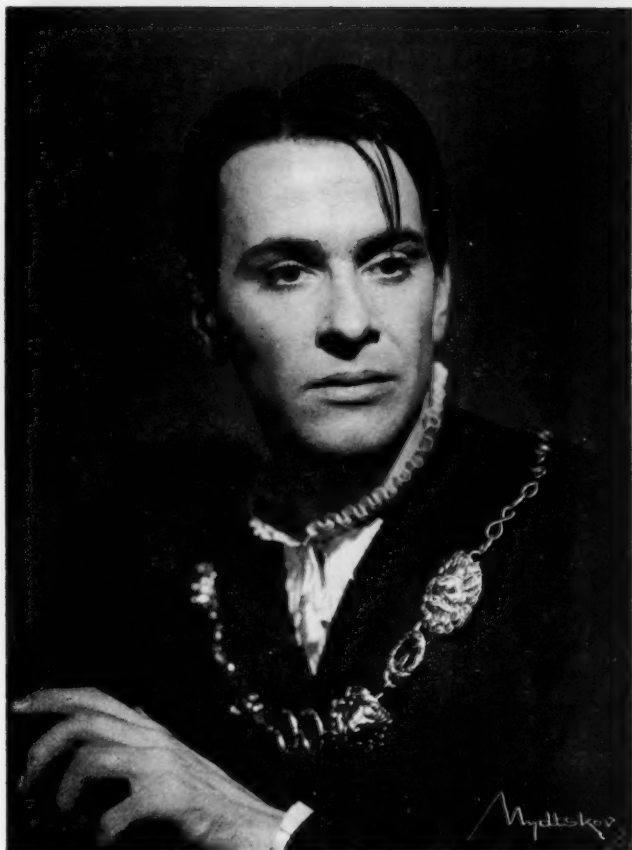


PHOTO BY H. J. MYDTSKOV

Aarhus. Eric Mørk as Hamlet

The "Hunk" Year

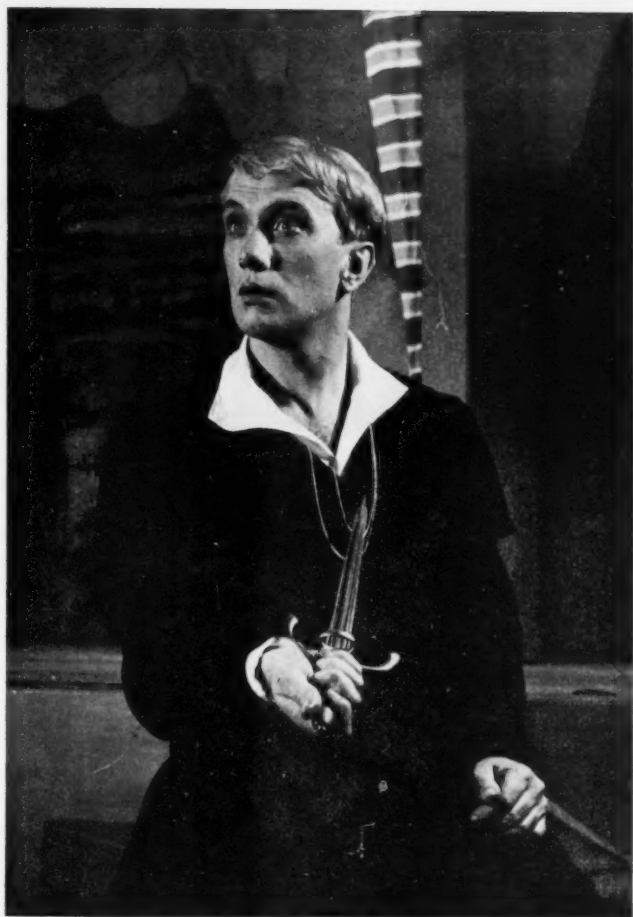


PHOTO BY STURLASON

Oslo. Espen Skjønberg as Hamlet

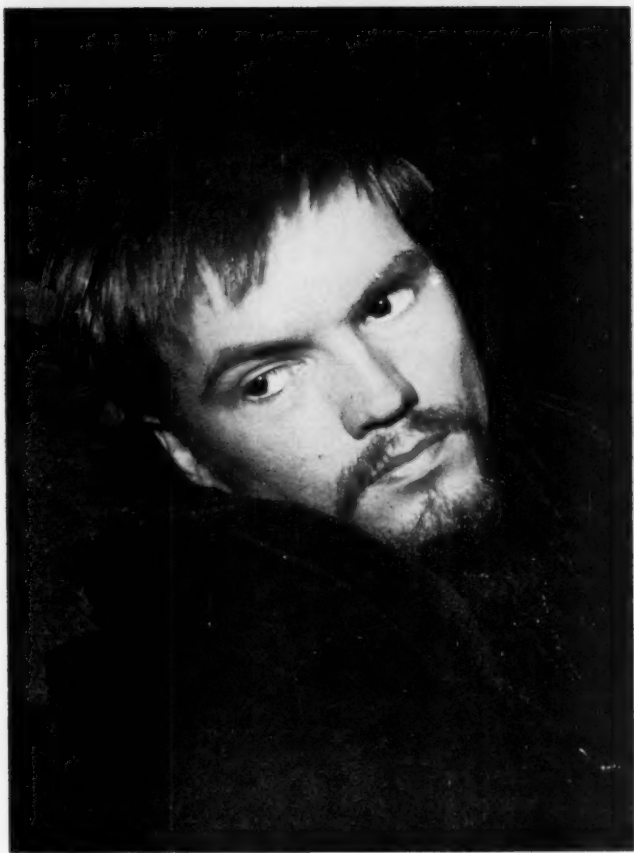


PHOTO BY LEONAR

Göteborg Stadsteater. Per Oscarsson as Hamlet

The "Hamlet Year"

ALAN S. DOWNER



DANISH critic conferred the title of *Hamlet-aar* on the theatrical season of 1953-1954. Beginning in Stockholm in September, *Hamlet* spread across Scandinavia, appearing in the repertory in Oslo and Bergen, Norway, in Göteborg, Sweden, and in Aarhus and Copenhagen, Denmark. The "year" will come to a conclusion in June with the performances of the Old Vic company at Kronborg Castle in Elsinore, and only these final performances can be in any way considered conventional. For *Hamlet*, surprisingly enough, is not the usual Shakespearian thing in the Scandinavian theater. After two centuries of existence, the Royal Theater in Copenhagen has just given its one-hundredth performance of what the Danish Tourist Agency seems to have adopted as the National Drama. Nor is there any clearly assignable reason why six *Hamlets* should suddenly appear in six communities that had hitherto been more than willing that Elsinore should bear the burden. The Hamlet Year was one of those coincidences that happen far too seldom nowadays, a conjunction of performances for which the Shakespeare-lover and theater-student alike must be grateful, affording as they do the rare opportunity of looking upon several pictures side by side and judging performances not from memory (with its tricks of elimination and emphasis) but from living experience.

I

My attempts to see all the *Hamlets* were, not unexpectedly, frustrated. Repertory is unpredictable, and plays can slip in and out without the fanfare that attends birth and death on Broadway. And contrary to current theatrical superstition, permanent companies safely locked in their own theaters and smiled on by the state are as subject to box office dictatorship as any real estate operation in New York. Of the six productions, I was able to see three and to reconstruct a fourth. The performance at Bergen was out of reach, as was the performance in Stockholm, though in a more tantalizing way.

I had not gone to Stockholm to see *Hamlet*, but to see Drottningholm Castle with its perfectly preserved eighteenth-century theater. The twentieth-century theaters were presenting that evening *The Petrified Forest*, *The Relapse*, *Guys and Dolls*, and *Hamlet*. The first three, I was assured, were sold out, but *Hamlet*—My suspicions should have been aroused by the curious smile that accompanied the unspoken words. The Scandinavian countries, inter-

mittently, in the past, parts one of the other, are embarking slowly on a program of more perfect union, but local patriotism shoots its quills at the slightest mention of the national theater. The open hint that a Swedish production was not all that it ought to be, was not in fact sold out, should have put me on my guard.

All I could gather was that the production was "experimental," an ambiguous evaluation in Scandinavia as elsewhere. But when I tried to claim my ticket at the box-office, I was informed in hesitant English that the performance that night was "inhibited." Although the speaker clearly meant cancelled, the notion of an inhibited Hamlet was intriguing; the program note only increased my regret.

Scandinavian programs are small theatrical magazines, with manifestos, explanations, and challenges to the audience from director, translator, theater manager, or an occasional captive academic. The Boulevard Theater program opened with a manifesto from the translator-director-star, Bengt Blomgren. Shakespeare's play, he announced, is too long. No modern audience can be expected to pay close attention to the thoughts and words of an acting company for more than two hours. Therefore he has shorn away all but the royal family, the family of Polonius, Horatio and the Ghost, and if Shakespeareans call this disrespect, he is quick to reply, Why not? The manifesto is written with the assurance of all manifestos, and the prospect of a Hamlet without Rosencranz, Guildenstern, Osric, Reynaldo, Fortinbras, soldiers, players, priests, or ambassadors, is indeed one to tease the imagination. But not the public. In spite of Blomgren's conviction that the public would no longer tolerate either an unbarbered or modestly trimmed version, only eight people had purchased tickets for the evening's performance. The spectators rather than the *Hamlet* were inhibited.

II

The other productions, set forth with equally assured manifestos and varying degrees of respect for the text, were completely successful with the public. One, withdrawn because of previous commitments, had to be revived because of public demand; the rest regularly required the display of the red light in front of the theater, the Scandinavian equivalent of S.R.O.

The three productions which I was able to see, thanks to the happy conjunction of repertory and railroad schedules, provide an interesting study in possibilities and should induce a sense of humility in any critic who thinks (dare he, at this date!) that he has solved the problem of *Hamlet*. They ranged from conventional to radical, from simple to spectacular, from the theater of Shakespeare to the theater of Strindberg and Tennessee Williams.

In Aarhus, Denmark's second city, *Hamlet* marked the retirement of Eric Henning-Jensen, director for a quarter of a century. Østerberg's highly controversial translation (the work of a linguist aiming to capture shades of meaning rather than to achieve ease of eloquence) and a brilliant young actor from the company of the Royal Theater in Copenhagen provoked more interest than is usually attached to a provincial production.

It was, however, first of all provincial: that is, whatever was done had to

be done with limited means, human, mechanical, and economic. Necessity perhaps dictated the interpretation Henning-Jensen imposed on the play, but he is neither the first nor the last man of the theater to make artistic success out of necessary limitations; he chose a simple and direct approach to Hamlet's story. The play became a family tragedy, developing the emotions of father, mother, son and sweetheart, rather than king, and prince, and lustful queen. There was nothing of Saxo in it, but more than a touch of Arthur Miller.

Eric Mørk presented Hamlet as a completely normal young man in an abnormal situation. In appearance, manner, and action, he was sensitive, gentlemanly, well educated, but not worldly wise. He was uneasy, uncomfortable in the court, and at home only in Wittenberg. This was apparent at the arrival of Horatio, or anyone else from the University community; restraint and uncertainty left him and he warned to exuberant life. In strong, but by no means melodramatic, contrast, was his behavior in the first court scene. As he sat isolated at the front of the stage, he seemed only disturbed by the speeches of the king. His replies were quietly given, not as ironic asides to the groundlings nor privileged insults to his step-father. Tears in his eyes testified to an inward sorrow, but there was nothing in his inflection to anticipate the later disclosures of the Ghost. And the short pause and audible sigh before his "I shall in all my best obey you, Madam," could give Claudius no reason to take offense, or the queen to take the defensive. The key to his initial reactions was perhaps the final line of the first soliloquy, "But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue."

The soliloquy itself was spoken not as the reiteration of well-pondered griefs but as if the preceding scene had enabled him for the first time to identify, to give words to, the cause of his discontent. And so the scene with the Ghost came not as a confirmation of his suspicions but a genuine revelation of their cause. As the armored shade of Old Hamlet moved slowly across the stage at the back, the young prince jumped from his friends, knelt, and cried out his opening lines. But the Ghost continued his unbroken slow progress until "I'll call thee Hamlet/ King, *father*—" At the last word he paused and faced the speaker, who likewise paused, trembling with recognition. The following scene strengthened the filial impression. The Ghost was very much a father, speaking directly to his son in the gruff voice of an angry man, helpless to right his own injuries. Hamlet's startled exclamation, "Murder?" showed that his uncle's real villainy had never touched his mind, but his expression during the Ghost's following narrative and his reading of "O my prophetic soul/ Mine uncle?" showed that his mind once stimulated leapt ahead of his teacher. A witty student indeed. And yet, once his mind had comprehended his situation and pledged his duty, perhaps the key to the whole characterization was in the slow emphasis and pathos of the lines with which the scene ends:

Ak, tiden er af led og svær at rette—
kvafuldt at være født—og født til dette!

There was, of course, no question of abnormality in his later behavior, no doubt that he was *playing* the antic. Entering with his book in his hand at the end of the scene in which Polonius and the king decided to test him, he had only an opportunity to sense that something was afoot (without know-

ing what it might be) before changing his face and intonation for the fooling with Polonius. Throughout the scene he was playing with the old man, even reading the phrase "Except my life . . ." as a joke. During the scene with Rosencranz and Guildenstern he caught them in an exchange of significant glances, but as earlier with the king and his chamberlain, this could only increase his suspicion without yielding evidence of the form his danger was to take.

Since he is without foreknowledge, the nunnery scene began at least unconventionally. Hamlet and Ophelia are young lovers, but because of the bloody task he has assumed he realizes that he must break off their relationship (II.i). Mørk began the scene with a kind of nostalgia, a few moments' relaxation before reentering the world which evil has made for him. His replies to Ophelia's attempts to return his gifts were given abstractedly, the words were there, but his thoughts remained away. Even the first passage beginning "Get thee to a nunnery," was spoken gently, regretfully, mindful only of the Ghost. Its close, "Go thy ways to a nunnery," was a lover's farewell, and it was not until this point that a glance and a movement made the connection in his mind between the present situation and the suspicious exit of the king and Polonius. Furious at the discovery of Ophelia's hypocrisy, he turned on her, shouting, raging, with harsh tones. But without physical violence. He never touched her again in the scene. Yet in the play scene, the sense of his love was so strong that he was several times distracted from his imposed duty of watching Claudius to look searchingly upon her averted face.

To the young man's love of his father and his sweetheart, Mørk added a strong emphasis on his love of knowledge, his philosophy in the strictest sense. Thus the throwing about of brains with Horatio and Rosencranz and Guildenstern provided a natural introduction to the crucial lecture to the Players on the art of acting. It emerged, quite properly it seems to me, as the creed of a classically educated aesthete, startlingly remote from anything the Players (or the actor of Hamlet himself) could reasonably be expected to follow. Even his philosophical passages, arising out of his weakness and his melancholy, seemed happily remembered bits of tutorial assignments, tranquillity recollected in emotion: for we were ever made aware of the youth of this Hamlet and of his scholarly habit of mind. (It should be remembered that the young scholar in this part of Europe is encouraged not to seek but only to memorize.)

One moment of the production is worth recording for its revival of a genuine Elizabethan stage effect. After *The Mousetrap* and the passage of fooling with Polonius, Hamlet was left alone, down stage center, for the brief soliloquy, "'Tis now the very witching time of night . . ." Toward the end of the speech Claudius entered on the upper level at the back and knelt in prayer. As Hamlet spoke the final couplet, he turned to go to the stairs leading to the upper level, saw the king, started, and cried, "Now might I do it pat . . ." Whatever the purpose or wisdom of omitting the king's self-searching, it provided an apt demonstration of that elimination of the sense of place, or to put it in a more positive way, of the *geography of the theater* in Shakespearian dramaturgy.

For the most part, however, Henning-Jensen's production eschewed novelty or sensation in staging, concerning itself rather, as the examples indicate, with

a tragic picture of the life of a disunited family, the whole deriving its strength and emotional power from a warm and human portrait of the young prince.¹

III

The Aarhus production was designed to support a particular interpretation of the central character; the production at the Royal Theater in Copenhagen must be considered from a different point of view. Here the Hamlet, played by Jørgen Reenberg, was so colorless in personality and so stubborn in refusing to manifest whatever acting talent he may possess, that the spectator had the startled feeling that the legendary Irish production of *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out was clothed in flesh before his eyes. Reenberg spoke his lines with a kind of ghostly whine, like a well-trained seminarian intoning the Sunday Lesson, and his sole concession to the unbraced, ungartered prince of Ophelia's description was the removal of a starched white collar from his dapper suit of mourning.

It should be pointed out that Reenberg's performance is quite untypical of Danish acting. The Danish theater was founded in the middle of the eighteenth century by Baron Holberg and his plays are still the staple of the repertory at the Royal Theater. Danish actors are thus completely at home in the type of play that demands direct address to the audience and frontal attacks on the audiences' responses. While some rather strange things happen to, say, Shaw under their hands, plays of the Shakespearian cast can generally expect to get more vigorous and understanding treatment than they may receive from the more reticent schools of the contemporary English-speaking stage.

¹ A note or two on the *Hamlet* produced at The New Theater in Oslo, kindly furnished by Dr. Kristian Smidt and confirmed by the director Alfred Solaas, underline a certain consistency in the approach to the play of each of the various producers as well as indicating its own special features. Like all of the productions of the Hamlet Year, Oslo insisted on the youth of the hero. It is hard to say why this should suddenly seem so strong a dramatic point that six directors should seize on it at once. The Oslo director chose as his Hamlet, Espen Skjønberg, an actor youthful in face, supple in movement, and impulsive in his responses. The youthfulness was pointed up by surrounding him with a court in which only Polonius showed signs of aging; Gertrude was especially "full blooded" and on the sunny side of middle age.

Although this production seems closest to the Aarhus version in choosing a direct and unspectacular line, in allowing Hamlet to speak for himself, it showed perhaps greater awareness of critical literature on the subject. Granville-Barker's combination of theatrical and dramatic insight provided many clues. Spectators generally, for instance, were struck by the young Hamlet's incredulity, amazement and despair at the various revelations which come to him in the opening of the play. Yet there was no suggestion of Freudian motives in his early resentment of Claudius, and his philosophical outbursts were startled reactions to unanticipated experiences. As in Aarhus, the production insisted on the picture of a normal man in abnormal situations: his madness was antic; a conscious and obvious shift of voice before the play scene made this plain.

To strengthen the naturalness, if not as a concession to the well-made-play, Hamlet was permitted to overhear the entire plot of Claudius and Polonius. During the nunnery scene he addressed himself almost exclusively to them, stretching his body to shout at their hiding place. Ophelia, who was played very passively, seemed hardly to be present in the scene; Hamlet circled about her, and although his words took their cue from her speeches, he actually spoke only to his enemies, and on his exit, threatened them directly.

About a third of the play was cut, including such minor characters as Cornelius and Voltimand, and Fortinbras except at his final entrance. The cutting however was done with care, except for the "How all occasions" soliloquy, preserving the narrative continuity, and for the most part the characterization.

Given such a school of actors, and no Hamlet, director John Price apparently decided that his cue was the exploitation of his theater. At any rate the audience was gratified by a pageant of all the resources of this remarkable institution—unlimited manpower, including several actors of the first rank, settings and costumes created from an unrestricted budget, and a display of ingenuity in the lighting that for splendor and complexity could be approached only by the Radio City Music Hall.

The curtain rose on Francisco pacing the dimly-lighted upper platform of an adaptation of the Elizabethan stage façade. The setting, designed for any Shakespearian production, was handsome without being distracting, and remarkably flexible, permitting an unbroken action up to the sole intermission. In the darkness above and beyond the platform the Ghost made his appearance, suddenly spotlighted and seemingly standing on air. The effect was so supernatural that the spectator immediately began speculating on how it was achieved, and the dramatic import of the opening scene was muffled.

For the most part, however, Price managed to use his considerable theatrical talent to increase the visual excitement of the action without detracting from its poetic and tragic concerns. The nunnery scene is a good example of his skill in keeping motivation and characterization clear for an audience largely unfamiliar with the play. Although Hamlet had been permitted, in the usual way, to overhear the plotting of Polonius and Claudius,² he was not permitted to anticipate Ophelia's involvement. Her own character was considerably strengthened by business designed to impress her reluctance on the spectators. A curtain was drawn halfway across the inner stage opening, and behind this the two conspirators retired to listen. As Hamlet entered reading, Ophelia cast one look upon him and herself tried to hide behind the curtain, but her father's hands thrust her back and she was forced to stand behind Hamlet during the whole of the "To be or not to be" speech. As the prince finished, Polonius's hands were again seen in action, forcing her forward, and she moved reluctantly downstage. Seeing her, Hamlet rushed to her, knelt at her side and she bent over him for a brief scene of love before Polonius' arm sternly directed her to get on with the business. On her attempt to return the jewels, Hamlet arose and his reply seemed the result of bewilderment at her action. Then Hamlet caught sight of Polonius, who had grown impatient and gestured again, and turned on her furiously, "... are you honest?" During the remainder of the scene, Ophelia was quite overwhelmed by one of Hamlet's infrequent displays of life; he stormed about the stage, shook her, slapped her—then, at the final "To a nunnery . . .," clutched her frantically to his bosom. After a second of recollected passion, he released her and made a wild, zigzagging exit, tearing pages from his book and flinging them at Polonius behind the curtain and singing, wordlessly, the tune of "St. Valentine's Day."

The play scene was the true climax of the action. The king and queen were seated at the back, facing the audience, and the play was enacted close to the footlights. The stage itself was very dark, spotlights picking out the significant characters. Lucianus entered from the orchestra pit, a dark shadow

² This tiresome concession to Sardoodledom was one of the few influences plainly traceable to the Olivier film in all the Scandinavian productions.

rising into the scene. Before Hamlet could identify him, a look of horror came over Claudius. Gradually Lucianus moved into the light: his beard and wig were an exact pattern of the king's, his costume a tawdry replica of the royal robes. As Lucianus spoke, Claudius rose, dumbfounded, and moved stiffly forward, hands raised to shield himself, as if drawn against his will. The two, murderer and player-murderer, stood almost face to face before the king, shuddering, let forth a sickening yell of terror, and stumbled from the scene. Although this involved a good deal of cutting of lines, it created a vivid image of the power of a play (or a player) to catch the conscience.

Two performances in the Copenhagen production overshadowed everything but the more sensational bits of staging. Polonius, played by Poul Reumert, the country's leading actor, managed to justify his position in the court without sacrificing his opportunities of arousing laughter. His manner, the dignity of a senator combined with the stance of a pigeon, his inflection and timing, the statesman's wariness become the pedant's hypersensitivity, together with skillfully-devised bits of business created a man at whom one could freely laugh with Hamlet, but who could also be heard with seriousness by his children as he codifies the values of the court of Denmark.³ The conclusion of this famous speech provided an instance of revealing character business. Having come to "Farewell: my blessing season this in thee," Polonius seemed to lose all interest in his son. His next line was spoken over his shoulder as he turned up stage to look over and sign (with some comic peering and scowling) a paper held by Reynaldo. In front, Laertes and Ophelia *whispered* their adieux and her promise to remember her brother's warning. But Laertes had no sooner left the stage than Reynaldo was dismissed with a tap, and Polonius turned on his daughter, "What is't Ophelia he hath said to you?" In those few moments was revealed the complex of fool, intruder, and hunter of the trail of policy in perfect dramatic balance.

The Ophelia of Ingeborg Brams was a theatrical portrait worthy of her father. In the first part of the play modest and obedient, though showing some signs of spirit, in her mad scenes she was plainly "divided from herself." There was more of the Hogarthian beast than the Tennysonian wraith in her madness. Dressed in dull brown she moved heavily about the stage, her eyes blazing, and in a strong true voice singing the stanzas of "St. Valentine's Day" planted in her mind by Hamlet at the end of the nunnery scene. The herbs she distributed were straws and barren twigs, and the total image was of a mind driven by horror to horror. Hers was a performance that could only be approached in the American theater by an actress with the conception and emotional range of Jessica Tandy.

Other points about the performance may be noted in conclusion: the sex-play of Claudius and Gertrude, for the Scandinavian theater allows the actors wide liberty in such situations, gave grounds more relative than usual for Hamlet's words to his mother in her closet; the expert and extended fencing scene with Laertes, revealing Reenberg's one qualification for the role of Hamlet, began with a wonderful sense of play, the ironic suggestion that

³ Only in the Copenhagen production were Ophelia and Laertes permitted to hear their father's advice without grimaces, sighs, or other distracting comic business. To permit the children to mock their father is surely to weaken the careful design of the play.

Hamlet found himself for a moment free from all the duties and disasters of his position and engaged at last in a game of which he was the master; the open setting permitted the audience to see the rabble of Laertes overthrow the armored watchmen of Claudius on the upper stage, and the soldiers of Fortinbras encircle the castle with banners and burnished battlegear; finally, Fortinbras himself marched on in a suit of shining gold to lend a proper climax to the pageantry and visual glory of this highly theater-wise production of Denmark's national tragedy.

IV

Although the Old Vic company has yet to be seen at Elsinore, it is a safe guess that no other production in this Scandinavian Hamlet Year will equal the excitement, the raw, nervous ferocity of that of the Göteborg Stadsteater. In Copenhagen the staging reflected the training of a national school of acting; here the reflection was deeper: Hamlet, deprived of his heritage, was in part the ruthless, blood-minded avenger of Saxo and in part the frustrate madman of Strindberg. There was also, in the staging of the brilliant young director, Bengt Ekerot, a clear reference to the contemporary attitude reflected in the plays of Tennessee Williams. A time of change and a place in decay destroy Hamlet as surely as they destroy Blanche DuBois.

The Göteborg *Hamlet* was skillfully designed to provide sufficient shocks to entrance an audience accustomed to the strongest diet of Strindberg; the director ran little risk in permitting himself freedoms with the text, since he could be certain of no prompting from the audience.⁴ But to the English-speaking spectators perhaps the greatest shock came at the very beginning of the performance.

The famous, familiar opening scene was reduced to one line, and a line taken from another scene at that. The curtain rose on a dark stage over which a bluish green light gradually spread. The stage was divided in half, wing to wing, by a scrim, and behind the scrim the Ghost slowly descended a circular stone staircase outside a Gordon Craig castle-tower towards three men huddled in fright at left center. As one of them cried out, "I danska staten nårgonting är ruttet," the lights behind the scrim faded and the front right area was spotted in a rosy gold. There on a dais stood Claudius and Gertrude locked in an embrace. Slowly Gertrude dropped her handkerchief, the embrace was broken; with a kiss, Claudius placed a crown upon her head and they stood hand in hand before their thrones. By this time the light had crept over the rest of the stage, a fanfare and march (by Arthur Honegger) were sounded, and the rest of the court entered in rapid procession, bowing before the royal pair and taking positions behind the thrones and in an oblique line across the stage from right center to the left proscenium. When all had bowed, last came Prince Hamlet, wrapped in black and wearing insolently a black beret, looking neither to right nor left as he crossed before the courtiers to take up his position in front of the left proscenium. At once Per Oscarsson established his Hamlet as the petulant, even arrogant, adolescent. In his first

⁴ It should be noted that, however free Ekerot was in interpreting the text, his 3½ hour version preserved more of Shakespeare's play than any of the others.

replies to the king and queen, he was snappy, curt, with no sense at all of the "aside" in his manner. He had, as it were, cast down the gauntlet on no grounds at all; it was not his prophetic but his post-Freudian soul that prompted him—he was driven by the complex that in literature governs the actions of children of divorce.

The king's awareness of his nephew's enmity was made apparent. Not content with announcing that Hamlet was the "most immediate to our throne," he gestured for the pages bearing his scepter and globe to step forward with a kind of bribing movement. And at Hamlet's pointed, "I shall in all my best obey you, Madam," the king leapt to his feet with clenched fists, as if to reply in anger, then very obviously got control of himself and spoke more winningly.

After the exit of the court, Hamlet turned toward the throne, flung his cap across the stage (it was the symbol of his refusal to accept the state of affairs in a kingdom he thought rightly his), then crossed to the throne and viciously spat on it. Picking up his mother's handkerchief, he nuzzled it fondly, cast it from him in sudden revulsion, and flung himself flat on his back, partly on the dais steps, partly on the stage floor, for the first soliloquy.

From this moment the suggestion of mania was never far from his performance; in the way he would cock his head, fix his eyes on his fellow actors and allow his head to twitch on his neck; in the way he would walk, nervously pacing with springing step around his fellows or the throne. And always the suggestion of the young boy in his relations with his mother. During the bitter speech about the "baked meats" he noticed her handkerchief on the floor, toyed with it at the point of his sword, and suddenly speared it from him.

In the second act, the forces against Hamlet were made more evil. Rosenzanz was played in a smiling effeminate manner. The king, too, was made more grotesque than Polonius, who played with dignity, perhaps to justify Hamlet's behavior in later scenes. Just before the king and Polonius lay their trap for Hamlet with Ophelia, Hamlet, reading his book, crossed the stage and stood in the wings behind them, thus overhearing the entire scheme and providing the motivation for a nunnery scene of surpassing brutality.

In the following scene with Polonius, the mania and the adolescence were again emphasized. Hamlet read from his book like a schoolboy, but his antics were performed in the manner of the usual Elizabethan stage-fool. At the speech, "Slanders, sir," he began to pluck pages from his book and scatter them about like dead flowers, yet the phrase, "except my life," usually read with inward weariness, was snapped out like a whiplash, a curse.

The first scene with the players was cut to its narrative essentials: it went at once to the Hecuba business. This sent Hamlet's fever chart rocketing up as he raged through the "rogue and peasant slave" soliloquy, thumping the king's throne on "bloody bawdy villain," until he sent it crashing to the stage floor.

In the nunnery scene, Ophelia was sent to walk in the left wings before Hamlet entered, reading a book. If Oscarsson gave no hint of the scholarly prince in his characterization, perhaps this was most obvious in his consistent unfriendly attitude towards literature. This time the book was slammed to the floor in most unphilosophical disagreement. Then, repeating the pattern of the

first soliloquy, he flung himself to the floor in front of the left proscenium to recite "To be or not to be." Because he was aware of the plot against him and of Ophelia's duplicity, as she entered behind him he rose, stalked her on tiptoe halfway across the stage and hysterically bawled, "Nymph in thy orisons . . ." in her ear. She turned to him, not surprisingly almost terrified out of her wits. But this was only the beginning of her torture. Begging him to take back his gifts she attempted to embrace him; he flung her harshly away. It was again the young man dramatizing, or melodramatizing, a suspected injury. At "Ay, truly," he spat once more, liberally, and pranced about her like a petty bourgeois in a French farce who has just discovered that he has been made a cuckold; before advising her to go to a nunnery, he actually raised his arm to strike. This mad behaviour did not seem to be "antic," intended to impress the hidden spies. The noble mind (of which this interpretation gave no evidence) was completely overthrown by the pressures of society, circumstance, and personal history.

After the intermission, Hamlet's facial expression and bodily attitude came more and more to resemble one of the tortured subjects of Goya, though his actions belied his appearance as much as they did his advice to the players. The scene with Ophelia before *The Mousetrap* was played very broadly, with no attempt to be-apron its obscenity. As his play was about to begin, Hamlet did not merely place his head in her lap. Once more flat on his back on the stage, he drove his head between her thighs with such violence that she started with pain and very nearly lost her balance.

During the Dumb Show, Polonius was busy talking to the king so that neither saw what was going on, and Hamlet himself was dancing about making fool's faces and moping and mowing so that *he* also failed to see it. The play was mimed like a ballet and precisely fitted to a musical score, but the action was realistic, not stylized. The king could not and did not miss the point.

After the play and his victory, Hamlet was again moved to spit on the throne, and during the scene with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern he exceeded all his previous mad efforts. At, "I am tame," he sat up on his hind legs and begged like a pet dog, and at, "you are welcome," he scrambled in front of Guildenstern on all fours and lifted his leg against him.

The whole of the closet scene was a wrestling match. Hamlet began by flinging his mother on the bed and twisting her arms until it was no wonder she cried out with fright. But after the prince discovered it was Polonius he had killed, instead of the conventional curt dismissal of the event, Oscarsson wept and wailed and beat his chest and floundered about the stage in a cataclysm of grief. But he quickly recovered his old style, clamped Gertrude's head in a vice-like grip to force her to look upon the two locketts, tore the covers right and left as he described her second marriage-bed and then, after the Ghost had warned him off,⁵ pawing at her and clutching her frantically as he begged her not to "lay . . . a flattering unction. . . ." In his next speech, however, as he stood back, holding her hand and kissing it, he realized the full

⁵ This was the sole appearance of the Ghost in any Scandinavian bed-room. In Copenhagen he was a spotlight, in the other theaters he was in Hamlet's imagination all compact.

pathos of a young man begging his mother to be virtuous: the intolerant puritanism of youth suddenly became very touching. The effect was somewhat blunted by a quick return to brutality as he actually lugged the guts across the stage before the curtain closed.

Fortinbras and his soldiers made their sole appearance of the Hamlet Year as the background for the seldom heard "How all occasions" soliloquy. The graveyard scene, too, was played in its entirety, cynicism in the face of rot and death being the comic counterpart of Hamlet's mania. Certain pieces of business, unwarranted by the text, were introduced to strengthen the comparison. Thus, although Hamlet has announced to the king that he is returning "naked," he drew his sword as he sprang to the grave and proclaimed himself. When he leapt into the grave to grapple with Laertes, the business was so extended and detailed that it gave the impression of two small boys brawling in a bathtub, and just before he made his exit, Hamlet again tore off his cap and seemed to menace both Gertrude and Claudius. There was no preparation for, or indeed suggestion of, the philosophical resignation which seems to underlie most of his actions in the final act of the text.

For example, V.ii, where he explains to Horatio how Rosencranz and Guildenstern met their deaths, began with Hamlet spearing a dagger (mumblepeg fashion) into the stage. Throughout the scene, Hamlet toyed with the dagger, catching Osric's hat on it, chasing the courtier up the steps before the throne with a suggestive glint in his eye. This seemed quite pointless cruelty to Osric, who for once was played more or less as an inoffensive man of fashion. The suggestion of an unbalanced mind with a naked, eager weapon came clearly over the footlights.

Even the speech of pardon to Laertes seemed to carry no conviction, no sincerity. It was courtly politeness, like the speeches of Claudius, rather than wholehearted like Hamlet's speeches to Horatio. He was still the avenger, more aware of his own blighted future than the wrongs of his father. And during the duel, when Gertrude brought her handkerchief to him, he did not take it. She tucked it in his sword hand, but he thrust it aside, as earlier. He was still judging his mother, still the adolescent unwilling to believe that opinions, convictions, commitments can be changed.

In line with the general emphasis on horror and violence, there was no attempt to de-emphasize the corpses at the end. The dead bodies were strewn about the stage in plain sight. And Hamlet died hard, reluctant, frightened, with his eyes open. The audience was never permitted to forget the ugliness of life as Hamlet envisioned it, and the "Good night, sweet prince," seemed a feeble attempt (just as Shaw said) to skin and film an ulcerous place.

This then was the Hamlet of Saxo, driven by blood-feud and a slight to pride of place; this was the Hamlet of Strindberg, in its constant hysterical tension, its self-glorifying image of young manhood at its center; this was the Hamlet of Tennessee Williams: the frail, poetic, violent, unstable child-man seeking security in a world of wicked adults, the romantic uprooted and lost in a world for which he was never made. Whether it was the Hamlet of Shakespeare, the exhausted spectators had neither the strength nor the will to inquire.

LANTHORNE and Candle-light.

O R,
The Bell-Mans second Nights-walke.

In which

He brings to light, a Brood of more strange Villantes
then enct were till this yeare discouered.

—Dæet nouisse malum, fecisse, nefan'um.

The second edition, newly corrected and amended



LONDON

*Printed for Iohn Busby, and are to be solde at his shop in Fleets-
streete, in Saint Dunstons Church-yard. 1609.*

London Types and Costumes: A nightwatchman. Thomas Dekker's
Lanthorne and Candle-light (1609), STC 6486.

Hamlet and the Odor of Mortality

RICHARD D. ALTICK



IN writing *Hamlet*, Shakespeare was preoccupied with the corruption of mortal flesh. From the famous first statement of the idea in Marcellus' "Something is rotten in the state of Denmark" to Hamlet's discourse with the Gravediggers on the lamentable condition of the bodies they disinter, the reader of the play may never long forget that after death the human body putrifies. To Shakespeare's contemporaries, of course, the idea was the most familiar of commonplaces, the center of a cluster of time-worn platitudes which, by making pious capital of a universal biological process, reminded man that flesh was foul and that even a king could go a progress through the guts of a beggar. It was a commonplace, but much more. Every Elizabethan citizen knew from personal observation the reek of a gangrenous wound or a cancerous sore. Thus the fact that human flesh may well begin to rot even before death, and that the process is accelerated and even more loathsome afterwards—witness the stench of unburied "pocky corpses" in plague time and of bones being transferred to the charnel house after their sojourn in hallowed ground—was removed from the abstract realm of folk-say and sermon, and made immediate and unforgettable by the nauseating testimony of the nostrils.

The ancient moral therefore was constantly and repellantly illustrated in the everyday life of Shakespeare's time. In his plays generally, Shakespeare habitually uses allusions to the rotting of flesh as a vivid way of symbolizing repugnant ideas. In *Hamlet*, however, he not only lays heavier emphasis than in any other play upon bodily corruption, but stresses, to a degree found nowhere else, the revolting odors that accompany the process. The play indeed may justly be said to be enveloped in an atmosphere of stench. The stink that rises from dead flesh emblemizes the sheer loathsomeness of the sort of evil, cunning and lecherous, with which Claudius has corrupted the whole kingdom; the fact that once begun, the process of rotting gains inexorable headway and the odor it generates spreads far and wide, suggests the dynamic and infectious quality of sin; and the further fact that the process transforms the beautiful human body into a horrid, malodorous mass of corruption is symbolic of the dread effect of sin upon the human soul. It is not only to Hamlet that, as G. Wilson Knight has remarked, "the universe smells of mortality"; all the leading characters manifest, through their choice of language, their awareness of the odor, originating in the foul soul of Claudius, that permeates the kingdom.

Since the detailed work of Caroline Spurgeon and Wolfgang Clemen

especially, no student of *Hamlet* has been unaware of the way in which images of corrupting disease dominate the poetic fabric of the play. But the importance of the accompanying suggestion of nauseating smell has not, I think, been generally appreciated. It is not a matter of images alone—images represent simply the points at which the hovering theme is made explicit by embodiment in a metaphor—but also of the many single related words scattered through the text whose sensory suggestion, dormant now as it was not in Shakespeare's time, is overlooked unless the chief image-motif is constantly recalled.

The opening scene has long been admired as a masterpiece of atmospheric writing. Francisco's line in the first minute of the play, "Tis bitter cold,/ And I am sick at heart," not only defines the foreboding, uneasy atmosphere of the setting, but, by associating the idea of sickness with an as yet unknown evil, initiates the use of a word which from time to time will reinforce the play's dominant image. Before the end of the scene *sick* appears in a new context:

the moist star
Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands
Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse

—and by the recurrence of the word in such an image we are led to feel that the disturbance in the common soldier's heart is simply a reflection, in microcosm, of the vast upset which is visiting Elsinore now as it did the state of Rome a little ere the mightiest Julius fell. (Brutus, it will be recalled, had "some sick offence" within his mind the very night that the ominous portents visited Rome.) The association between sickness and night, thus formed, is further defined when Marcellus, in one of the few lyrical passages of the play, speaks of the happy Christmas season when "the nights are wholesome," and thus makes clear that in Elsinore, at the present moment, the nights are *not* wholesome. The Elizabethans, of course, feared the night air as the carrier of contagion, especially from the putrescent matter in marshes and churchyards. Thus this early allusion to the unwholesomeness of the Elsinore nights begins the process, to be continued throughout the play, of appealing to the medical, the epidemiological lore of the contemporary playgoer.

This heretofore general sense of sickness is localized and given specific connection with physical decay in the second line Hamlet utters. In response to the King's question, "How is it that the clouds still hang on you?" Hamlet says, "Not so, my lord. I am too much i' th' sun." The usual interpretation of the line (a quibble on *son* and *sun*—I am too conscious of my character as son, and I am uncomfortable in the presence of the King, the sun) does not convey the entire meaning. Claudius *is* the sun, of course; but what is often overlooked is that the sun is a powerful agent of corruption. Since Hamlet does not yet recognize the King's vast influence for evil, the line is ironical; only looking back, especially from the point where Hamlet envisions the sun breeding maggots in a dead dog, do we realize that he is characterizing the King more truly than he can, at this point, know. Like the sun, particularly in time of plague, the King can spread corruption wherever his influence falls, and Hamlet is exposed to the full glare of that malign power. The idea contained in the line is resumed in "O that this too too solid flesh would melt,/ Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew!" Hamlet wishes that the physical disintegration which the sun promotes

would be his own immediate fortune. (A simpler, and equally plausible, explanation which still connects the two separate passages would be in terms of the sun as the melter, not of flesh, but of spow. But the "god kissing carrion" image later on, which picks up the "too much i' th' sun" notion again, inclines me to the former interpretation.) The rest of Hamlet's speech, contrasting with the high sentences of the King's address to him, is flecked with base images of decay (the world is overgrown by "things rank and gross in nature"—*rank* in two senses) and of parasitism, which is often linked with decay (the Queen had clung to the elder Hamlet "As if increase of appetite had grown/ By what it fed on"). There may even be a double pun in "How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable/ Seem to me all the uses of this world!" To an Elizabethan auditor, the obvious meaning of the word *stale* in context, "musty," would have chimed with a second meaning, "prostitute"—appropriate enough in the light of what Hamlet proceeds to say about his mother—and even with a third, "horse's urine," which would add a certain measure to the malodorousness of the whole text and detract nothing from the auditor's appreciation of the hopelessness of Hamlet's outlook.

The concluding lines of the scene,

I doubt some foul play. Would the night were come!
Till then sit still, my soul. Foul deeds will rise,
Though all the earth o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes

carry on the association begun in the first scene between night and apparitions, and relate it to the image-pattern. The allusion is to the way in which decaying animal (or vegetable) matter, though deeply buried, seems to rise again at night in miasmatic mists or phosphorescent glows, or in phantasmic shapes which old superstition identified as ghosts. Evil, Hamlet's image says, may be put out of sight, but it will return, in some new manifestation which will affront not only the eyes but—the force of *foul* is clear—the nose. It may be no accident that in the first minute of the next scene, which followed without pause on the Elizabethan stage, Shakespeare has Laertes speak of violets and perfume; an effective contrast to the repeated *foul* of Hamlet's last lines.

At this point, there enters a second corruption image, which shifts attention from the putrescence of a dead organism to that in a still living one. Laertes' image, "The canker galls the infants of the spring/ Too oft before their buttons be disclos'd," is usually, and rightly, read as referring to the action of a caterpillar in young buds. But the other, equally common, meaning of *canker*—cancer—is likely to have occurred as well to the hearers of the lines. In the next scene the idea of cancerous decay in a living organism recurs, although still only by implication. In his rambling, time-filling discourse to Horatio and Marcellus as they await the Ghost, Hamlet dwells upon the "vicious mole of nature" (some particular shortcoming) in certain men which leads them "in the general censure [to] take corruption"—i.e., to be condemned for that single fault. The image, although interrupted and blurred by Hamlet's nervous loquacity, is plainly suggestive of a spreading cancer (the "vicious" makes it plain that he is not thinking of an ordinary mole or skin blemish), which leads to total infection. The cancerous nature of evil is about to be illus-

trated by the Ghost's narrative. "Something is rotten in the state of Denmark," says Marcellus as he watches the Ghost lead Hamlet off.

The Ghost tells his story to Hamlet in language dominated by a sense of rottenness, disease, and stench. He is "confin'd to fast in fires," he says, "Till the *foul* crimes done in my days of nature/ Are burnt and purg'd away." The word *foul*, given no less prominence than the key-word *murther*, reverberates in his solemn lines, which are among the most dramatic in all the play:

Ghost. Revenge his *foul* and most unnatural *murther*.

Hamlet. *Murther?*

Ghost. *Murther most foul*, as in the best it is;

But this most *foul*, strange, and unnatural.

"The fat weed/ That rots itself in ease on Lethe wharf," spoken of in the lines just following, continue the idea of foulness; as Kittredge notes, "the very existence of a slimy water-weed seems to be decay; it thrives in corruption and 'rots itself through its lazy, stagnant life.'" The ear of Denmark is "*rankly* abused." Lust, says the Ghost, now for the first time applying the idea of repulsive odor to the sexual sin of Claudius and Gertrude,

though to a radiant angel link'd,
Will sate itself in a celestial bed
And prey on *garbage*

—the olfactory suggestion of which is made explicit by the contrast provided by the very next line: "But soft! Methinks I scent the morning air."¹ Rather ironically, considering the state of his own mind, as manifested in his language, the Ghost commands Hamlet, "*Taint* not thy mind." But by this time evil has as vile a smell to Hamlet as it does to his father; and, being Hamlet, he reveals it by the wild and whirling play on *offend/offence*, to which we shall return presently.

Even in the succeeding scene, involving Polonius, Reynaldo, and Ophelia, though the subject-matter has no relation to what has just preceded, the suggestion of vile smell is not entirely absent. Polonius directs Reynaldo to take care not to set afloat any rumors about Laertes that are "so *rank*/ As may dishonour him" but rather to "breathe his faults so quaintly/ That they may seem the *taints* of liberty." But it is only when Hamlet is seen again that the evil-smell theme is signally resumed. Hamlet identifies Polonius as a fishmonger, a term which, in addition to other appropriate aspects that have been pointed out by the commentators, has its own odorous value. And then he reads in his book: "For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a god kissing carrion—Have you a daughter?" he suddenly asks. "Let her not walk i' th' sun. Conception is a blessing, but not as your daughter may conceive." And here we have a recurrence of the image already noted in the second scene of the play: Claudius as the sun, and the sun as an agent of noisome corruption, which, according to the pseudo-science of the time, resulted in turn in the breeding of

¹ "He who stews in desire of carnal corruption breathes forth the stench of putridity"—Alanus de Insulis, *Distinctions of Theological Terms*, quoted by John E. Hankins, "Hamlet's 'god kissing carrion,'" *PMLA*, LXIV (1949), 515. Professor Hankins' whole article, on the complex of ancient, medieval, and Renaissance ideas associating corruption and generation, throws valuable light on the connection between sexuality and putridity in *Hamlet*.

new life. Hamlet is now fully conscious of the evil influence of the King, and he warns that Ophelia too is endangered by the same corruptive force which he had, albeit unconsciously, identified in his "I am too much i' th' sun"—though Ophelia, as a woman, is imperilled in a different way. Hamlet, his father, Gertrude, and now (Hamlet fears) Ophelia: the roll of the King's victims is increasing; the evil generated by Claudius' sick soul is spreading insidiously through the court. No wonder, then, that to Hamlet the air "appeareth no other thing . . . than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours": vapors spreading the evil of a dead crime far and wide. "What a piece of work is a man" indeed—a man whose sin has the power so to infect a whole kingdom. A far cry, this Hamlet whose "imaginations are as foul/ As Vulcan's stithy"—any Elizabethan's nostrils would have quivered, as ours may not, to the suggestion of thick smoke and the reek of seared horses' hoofs—from the young man who once was accustomed to utter to Ophelia "words of so sweet breath compos'd." Where now is the perfume of his former discourse?

The hovering suggestions of physical contagion in the night air, which had been lost since the Ghost scene, are brought to a new focus in Lucianus' concluding incantation in the play-within-a-play:

Thou mixture rank, of midnight weeds collected,
With Hecate's ban thrice blasted, thrice infected,
Thy natural magic and dire property
On wholesome life usurp immediately.

Rank, midnight, blasted, infected have powerful connotations of physical evil, especially as contrasted with *wholesome*. And the connection of these midnight horrors with the stench of putrifying flesh is made specific in Hamlet's speech at the close of the scene:

'Tis now the very witching time of night,
When churchyards yawn, and hell itself breathes out
Contagion to this world.

The following scenes (III. iii-iv) have the highest incidence of corruption-smell images and puns in the play, which is but natural when we recall that these scenes are the direct, if delayed, sequel to the odor-laden interview with the Ghost. The King's speech beginning "O, my offence is rank, it smells to heaven," with its repeated use of words like *offence*, *strong*, *foul*, and *corrupted*, sets the tone of all that follows. Hamlet refers to Claudius as "a mildew'd ear/ Blasting his wholesome brother," *mildew'd* providing a clear image of bad-smelling fungi communicating infection to a hitherto healthy organism. The Queen envisions her soul as full of "such black and grained spots/ As will not leave their tinct," a phrase suggestive of cancerous or other corruptive growth. And, resuming the very imagery which the Ghost had used to describe the incest, Hamlet bursts out:

Nay, but to live
In the *rank* sweat of an enseamed bed,
Stew'd in *corruption*, honeying and making love
Over the nasty sty!

"Mother, for love of grace," he continues after the reappearance of the Ghost,

Lay not that flattering unction to your soul,
That not your trespass but my madness speaks.
It will but skin and film the ulcerous place,
Whiles *rank corruption*, mining all within,
Infects unseen

—a deservedly admired image of the insidious action of a cancer in or near the skin, the stench of which is made unmistakably vivid by "rank corruption." Finally, Hamlet begs the Queen henceforth to avoid the "reechy kisses" of her lecherous husband. In Hamlet's mind the evil of the Queen's incest is firmly symbolized by a noisome smell; the marriage bed is associated with garbage and the nasty sty; and her sense of guilt is a cancerous sore whose spread cannot be arrested by any rationalization.

In the following scene (IV.i), by a nice stroke of irony, Claudius picks up the same image of cancer and applies it, in the presence of the Queen, to Hamlet's affliction:

so much was our love

We would not understand what was most fit,
But, like the owner of a *foul* disease,
To keep it from divulging, let it feed
Even on the pith of life.

"Diseases desperate grown," he decides after an interval—anticipating Hamlet's own conclusion following his return from England—"By desperate appliance are reliev'd,/ Or not at all." Hamlet does nothing to alleviate the morbidity of Claudius' mind when he proceeds to lecture him on the manner in which we mortal men "fat ourselves for maggots," and to assure him that, if Polonius' corpse is not meanwhile discovered, "you shall nose him as you go up the stairs into the lobby."

Except for small reminders in the scene between Claudius and Laertes (allusions to *plague*, *sickness*, *pleurisy* [excess], *the quick o' the ulcer*, and a gangrenous sore arising from the scratch of a poisoned sword), the corruption-smell theme lapses until the graveyard scene, when, in a sense, it reaches its climax. The significance of this scene in terms of the motif we have been tracing lies not so much in the actual lines—although the Gravedigger's instructive remarks on the number of years required for a corpse to rot after the laying-in, and Hamlet's subsequent exclamation of disgust upon smelling Yorick's skull are parts of the pattern—as in the abundant suggestions which the very setting would have for the Elizabethan playgoer. Here *is* the yawning churchyard, the symbol of man's mortality, the place where flesh, whose corruption may have begun in life, was laid in earth—and where flesh continued to rot after death, its fetid exhalations assaulting men's noses and not merely making their gorges rise but warning them of the danger of fatal contagion. All the preceding imagery and word-play dealing with the odor of mortality have pointed toward this scene; and after the scene is ended, the motif is heard but once more, in Hamlet's simple query to Horatio:

And is't not to be damn'd
To let this canker of our nature come
In further evil?

In this tracing of the various forms which imagery suggestive of corruption and evil odor takes in *Hamlet*, we have not noticed the occurrence of dozens of detached words which support the dominant motif. Read in their immediate context, they usually seem colorless, with little metaphorical force; but read against the whole atmospheric pattern as we have just outlined it, they are revealed to have an indispensable relation to it. The text reeks with terms symbolic of the loathsomeness of moral disintegration.

The pervasiveness of the idea of the odor of disease in the play is due no more to the formal metaphors which incorporate it than to the simple recurrence of the words *sick* (*sickly*, *sicklied*) and *disease*, even when these do not in their context refer to physical illness. (Indeed, there is no actual bodily sickness in the play, unless it is the rather ambiguous malady of the Player King.) To the Elizabethans, in days long before asepsis had robbed illness of some of its malodorousness, *sick* and *diseased* probably had a specific sensory association which is now largely lost. The often-noted emphasis on these words in the play is not designed to convey the idea of an unhealthy state of mind, of moral degeneration, alone; the words contribute their share to the general effect of physical smell which in the images is so strongly associated with disease.

In our time *foul* has lost most of its power of sensory suggestion. It had begun to do so in Shakespeare's time, and we may doubt whether, on most of the scores of occasions upon which the word is used in his plays, it evoked any sensory reaction in his audience. Normally it was a rather neutral adjective of censure. But at the same time the word did continue to designate the odor generated by decaying flesh, and in appropriate contexts it did retain an unmistakable connotative power, roughly equivalent perhaps to our epithet *stinking*. In *Hamlet* this specific connotation is predominant, as it is nowhere else in the canon, because the word *foul* occurs frequently in conjunction with other words which serve to develop its definite, but normally latent, olfactory reference. Because of this, and because of the presence in the text of so many other passages suggestive of smell, the word, no matter how casually used, has a special significance. It is noteworthy that in two separate passages, both of them quoted above, Shakespeare uses *foul* in rhetorical repetition, as if to make sure that its full connotative value is not lost upon the audience.

The repulsive sensory connotation of *rank* ("corrupt, foul, festering") in some contexts is obscured by another meaning. But by neglecting the possibility of a pun, we fail to realize how this word too supports the prevailing theme. Actually, in several instances, in which the primary meaning is "luxuriant, overgrown," the pun is double: *rank* in the sense of "stinking" and also in the more specialized sense of "in lecherous heat," as in Hamlet's description of Denmark as

an unweeded garden
That grows to seed; things *rank* and gross in nature
Possess it merely

and his admonition to his mother, "Do not spread the compost on the weeds/
To make them *ranker*."

Possibly we are on less certain ground when we include *offence* with *foul*

and *rank* as a word which recurrently supports the sickness-foul odor theme in *Hamlet*. Yet there is evidence that in Elizabethan times the word was frequently related to olfactory affront; for example, a passage cited in the *New English Dictionary* from Sir John Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596) runs: "They quickly found not only offence but infection to grow out of great concourss of people"—*offence* referring most explicitly to the effect upon the nostrils of the sweaty, unwashed, and disease-ridden populace. In Shakespeare's mind there was an unmistakable, though of course not constant, association between *offence/offend* and bad odors. In the plays one can find some fifteen or twenty passages in which one or the other of these words occurs in intimate proximity to words or images of smell or disease (*infected, sick, taint, foul, strong, rank, nose, breathe, corruption, rotten*). I am persuaded that the repeated occurrence of *offend* and *offence* in *Hamlet* is part of the pattern of submerged punning. That the words embodied for Shakespeare not only the abstract concept (sin, crime) but also the symbolic sensory manifestation (something disagreeable, disgusting: specifically, a foul odor) seems clear, above all in Claudius' speech in the prayer scene, in the first line of which the connection is made between *offence* and smell, and in the remainder of which *offence*, despite the shift in image, is interlaced with other terms suggestive of smell:

O, my *offence* is *rank*, it *smells* to heaven;
 It hath the primal eldest curse upon't,
 A brother's murther! Pray can I not,
 Though inclination be as sharp as will.
 My *stronger* guilt defeats my *strong* intent,
 And, like a man to double business bound,
 I stand in pause where I shall first begin,
 And both neglect. What if this cursed hand
 Were thicker than itself with brother's blood,
 Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens
 To wash it white as snow? Whereto serves mercy
 But to confront the visage of *offence*?
 And what's in prayer but this twofold force,
 To be forestalled ere we come to fall,
 Or pardon'd being down? Then I'll look up;
 My fault is past. But, O, what form of prayer
 Can serve my turn? "Forgive me my *foul* murther"?
 That cannot be; since I am still possess'd
 Of those effects for which I did the murther—
 My crown, mine own ambition, and my queen.
 May one be pardon'd and retain th' *offence*?
 In the *corrupted* currents of this world
Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice,
 And oft 'tis seen the wicked prize itself
 Buys out the law; but 'tis not so above.

It is remarkable that this speech, as printed in the first quarto, does not contain a single one of the recurrent quibbling allusions to foul smell; such odorless words as *trespass, fault*, and *sin* are used instead. Although most scholarly opinion today holds that the first quarto text is a debased and garbled version of that of the second quarto, and that Shakespeare did not, as was formerly

thought, write two separate versions of *Hamlet*, it is tempting to think that Shakespeare rewrote the speech with the conscious purpose of intensifying the prevalent aura of corruption in the play. (Why, if the text known to the abridger who made the first quarto was substantially that which is printed above, did he systematically omit every *offence* and every other word suggestive of smell?) Noteworthy too is the fact that, as is twice the case with *foul*, Shakespeare employs *offence* recurrently within other brief passages, as if to emphasize its specific connotative significance. As early as the first act, when Marcellus' remark that something is rotten in Denmark and the Ghost's bitter reference to lust preying on garbage are still fresh in our ears, we hear Hamlet apologizing to Horatio for his wild words:

Hamlet. I am sorry they *offend* you, heartily . . .

Horatio. There's no *offence*, my lord.

Hamlet. Yes, by Saint Patrick, but there is, Horatio,
And much *offence* too

—a passage which amounts to a three-way, or progressive, pun, *offence* having not only the obvious meanings of "irritation" or "affront" (which alone is what Hamlet first intended) and "crime" (which is what he includes in the meaning after Horatio has converted the verb into a noun), but, thirdly, that of "foul odor," the physical emblem of evil. Hamlet gives the same double twist to the word in the mousetrap scene:

King. Have you heard the argument? Is there no *offence* in't?

Hamlet. No, no! They do but jest, poison in jest; no *offence* i' th' world.

And two scenes later (the prayer scene, with its own quadruple use of the word, has intervened) Shakespeare gives fresh rhetorical emphasis to the verb:

Queen. Hamlet, thou hast thy father much *offended*.

Hamlet. Mother, you have my father much *offended*

—an exchange which sets the tone of the ensuing interview with the Queen, in which Hamlet's utterance abounds with allusions to smell. In no other play does Shakespeare dwell so insistently upon *offend/offence* by having the characters thrust the words back and forth within the compass of a few lines. To me this unusual, conspicuous dwelling upon the words suggests that Shakespeare must have found a significance in them over and above their abstract suggestion of "sin" or "crime." They act as hovering puns, which, once we have recognized them as such, remind us repeatedly of the play's preoccupation with foul smell. Interestingly enough, *offend* appears last of all in the play by virtue of a slip of the Gravedigger's tongue. "It must be *se defendendo*," he should say, referring to the coroner's verdict on Ophelia's drowning; but, by having him blunder into "*se offendendo*," Shakespeare ekes out one more occasion for the pun.

The degree to which Shakespeare was conscious (if he was conscious at all) of his making repulsive odors as a symbol of moral corruption permeate the text of *Hamlet* can never, of course, be determined. Whatever his mental processes may have been, the fact remains that, in addition to the series of metaphors in which fleshly corruption so often is associated with stench, the

play contains dozens of occurrences of words which intensify the dominant sense of foulness—which make the moral evil of Elsinore a stink in our nostrils. To miss them, as Dover Wilson says of Shakespeare's punning habit in general, is "often to miss the interwoven thread which connects together a whole train of images; for imagery and double meaning are generally inseparable."

The sense of evil which permeates the play, therefore, is not created merely, as critics have generally assumed, by the iterated allusions to corruption. It is deepened and made more repulsive by being constantly associated with one of the most unpleasant of man's sensory experiences. Above all, the suggestion of noisome odors reminds us of that aspect of evil which Shakespeare seems most concerned to emphasize in *Hamlet*: the evil residing in the soul of one man cannot be contained there, nor can a single sin be without far-reaching consequences. Insidiously, irresistibly, it spreads into a whole society, just as the reek generated by a mass of putrid flesh bears infection to many who breathe it. In an age when everyday experience made men nauseatingly conscious of the way in which the odor arising from bodily decay cannot be localized, Shakespeare's use of the language of smell must have provided an extraordinarily vivid lesson in the continuous, contagious quality of sin.

Ohio State University

A Shakespeare Haunt in Bucks?

HERBERT C. SCHULZ

PROMINENT among the many virtues possessed by manuscripts is their faculty of allowing us to turn the clock back figuratively scores of years or centuries. But it is only rarely that they make possible such an anachronism as a plane ride over two tiny villages of Shakespeare's England. This aerial view can be seen on a map in the Huntington Library, a map of Wotton-Underwood and Ludgershall, in the county of Buckingham. Wotton is situated at the bottom, the row of houses with their red roofs surrounded by green fields, the Parish Church at the left just below the manor house of Edward Grenville whose family's tenure goes back to the twelfth century. At the top is Ludgershall and between the two villages lies the clearing known as Wotton Lawnd, containing about one hundred acres, which occasioned this map and the many legal disputes over rights of common between Wotton and Ludgershall. The Lawnd was apparently good pasturage, and inhabitants of Ludgershall were frequently tempted to impinge on Wotton's rights there. Even the inhabitants of Wotton had to be restrained from time to time as one of the "Paines" in a Court Roll of 1565 discloses: "Item, every Cottyger to kepe but X Sheep upon the Lawnd on paine to lose for every sheep above that stint iiij d." The map was probably made at the height of these disputes, about 1570, and is preserved among the papers of the Grenville family in the Huntington Library.

The ability of the anonymous cartographer to depict these towns and the surroundings as if seen from the air and his care in minor details accounts for much of the picturesque quality of the manuscript. The mill owned by the lord of the manor, situated on a knoll to catch the breeze, is frequently mentioned in the Grenville documents but had disappeared by 1789, its former location then being indicated by Windmill Hill. The old open field system of agriculture is also indicated, the furlongs surrounded by hedges and in turn divided into long cultivated strips or selions held by various owners. A Terrier of 1616 discloses that the Archbishopric of Canterbury held seventy-nine of these selions scattered throughout twenty-three different furlongs. As was customary, part of these were allowed to lie fallow for a year and then rotated with barley, wheat, or other crops. The Mercer's Company of London also had extensive land holdings in Wotton.

In the area torn away must have been located the hamlets of Tetchwick and Kingswood, just across the old Roman road, now Akeman Street, from

Grendon Underwood which Shakespeare is reputed to have visited more than once. The town of Grendon Underwood

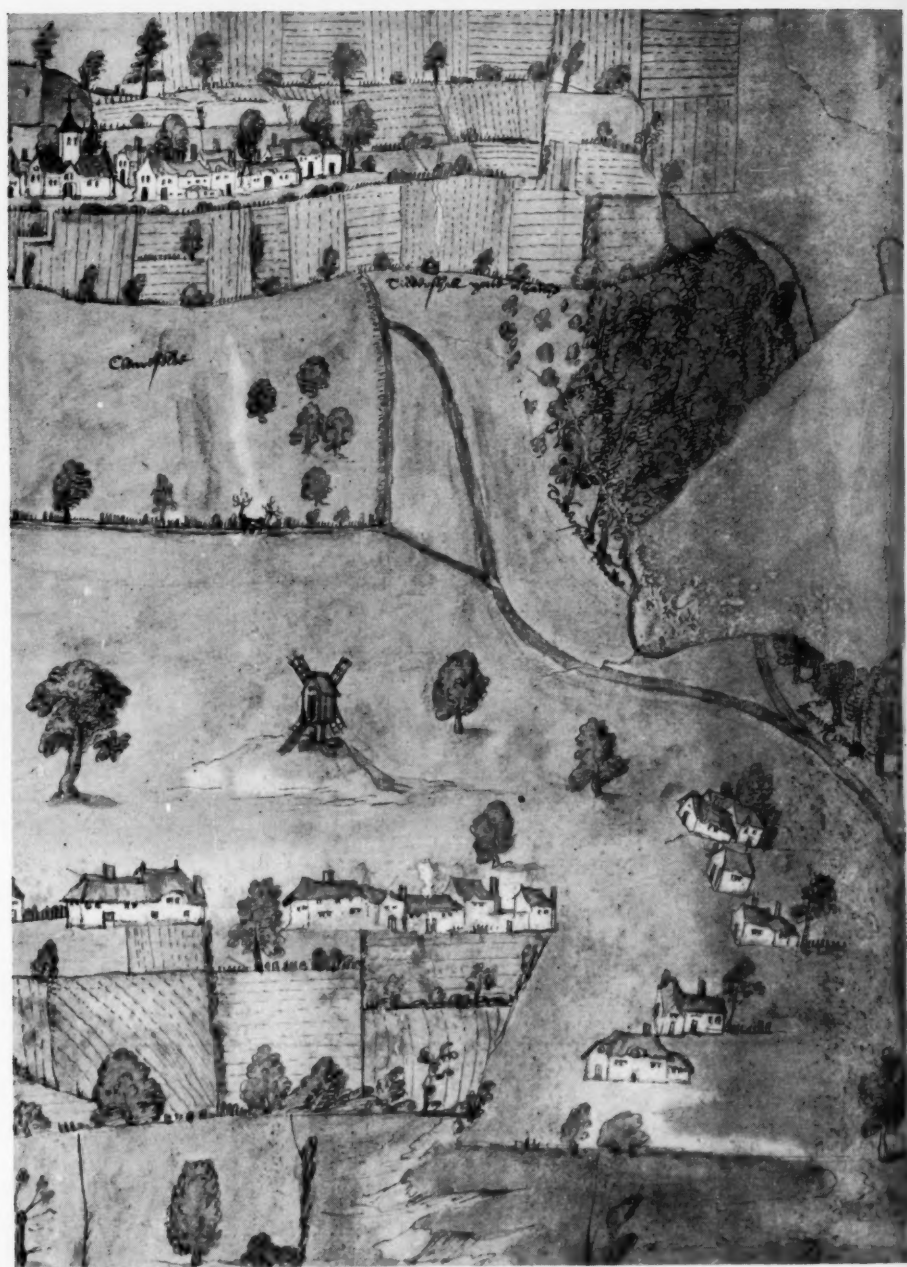
lay on the forest tracks of old
where gipsy folk and players strolled

and in one of its sixteenth-century houses, Shakespeare Farm, formerly Ship Inn, he is believed to have stayed during his visits. According to John Aubrey, "The Humour of . . . the Constable in a Midsomernight's Dreame, he happened to take at Grendon [In margin, 'I thinke it was Midsomer night that he happened to lye there.'] in Bucks which is the roade from London to Stratford, and there was living that Constable about 1642 when I first came to Oxon. Mr. Jos. Howe is of that parish and knew him. . . ."¹

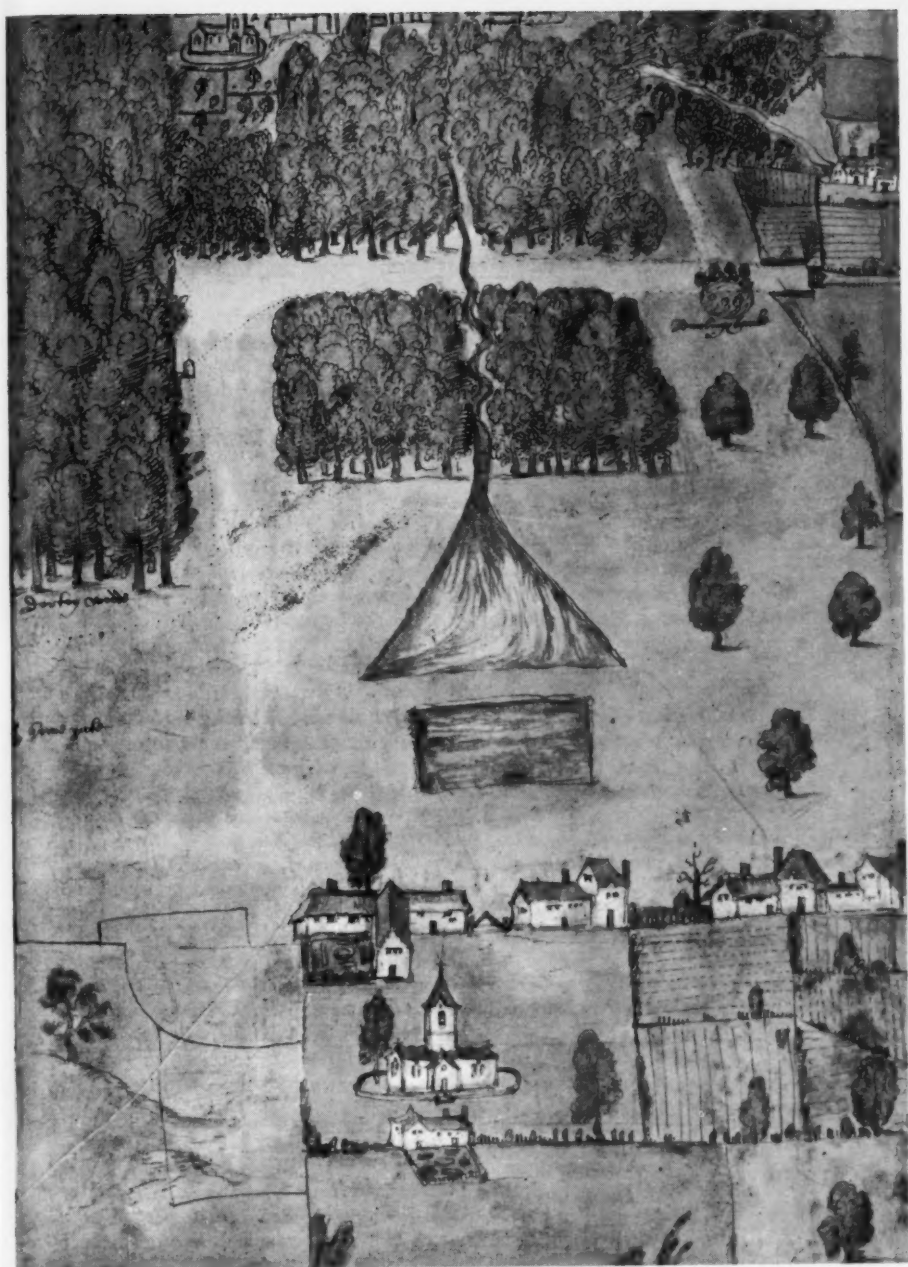
Henry E. Huntington Library

¹ Quoted from E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, II, 253. Aubrey has, of course, confused *M.N.D.* with *Much Ado*.





from a Stowe Ms. in the Henry E. Huntington Library.



Wotton-Underwood, Bucks. Reproduced by permission



Reviews

Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare. By F. P. WILSON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. 144. \$2.50.

This attractive little book contains the five Clark Lectures given at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1951 by F. P. Wilson, Merton Professor of English Literature at Oxford. Like the Clark Lectures in general it is addressed to a literate audience rather than to a group of specialized scholars, and it makes good reading although from the scholar's point of view there are certain objections that may be charged against it. It includes some passages omitted in the lectures and adds a few paragraphs to the last and most controversial of them. A brief summary of the contents with a running comment on each lecture will present the present reviewer's evaluation of the book.

I

The Introductory lecture after a brief glance at early Elizabethan drama turns to Marlowe's career at Cambridge. As a six-year scholar on Archbishop Parker's Foundation Marlowe would naturally have proceeded to take holy orders. He had, however, shown so little inclination to the church that when in 1587 he "supplicated" for the degree of M.A., the University authorities hesitated to grant his request. It took, in fact, a sharp order from the Privy Council, pointing out that the "supplicant" had been employed in "matters touching the benefit of his country"—probably in Walsingham's counter espionage—to obtain it for him. By this time, also, he had written and seen produced a play which had transformed the nature of English dramatic verse and had "provided the public stage with the poetry and passion it needed." Truly a quite extraordinary undergraduate.

How, Wilson asks, did Marlowe come to choose for his first play such a strange subject as the career of the savage Mongol conqueror? He thinks the subject may have been suggested to him by an English book, Whetstone's *English Mirror*, 1586,—a hitherto neglected source but one closer to Marlowe than the Latin histories he pored over after he had made his choice. Whetstone describes Tamburlaine as a man endowed with a desire to rise who rose from poverty by eloquence and martial deeds to become master of the Oriental world, a congenial subject for the poor poet, himself endowed with a passionate desire of power.

II

The second lecture devoted to *Tamburlaine* is perhaps the most interesting of the series; it sent one reader at least back to a re-perusal of this famous and little read two-part play. It begins by suggesting that one reason for the good text of *Tamburlaine* compared with other Marlowe plays is that Marlowe took an interest in the publication of his first play and perhaps revised it before it went to press. Such revision would account for the appearance in Part 2, IV.iii. 119 ff., of six lines lifted from the *Faerie Queene* (I.vii.32). As the first three books of the *Faerie Queene* were not published till 1590, Marlowe must have read

the passage in manuscript, and possibly, though Wilson does not say so, in the hands of the common friend of Spenser and Marlowe, Sir Walter Raleigh.

Wilson calls attention to the statement of Jones, the publisher, that he had omitted "some fond and frivolous gestures—far unmeet for the matter—a great disgrace to so noble and stately a history," and suggests that the omitted passages were not "conceits of clownage" but "more speeches of scornful comedy such as those in which Tamburlaine taunts Mycetes [II.iv] or Zenocrate Zabina [III.iii]." This seems unlikely. If the publisher's taste was offended by some bits of "scornful comedy," why did he retain others, such as the Tamburlaine-Mycetes scene? More probably what Jones omitted were passages of clownish action, such as those in *Doctor Faustus*, inventions of the actors, perhaps interleaved in the "copy" from which he printed, and so easily distinguishable from the author's work. Wilson praises the "publisher who in the interests of good art excised from a popular drama passages which had proved successful upon the stage."¹ Jones deserves such praise but rather for excising "fond and frivolous gestures," i.e., clownish action, rather than for omitting passages of "scornful comedy." After all Marlowe was quite capable of such a style, as is shown by many passages in *The Jew of Malta*, still more by the soldier's soliloquy (*The Massacre at Paris*, scene xvi), of which a draft, perhaps in Marlowe's handwriting, is preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Does Wilson perhaps think that the Tamburlaine-Mycetes scene is unauthentic and should have been excised with other similar passages? He does not make this clear.

More important is Wilson's recognition of the dramatic genius of Marlowe as shown in his first play. He was not a poet forced by circumstances into writing for the stage, but a born dramatist. In the first part of *Tamburlaine* the action develops by successive stages as the hero rises from a leader of bandits to the zenith of his fortunes when he defeats the Sultan and weds Zenocrate. Zenocrate, we may note, though Wilson does not, is a pure invention of Marlowe's—there is no trace of such a character in the sources that he used—and the hero's passion for his fair captive adds diversity and interest to his character; he becomes a lover as well as a conqueror. Zenocrate serves here as a symbol of that ideal beauty which Marlowe was at the end of his life to embody in the phantom of Helen of Troy, to whom through the mouth of Faustus he addressed the appeal: "Make me immortal with a kiss," that has made Marlowe's memory indeed immortal.

Wilson agrees with most critics that the second part of *Tamburlaine* is inferior to the first; he points out that much matter has to be invented or dragged in to bolster up a five-act play. Yet he goes too far, it would seem, in saying that in this sequel Tamburlaine's fortunes are failing. On the contrary the hero still remains the invincible conqueror; his mere appearance on the field when sick unto death suffices to put his last enemies to flight, and he leaves the rest of the yet unconquered world to be subdued by a worthy son. There is no trace at the close of weakness or remorse. That would have been improper in a character that was at once Marlowe's ideal and his inspiration. Wilson, who already had pointed this out, might, one thinks have realized that Marlowe could not let his hero fall. That would have been tragedy, and *Tamburlaine* is not a tragedy, but an heroic play. It ends only when the hour has come when "Tamburlaine, the scourge of God, must die."

¹ Jones admits that the omitted passages "have been greatly gaped at, what times they were showed upon the stage."

III

The third lecture deals with *The Jew of Malta* and *Dr. Faustus*, a curious collocation dictated probably by the speaker's desire to include all Marlowe's plays in his lectures rather than by a chronological or logical connexion between the two plays. *The Jew* presumably followed directly after *Tamburlaine*, i.e., in 1588-1589; *Faustus* falls in the last year, 1592-1593, of Marlowe's life; Wilson himself says, p. 103, that after *Edward II* Marlowe "went on to write *Dr. Faustus* and there he fulfilled himself." Moreover, *The Jew* is Elizabethan melodrama; *Faustus* a perennial soul's tragedy.

Wilson comments on the striking change of poetic style between *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew*. Barabas does not employ the "high astounding terms" of the Scythian; his great opening soliloquy is couched in the "diction of common life." Like all students of the play Wilson is puzzled by the startling difference between the first two acts and the rest of the play. "To suppose," he says, "that the same man who wrote the first two acts was wholly responsible for the last three is revolting to sense and sensibility." He would "welcome evidence that the players had lost the manuscript of the last three acts and had to reconstruct them as best they could." No such evidence is likely to be forthcoming; a simpler explanation of the difference lies probably in the fact that *The Jew* was not published till 1633, forty years after Marlowe's death, when it was prepared for the press by the actor-playwright Heywood. During the interval the prompt-book of this very popular play had passed from company to company; the star role from one actor to another. A steady degeneration of the text is only what might have been expected, but the first two acts containing the great monologues of Barabas remained fairly intact because of the opportunities for declamation that they gave the star. To shorten the play to the conventional two-hour playing time the last three acts were ruthlessly cut; even the speeches of the Jew were cut down or re-written. It is hard to believe that Marlowe wrote the last speech of Barabas. What Marlowe would have made of his Machiavellian villain-hero had the play come down to us as he wrote it, we cannot say: something other, we may guess, than the monstrous caricature of the last acts.

The second part of this lecture is essentially a summary of the conclusions of Sir Walter Greg in his great edition, 1950, of the parallel texts of *Dr. Faustus*. Such a summary is a good deed, for Greg's minute analysis of the problem of authorship is not exactly "a cup of tea" for the general reader. Wilson accepts without discussion Greg's allocation of specific scenes to Marlowe and his conclusion that the play "was written in collaboration with at least one other playwright and was prepared for production, if not actually performed before Marlowe's death," May 30, 1593. The question of "collaboration" is the one point in Greg's masterly work that seems to need further examination: Greg himself admits (p. 132, n.) the possibility of the completion of the play by another hand. In that case it is an error to speak of a "collaborator," as Wilson does, in the sense of a playwright working along with Marlowe in the original composition of the play. It is impossible to pursue the matter here, but it may be suggested that a comparison of dates: that of the publication of the source of *Faustus*, that of the closing of the theaters because of plague, and that of Marlowe's death, makes it at least likely that *Faustus*, like *Hero and Leander*, was left unfinished, and that the play, like the poem, was completed by another hand.

Wilson has some good appreciative comment on the great scenes of *Faustus*; he asks an interesting question whether the prose opening of the final scene is

not "the earliest appearance in our drama of prose . . . passionately serving the purpose of tragedy." The answer, surely, is in the affirmative, and this use of prose is another example of Marlowe as an innovator in drama, a point that may be considered later.

IV

The fourth lecture includes Marlowe's two chronicle plays: *The Massacre at Paris* and *Edward II*. Little need be said about *The Massacre*. It was performed as a new play in January 1593 by the Admiral's company and published apparently soon thereafter in an undated octavo. The text is apparently based upon a reporter's memory of a performance and is one of the worst in Elizabethan drama. It is hard to find anything characteristic of Marlowe in it except for a soliloquy by the protagonist, the Duke of Guise. Wilson thinks that it was "the towering ambition" of this character that attracted Marlowe to this theme. It might, however, be suggested that in the last year of his life Marlowe dashed off a potboiler by way of propaganda to publicize the armed support that England had begun in 1590 to send to the aid of the then Protestant heir to the throne of France, Henry of Navarre. The play is packed with denunciation of the Catholics and ends with Navarre's vow to avenge the murder of Henri III on the "popish prelates" responsible for that crime, a speech greeted, no doubt, with loud applause at the Rose theater.

It is a very different matter with *Edward II*. Here for the first time since *Tamburlaine* we have a play printed from the prompt-book supplied presumably by the Pembroke Company when it went bankrupt in August 1593. Here is a play in which there is no question of revision by the actors, reporting or possible collaboration. It is straight Marlowe matter composed at the very height of his power. It may, indeed, have been one of the two plays that Pembroke's Company presented at Court in the Christmas season of 1592-1593.

Why Marlowe left the Admiral's Company, which had so far produced his plays, for Pembroke's we do not know, but it seems certain, in spite of Wilson's doubt, that the change of actors coincided with a changed style of dramatic composition. Elizabethan playwrights were accustomed to write for a particular company with their eyes fixed upon the actors who were to perform their plays. As there was no great tragic actor in Pembroke's to interpret the star role, as Allyn had the parts of *Tamburlaine* and *Barabas*, Marlowe wrote for them a play in which the interest is diffused over a group of characters of which Edward is only the central figure. In this play there appears a change in the dramatic verse; there are few long speeches and rhetorical tirades. The dialogue serves to advance the action, and the action includes as the original title states: "The Troublesome reign and lamentable death of Edward II." It extends, indeed, beyond the reign to show the revenge of Edward's son and successor upon his father's murderer. . . .

Wilson assigns no reason why this inglorious period of English history should have been chosen by Marlowe for his first chronicle play. He ignores a probable reason suggested by Boas (*Christopher Marlowe*, pp. 174 ff.), the homosexual love of Edward for Gaveston. Homosexuality, it seems, had a strange attraction for Marlowe, and in this play there is a catalogue of instances, *l.v.390 ff.*, from classic myth and history cited to palliate the King's passion for his minion. With the death of Gaveston half way through the play this motif disappears and the rest deals with the varying fortunes of the King in a struggle with his barons headed by the ambitious Mortimer, who has become the lover of

the Queen. When the King falls into their hands Marlowe exerts all his art to awake sympathy for the weak but not unlovable monarch in an act which culminates in the death scene so highly praised by Charles Lamb.

Like Shakespeare's "histories" this play is based on Holinshed, and Wilson comments on the skill with which Marlowe selects, condenses, and arranges his data so as to bring the events of a reign of twenty years into the limits of a five-act play. In so swift and varied an action there is little room for character development, but Wilson points out that Mortimer's change into the ruthless Machiavellian of the last act and Isabella's from the loving wife of the beginning into the shameless accomplice of her paramour, are the means which Marlowe uses to change contempt into pity for their unhappy victim, the deposed king.

If, as Wilson thinks, Marlowe is here following the example set by Shakespeare in the *King Henry VI* plays, it would seem that in some ways he bettered the example set him. There is none of Shakespeare's humor in *Edward II*, none of Shakespeare's lyric-dramatic poetry; there is, in fact, less of Marlowe's "mighty line" in *Edward II* than in his other plays. Yet as an example of the playwright's art, the presentation in dialogue of a single theme with beginning, middle, and end, Marlowe's play, as a fresh comparison of the two should convince an unbiased reader, is far superior to Shakespeare's sprawling ten-act composition which lacks a central figure, begins with Henry's marriage, and ends only because he is dead and a new play, *Richard III*, is already on the stocks. But the question still remains, did Shakespeare write this ten-act play?

The final lecture is a rather rambling discourse on Marlowe and Shakespeare; its main theme is that Shakespeare had written a number of plays before Greene's attack on him as a dramatist, late in 1592, and more particularly that Shakespeare preceded Marlowe in giving "dignity and coherence" to the English history play. This latter statement depends upon the supposed priority of the *King Henry VI* plays to *Edward II*, and that again upon Shakespeare's authorship of the former group. Wilson seems to take this latter for granted, but, in fact, it is still very much in doubt.

Wilson begins by pointing out that there is really no evidence of the English chronicle play before 1588. That is not a new discovery; it has long been held that this type of play originated along with the outburst of national feeling that followed the defeat of the Armada. The sole play of this type that possibly antedates 1588, Wilson stigmatizes as a play of "incredible meanness"; it has, of course, reached us in a very debased text, but it was good enough to inspire Shakespeare's masterpiece in the form, the two parts of *King Henry IV*. "For all we know," Wilson says, "Shakespeare may have been the first in this English field." That is to give Shakespeare the credit of being an innovator; but it would rather seem that in general he followed—and improved—lines already laid down, as he certainly did in his *Poems* and the *Sonnets*. It is Marlowe who in *Tamburlaine*, and perhaps in *Hero and Leander*, opens new lines in the drama and in erotic poetry.

A little later Wilson speaks of three references to Shakespeare or his work in 1592. On examination, however, the three shrink to one, i.e., Greene's attack. The *Harey the vi* of Henslowe's Diary, March 3, 1592, may or may not be the same as the Folio play, 1 *King Henry VI*—the latest editor of that play thinks that it is—and Nashe's reference, 1592, to a Talbot play has no bearing upon Shakespeare unless we assume that he is the author of 1 *King Henry VI*. A fresh reading of that play leaves me, at least, with the firm conviction that to attribute it to the sole authorship of Shakespeare is, to use Wilson's earlier words, "revolt-

ing to sense and sensibility." Shakespeare was first of all a poet, and to believe that this poet wrote such lines as

wretched years
When at their mother's moistened eyes babes shall suck,
Our isle be made a norish of salt tears,

is to show the believer absolutely without an ear for the music of verse.

"It is inconceivable," says Wilson, "that Shakespeare did not realize that he was to be a poet in his earliest youth." Perhaps so; he may well have wooed Anne Hathaway with songs and sonnets, but a poet is not necessarily a playwright, and to me, at least, it is inconceivable that Shakespeare knew anything of contemporary drama before he came to London. The plays that he may have seen as a youth in Stratford were the old fashioned morals and interludes that strolling players carried into the country. The view—not unattractive to Wilson—that he wrote plays while a schoolmaster to be performed by country players is a figment of the imagination.

The obvious purpose of the recent drift toward dating Shakespeare's earliest plays before 1591-1592 is to fill up the "lost years" between 1585, the baptism of his twins at Stratford, and 1592, when Greene's attack establishes him as a playwright—or a reviser of plays?—in London. But do these years need to be filled? If we allow Shakespeare some time as a country schoolmaster—a tradition that Wilson is inclined to accept—plus an apprenticeship as an actor—he began as a hired man, and some years must have elapsed before he became a full member of his company—these "lost years" may be fairly well accounted for. Wilson, however, thinks "perhaps we should do better to say that by 1592 he had written *King Henry VI* (all three parts), *Richard III*, *The Comedy of Errors*, probably *Titus Andronicus*, and possibly *The Taming of the Shrew*." Quite a lot, one feels, for a young man engaged in learning his profession as an actor, but let us look at this list.

1 *King Henry VI* has been discussed already; two scenes are Shakespeare's; perhaps some lines in other scenes inserted during revision. Of Parts 2 and 3 a further word needs to be said. Since the discovery some years ago that the early Qq of these plays were not the sources used by Shakespeare for the F plays, but badly reported versions of plays mainly equivalent to those in the F, it has become the fashion to accept the latter as the authentic and original work of Shakespeare. This is a *non sequitur*. He may as well have acted as the reviser of these two, as he did of Part 1. In fact the latest editor's work goes far to show that in Parts 2 and 3 Shakespeare is revising a "basic text" by Greene, a fact which would account for the bitterness of Greene's attack.

Richard III evidently followed hard upon the 3 *King Henry VI*, possibly ca. 1592-1593, but here, if anywhere, Shakespeare is following a pattern set by Marlowe, not only in the Machiavellian character of the hero, but also in the rhetorical declamatory style of Marlowe's early work.

The Comedy of Errors is no doubt an early play; it has been suggested indeed that it was written by schoolmaster Shakespeare, brought to London in his pocket, and licked into shape for production after he came to know something of contemporary drama.

Titus has long been suspected as only in part by Shakespeare; now it seems evident that here Shakespeare was revising a Peele play for production. It is noted as a *new* play by Henslowe on January 24, 1594; why say "probably by Shakespeare" before 1592?

The only possible reason for including *The Shrew* in this list is a current, but erroneous, notion that *A Shrew*, published in 1594, is a "bad Q" of Shakespeare's play. Baldwin proved long ago that the two are quite different plays written for different companies. Shakespeare's *Shrew* is his reshaping of the old play which came into his hands ca. 1594.

We need better proof of Shakespeare's early activity, before 1592, than such a list as this.

A long digression on the relation between the anonymous play, *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, published 1591, and Shakespeare's *King John*, leaves Wilson awaiting proof that the first is earlier or later than the second of these two. Proof, as a matter of fact, is available in lines prefixed to Part 1 of *T.R.* with their reference to *Tamburlaine*. *T.R.* was a Queen's Company play produced by them to rival the success of the Admiral's Men with Marlowe's first play, 1587-1588, and probably written soon after that date. *King John*, on the other hand, belongs to the period of Shakespeare's "histories," 1595-1599. G. B. Harrison long ago made a strong plea for its production in the troubled year of 1596. The apparent reason for the long and inconclusive digression is that if *King John* preceded *T.R.* "we must revise our ideas about Shakespeare's relation to Marlowe and other contemporaries." There is no room for an *if* here; *T.R.* is not only the earlier play, but served Shakespeare as a source.

Later Wilson quotes a striking passage from 2 *King Henry VI* (V.ii.40 ff.) as an example of Shakespeare's "mature style" in his earliest plays. These lines, however, do not appear, nor is there anything like them, in the reported Q text. A comparison of the two texts makes it clear that they are a patch inserted in the speech to strengthen the part of Young Clifford; they were probably written for some late revival of the play.

The lecture ends with an elaborate comparison of Shakespeare to Marlowe, stressing especially Shakespeare's "sense of the importance of order and degree." This is quite true, but if Shakespeare had died at so early an age as Marlowe, could we have traced this sense in the little he would then have left us?

In conclusion Wilson asks himself which he should regret the more, what he has said or what he has left unsaid. The answer, perhaps, might be that he should regret all the last lecture with its hesitant and inconclusive attempt to claim priority for Shakespeare as the initiator of the English chronicle play, and also his omission of any reference to *The Tragedy of Dido*. This play, published in 1594, as by Marlowe and Nashe² as acted by the Chapel Children, is quite certainly a work of Marlowe's youth, probably preceding *Tamburlaine*. If so, it would represent a crisis in Marlowe's early life when he turned from the translation of a Latin classic—Lucan's *Pharsalia*—quite an appropriate task for a candidate for holy orders, to the composition of an English stage play, a highly improper business. It may even be that a performance of *Dido* by the strolling Chapel Children in the spring of 1587 turned the scale for Marlowe, and sent him to London to submit a longer and more daring play to the best actors of the day, the Lord Admiral's Men. In any event, *Dido*, poor play as it is, yet packed with lines that give promise of some of Marlowe's most memorable, appears to be the first work of a born poet who turned playwright; it surely deserved notice in a program which devoted five lectures to the work of Marlowe as a dramatist.

This, indeed, is the chief merit of this attractive and readable little book;

² Nashe, a fellow student of Marlowe at Cambridge, seems to have done little more than prepare the play for the press.

it sends the reader back to Marlowe's plays and heightens his appreciation of a great poet's art as a practicing playwright in the dawn of Elizabethan drama.

Princeton

T. M. PARROTT

Wandlung des Botenberichts bei Shakespeare. By WOLFGANG CLEMEN. (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jhrg. 1952, Heft 4.) München, 1952. Pp. 46.

This fascinating study traces the development of the messenger and his message through Shakespeare's drama. Dr. Clemen demonstrates what was to be expected, although nobody had thought of working it out. The messenger and his message become increasingly important as Shakespeare learns the many uses to which he can put them. He builds them into his drama, he manipulates them to illustrate character in a variety of ways, he employs them to make vivid and actual events that could not be shown on the stage, and thus with increasing subtlety invests them with the highest dramatic power. Since the message has a function all its own, the messenger tends to be not a person in the drama but merely a mouthpiece for the message. Shakespeare therefore may depersonalize the messenger in order to give the message the style and content necessary for the particular effect he has in mind.

Dr. Clemen does not mention *Titus Andronicus*—and who would blame him for that?—but there is one passage in the play that bears out an important observation of Dr. Clemen's. On page 33 he shows from the example of *Macbeth* (IV.iii) how a messenger is profoundly moved by the tragic news he must communicate and how the message affects the other characters and leads up to a dramatic situation of high intensity. Now only Shakespeare works out such a reciprocal effect to its full consequences and in this regard he is far superior to Marlowe, Peele, Greene, or Kyd. (Thus far a very free reproduction of Dr. Clemen's ideas.) In *Titus Andronicus* (III.i.235-241) the Messenger is profoundly moved by the tragic news he has to communicate. The message leads up to the climax of the play. Shakespeare shows its differing effect on the other characters. Lavinia, who cannot speak, kisses Titus—the finest moment in the play—and the men vow revenge. At the end, Lucius departs to raise a power in order to execute this revenge. The exploitation of the message in the third act of *Titus* is characteristic of Shakespeare because he interweaves the message so intimately with the action and turns it to so many different uses.

In conclusion, this short pamphlet is one that every Shakespearian scholar should possess.

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HERWARD T. PRICE

Shakespeare. By HENRI FLUCHÈRE. Translated by GUY HAMILTON. With a foreword by T. S. ELIOT. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1953. Pp. x + 272. \$5.00.

Professor Henri Fluchère, Director of the Maison Française at Oxford, is known to Shakespearians in Great Britain, France, and the United States as the author of thoughtful and stimulating contributions to *Shakespeare Survey*. The present volume is a translation by Guy Hamilton of *Shakespeare: dramaturge élisabéthain*, which Professor Fluchère first presented in the form of lectures at the University of Aix-en-Provence under the German occupation. Mr. T. S. Eliot, in a judicious foreword that attempts to define the modern critic of Shakespeare (who should be a scholar, a poet, a "man of the theatre," and

should possess a philosophic mind), reports that the author's original intention was "to introduce French students of Shakespeare to the development of Shakespeare criticism in England during the previous quarter of a century." But it is not apparent from the English edition whether *Shakespeare* is a translation of the book described by Mr. Eliot or an expansion and transformation of that book.

A brief but systematic discussion of leading modern schools of Shakespeare criticism was used with great skill and notable success in Professor Allardyce Nicoll's recent study—in many respects the finest brief introduction to Shakespeare that has appeared in more than a decade. It would have been illuminating to see how an informed and talented French critic might go about explaining to French students some of the achievements of contemporary English criticism of Shakespeare, such as the apocalyptic interpretations of Mr. G. Wilson Knight or the angry *explications de texte* of the *Scrutiny* group. But this is not what Professor Fluchère has done. He has accepted in greater or lesser degree the teachings of Mr. Eliot, Mr. Knight, F. R. Leavis, L. C. Knights, and other critics, to whom he makes reference in various parts of his book; but, far from endeavoring to explain or interpret these writers to his French audience, he introduces their concepts or quotes from their works in order to support his own theses.

Professor Fluchère deals with Shakespeare's work under three main headings: "The Spirit of the Age," "Technique," and "The Themes." In the first part, he is concerned with Shakespeare as an Elizabethan and Jacobean playwright, whom he sets with considerable skill against the social, intellectual, and artistic background of his age. The discussions of Seneca and of Machiavelli are especially interesting and provocative: Mr. Eliot's essay on Shakespeare and the stoicism of Seneca has at last borne fruit. Nevertheless, one is disconcerted to find repeated the familiar catchphrases about the exuberant Elizabethans and the gloomy Jacobean. Such facile characterizations of the *Zeitgeist* suggest that literary history (in the narrowest sense) is being mechanically converted into social and intellectual history. And, with respect to Shakespeare himself, one finds echoes here even of Dowden's four stages: "Shakespeare had been the darkest of the pessimists. . . . Now, without repudiating his past experience or finding in romantic unreality a quiet refuge for his weary, battered spirit, he glided gradually towards serenity. . . . Prospero's anger amounted to no more than the rumblings of a summer storm, in a sky that was once more blue, over a scented and tuneful island" (p. 58).

Part Two, "Technique," takes up a diversity of matters, including structure, characterization, language, conventions and traditions, and the treatment of space and time. Here much recent scholarship is intelligently reviewed and appraised; some older critics are also considered. Aristotle is, somewhat surprisingly, charged with "borrowing from the old classical models his famous rules [i.e., the Three Unities]"; Dryden is reproached for paying undue attention to Shakespeare's characters; Dr. Johnson is rather patronizingly mentioned as the critic "in whom the first signs of modern critical thought can be detected." And it is with a certain astonishment that one reads: "A study of images alone would provide material for a whole book" (p. 166).

Part Three, "The Themes," is little more than a running commentary on the chief plays, considered chronologically and in relation to the development of such "themes" as evil and power. Professor Fluchère has many sound and interesting observations on individual plays, but it may be doubted whether he has found the happiest form in which to present them.

Traduttore, traditore. Among numerous examples of betrayal, I select two. Professor Fluchère wrote:

Autant que la comédie, dont c'est le rôle, et avec une gravité de ton qui lui est propre, le drame élisabéthain est une école de morale à un degré que la pièce à thèse elle-même n'a jamais atteint.

Mr. Hamilton on the same subject:

Elizabethan tragedy—as much as comedy whose role it is, and with a gravity of tone all its own—is a school of morality to a degree which even propaganda plays have never attained. (p. 91)

And here is Professor Fluchère on one of Hamlet's soliloquies:

Hamlet est confondu par la passion du comédien, si emphatique soit-elle, à débiter une tirade volontairement écrite dans la veine boursoufflée des mauvais "mélôs" du temps (exempte, toutefois, de la charge bouffonne où Shakespeare se complaît dans le *Songe*), au point d'en oublier la sage doctrine qu'il posera un peu plus loin . . . (acte III, sc. 2) à la troupe.

A slight confusion of pronouns makes this the neatest trick of the week:

Hamlet is amazed by the player's delivery of a speech intentionally composed in the turgid style of the bad melodramas of the day (though without the buffoonery in which Shakespeare indulged in the *Dream*): he does it with so much passion that *he forgets the wise advice given him a little later* [*italics mine*; p. 99].

Washington, D. C.

MILTON CRANE

English Institute Essays 1951. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. Pp. 221. \$3.00.

As in former years the *English Institute Essays* of 1951 contain contributions of which the specific value lies less in following customary and solid methods of scholarly investigation than in raising new problems of critical approach. The 1951 volume shows interesting tendencies in the application of the principles of literary criticism and will set readers thinking—even those who will not be able to accept the challenging and sometimes provocative theories advanced here. The common theme of the first four essays is the applicability of Aristotelian terms and ideas to modern dramatic and poetic criticism, and it is here that the Shakespearian drama comes in. In his article on "*Macbeth* as the Imitation of an Action" Francis Fergusson seeks to demonstrate in how far the tragedy of *Macbeth* may be understood as "the imitation of an action" in Aristotle's sense. He holds that "the word 'action'—*praxis*—as Aristotle uses it in the *Poetics*, does not mean outward deeds or events, but something much more like 'purpose' or 'aim.'" Fergusson therefore proposes to use this notion of "action" in such a way that it would "include movements of the spirit in response to sensuous or emotionally charged images, as well as consciously willed purpose." The author then proceeds to make a distinction between "plot" and "action." "Plot" is "the arrangement of outward deeds or incidents, and the dramatist uses it, as Aristotle tells us, as the first means of imitating the action." Whereas "action" may be called "the spiritual content of the tragedy—the playwright's inspiration." He then infers: "the dramatist imitates the action he has in mind, first by means of the plot, then in the characters, and finally in the media of language, music, and spectacle." Through these conclusions Fergusson has built his bridge from Aristotle's term "action" to the methods of modern

dramatic criticism which seek to recognize and interpret the "spiritual content" of the play on all its levels: plot, character, language, imagery. No one will dispute the value of these modern interpretative methods which make it possible to view the unity of the play in a new light. But some will doubt whether Aristotle's term *praxis*, about which he in fact says very little, can be extended so far that it could be taken as the offspring and underlying principle of modern dramatic criticism. Aristotle himself would certainly have been surprised at the contention that *praxis* in a drama may be illustrated even by metaphors and paradoxical statements made by some of the characters. For to show this is Fergusson's chief concern in the remainder of his essay, where he seeks to demonstrate that the play's chief action or "motive," as he calls it, "may be indicated by the phrase 'to outrun the pauser, reason.'" To this central idea he relates not only a series of well-known phrases and images, but he also makes it the basic notion for an understanding of the baffling long scene, IV.iii, which thus appears in a new light. The remarks Fergusson makes in this connection are interesting and suggestive, though by no means exhaustive, as he himself admits. Too little attention, however, seems to have been paid to what other authors, notably R. Walker,¹ K. Muir,² and Knights³ have said of some of the same passages Fergusson is quoting in his essay. Several of his points, with little variation, appear to have been made before by the one or the other of these critics. And is it not an altogether too narrow interpretation, to reduce the wealth of themes and motives occurring in *Macbeth* to one theme only, namely the phrase "to outrun the pauser reason"? To establish the unity of the play—undoubtedly existing in the case of *Macbeth*—by singling out one central theme only around which the whole action on all its levels of expression is supposed to revolve is an endeavor that may lead to new cross references and interpretations, but it also involves a certain one-sidedness. It may blind the student to all other aspects which demand attention in a play of such complexity as *Macbeth*.

In Reuben A. Brower's essay on "The Heresy of Plot" there is more frank admitting of the pitfalls and difficulties to be risked by the modern critic who wishes to apply Aristotle's critical principles to modern literature. Not without sense of humor the author states: "The Great Amphibium who can breathe the lucid air of the *Poetics* and swim in the deceptive currents of the *Seven Types of Ambiguity* has yet to be born." And again: "How, without sacrificing valuable principles of linguistic and aesthetic analysis, is he to deal with dramatic structure in anything like Aristotle's sense of the term?" Brower then sets out to discuss the meaning of "plot" and "action" in Aristotle's *Poetics* and their possible use by a modern reader but in spite of some successful efforts to relate these terms to our modern conceptions he finds himself frustrated by either the obscurities or the omissions the *Poetics* offer to the reader ("it is what Aristotle does not say that is disturbing") or by the "Aristotelian separation of plot and character from diction," whereas the inclusion of diction, imagery, and language into the interpretation of a play's meaning and dramatic structure is for all modern critics a matter of course. This disappointment about Aristotle occasionally is given vent to in phrases like, "The suspicion arises that this excellent geometrician did not know what poetry was; in other words, his 'art of poetry,' *mimesis en logois*, excludes much that we feel essential." But nevertheless at the end of his essay the author arrives at a reconciliation of Aristotelian principles with modern criticism. After having made some stimulating com-

¹ R. Walker, *The Time is Free*, 1950.

² *Macbeth*, ed. K. Muir (New Arden edition), 1951.

³ L. C. Knights, *Explorations*, 1946.

ments on Shakespeare's *Tempest* he concludes: "the composition of *The Tempest* is 'poetic' in a sense that revives the central Aristotelian meaning of *poietike*, and that extends and adjusts its implications to fit contemporary views of the reading experience and of the relation between structure and language." Some readers will feel that this final reconciliation reached between Aristotle and modern dramatic criticism is not an altogether natural and happy alliance and that too much "readjustment" and expansion of meaning was necessary to achieve it. The author himself appears to be aware of the difficulties offered by Aristotle in this respect and his bold effort to find a way out of it deserves credit. Sometimes, however, one feels tempted to ask: Why then bring in Aristotle at all, if without Aristotle we much sooner appear to arrive at integrating our critical problems in the interpretation of drama?

There is less of problematic discussion of terminology in Frederick W. Sternfeld's readable essay "The Musical and Rhythmical Sources of Poetry." The author holds "that to lay bare the world of sound from which a poem derives is to reveal the atmosphere from which it springs" and emphasizes as a key to the understanding of a poem the recognition of its musical sources, i.e. "the actual tunes and rhythms that sound in a poet's ear and mind before he creates his poem." To illustrate this he selects pertinent and illuminating examples from the songs and ballads in both English and German literatures where this "remodelling" of old tunes can be seen. He shows how, e.g., the ballad of "Lord Thomas and Fair Elinor" supplied the tune for one of Shakespeare's songs which Percy reprinted in his *Reliques*, and how eventually Goethe used both its rhythm and its content in *Faust*. Sternfeld demonstrates how this process of borrowing is at the same time one of recreating and contributing, for Shakespeare as well as Goethe introduced new elements and varied the meaning of the song. A particularly interesting and, as it seems, as yet little known instance of inspiration through the melody and cadence of certain tunes and verses is given in Sternfeld's account how Garrick's verse, "Let beauty with the sun arise/ And Shakespeare tribute pay," became the model for Goethe's serenade to Frederike, whose "glances transform night into day." The article points to a fruitful trend of investigation which might be expanded to other fields and is at the same time a warning that "the musical sources of poetry must not only be rediscovered qua scholarship, they must be taken from the library shelves, dusted off, and translated into actual sound."

Harold S. Wilson's essay on *Philaster* and *Cymbeline* is a re-examination of Professor A. H. Thorndike's contention that Shakespeare followed the fashion set by Beaumont and Fletcher in writing *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*. Wilson convincingly points out that in several important structural aspects *Cymbeline* and *Philaster* are quite unlike each other and thus succeeds in refuting the hypothesis of an influence of *Philaster* on *Cymbeline*. Apart from this the value of the article lies in the methods of comparison applied here. Thorndike based his theory on the likeness of several dramatic situations and on the similarity of plot. Wilson shows how misleading mere analogies can be and by applying other criteria as, e.g., the art of preparation (in which Shakespeare excels), of characterization, of verse and especially of the *other* work produced by the two dramatists he goes much deeper into the matter and makes a good case for *Cymbeline* being a very original play which surely does not depend on *Philaster*. Wilson's essay is also a valuable contribution towards a better understanding of Shakespeare's last plays.

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The Thespian Mirror: Shakespeare in the 18th-Century Novel. By ROBERT GALE NOYES. (Brown University Studies, Vol. XV). Providence, Rhode Island, 1953: Pp. 200. \$5.50.

This well documented monograph, copiously illustrated by quotations from well known and also from long forgotten and exceedingly rare novels appearing in the period from 1740 through 1780, is an excellent study of Shakespeare in the 18th-century novel, which goes far to prove the justness of that inscription on Garrick's tomb that so irked Charles Lamb:

Shakespeare and Garrick like twin stars shall shine
And Earth irradiate with a beam divine.

For the author finds it nearly impossible to dissociate the actor and the dramatist when he reviews the impact of Shakespeare upon novel writers during these forty years. Consequently this book has its special appeal to modern Garrick scholars, as well as to Shakespearians and to students of the 18th century.

As the title suggests, the novel in a realistic, interesting, and creative way became the mirror not so much for Shakespeare-in-the-library, but for Shakespeare-on-the-stage. Readers will catch not only the atmosphere of the London stage, but also much of the romance of the strollers, for each chapter considers both areas of theatrical operation. Although Dr. Noyes finds fascinating evidences in occasional novels before *Tom Jones* (1749)—notably in the anonymous *Travels and Adventures of Mademoiselle de Richelieu* (1744) and *Joseph Andrews* (1742)—the topic sentence of his monograph would seem to be the following:

By writing in *Tom Jones* the scene in which Tom and Partridge behold Garrick as Hamlet, Fielding gave other novelists the idea of similarly describing the action of plays as seen through the eyes of their characters, noting their emotional and critical responses, and recreating dramatically the actual scene of the playhouse during the performance.

Seeking to find what evidence the novels would yield in this treatment of Shakespeare and the stage, the author examined some seven hundred and fifty published in the century, and has assembled the results of his quest in a readable and chastely brief monograph. Scholarly tendency to load in everything, and make every item discovered count in the final text, has been wisely curbed by Dr. Noyes. The weaving together of stage history, text comment, stroller fortunes, and the reflection of all these fragments in the novels has resulted, therefore, in a pleasant piece of scholarship. Ample documentation suggests paths to sources for those who wish to probe farther than the instances which he presents.

The task Dr. Noyes has performed is one that has long needed doing, and the significance of his book lies in the bald evidence it presents of the closely interwoven texture of the 18th-century theater with 18th-century criticism and 18th-century creative literature in its newest and most exciting form, the novel. This interrelationship has until recently been neglected in the formal studies of English literature.

Few persons, of course, would be happier to read this volume than David Garrick, could he but do so. A nameless rhymester in the *Scots Magazine* (June 1753) wrote:

To relish Shakespeare read him o'er and o'er,
See Garrick play him, and he'll charm you more.

Two hundred years later we might paraphrase the squib, and give it a pertinent twist by suggesting, To relish Shakespeare read him o'er and o'er, Read the

Thespian Mirror and you'll see how Garrick's playing charmed not only contemporary audiences, but stimulated the novelists to preserve that charm in the writing of some of their most sparkling passages.

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Shakespeare's Identity. William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby. By A. W. TITHERLEY. Winchester, England: Warren & Son Ltd. Pp. [xii] + 338. 27/6.

Highly distinguished and intelligent people in great numbers take a strange delight in books written in turn by highly distinguished men seeking to show that the works ascribed to Shakespeare by the greatest historians of literature are really the literary productions of some Elizabethan nobleman. Aside from some of our current political and educational speculations, this anti-Shakespearian theory is the most peculiar of all theories taken seriously by intelligent men. Like almost all of the hundreds¹ of writers of such books, Mr. Titherley has devoted the greater part of his intellectual energies to a special field unrelated to literary scholarship.

Mr. Titherley's book is, none the less, decidedly worth reading. Worth reading, not by reason of the conclusions to which he seeks to lead us, but because of the painstaking methods with which he analyzes some of the most important fields of Elizabethan scholarship. Some by-products of the book are exceedingly valuable to Shakespearian scholars.

Time and again in these pages the reader runs across facts he had not met in the beaten way of orthodox scholarship. We are presented with important details about the family of Stanley and other noble families whose generous interest in literary geniuses of the Elizabethan age made possible many of the outstanding literary works of the period, and without whose aid the theatrical organizations could never have provided the conditions under which the greatest of all drama could have come into being. [Chapter II ff.] The writer assembles much of the most valuable Elizabethan scholarship done by men who have been seeking to determine the authorship of anonymous plays, often attributed to Shakespeare. His most valuable contribution to Elizabethan scholarship is to be found in his discussion of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, the most baffling, perhaps, of all Shakespeare's plays to scholars. This he attributes to Derby. Incidentally he discusses the date of this play. Almost all attempts to date *Titus* incline to around 1592, two years before the early 1594 quarto appeared.

In *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 30, J. S. G. Bolton has an article, "*Titus Andronicus*: Shakespeare at Thirty," contending for the date 1594. How anyone can think of Shakespeare writing *Titus* in the same year as *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has always seemed to me difficult to understand. The earlier we can date the play, the more one can retain his respect for Shakespeare. Such a relatively poor piece of literature is excusable in a youth of 21 years of age. Titherley quotes Jonson's statement in the Induction to *Bartholomew Faire* placing it between 1585 and 1589. Why we should suppose Jonson's memory to be so absurdly poor as to miss it by nine or ten years, is strange indeed. Titherley's conclusion in this case seems to this reviewer much sounder than that of the vast majority of Shakespearians. We owe him here a debt for calling those of us who are bogged down in deep traditional ruts back to our senses.

¹ See for the enormous number of books and articles on the subject, Joseph Stanislaus Galland's *Digesta Anti-Shakespeareana* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1949. 1667 pp. Publication No. 1175), a microfilm copy of typewritten manuscript.

One marvels that anyone who has devoted his intellectual energies of a lifetime to becoming a highly distinguished chemist can familiarize himself in odd hours with such a vast number of techniques employed by men who have given their entire life to Elizabethan scholarship. That he should be able to do this at all is interesting, but as chemist most remarkable.

As a chemist, ay, there's the rub. Practically every anti-Stratfordian has achieved his real distinction in fields other than Elizabethan scholarship. A brief account of my personal talks with people of eminence in fields other than scholarship, if not illuminating, will at least be tolerably interesting. Experience No. 1 was with my close friend, Irving Alston Palmer, President of the School of Mines in Golden, Colorado, chemist by the way (inventor and author). At his home in Golden, June, 1909, we spent half the night talking about how Bacon wrote Shakespeare. Experience No. 2 was with Judge Fleming, Dean of the Law School in the University of Colorado. He spent hours in 1916, instructing me as to Bacon. Next, in Columbia, S. C., I found myself chatting socially with a sister of Innes, the painter. I was enjoying myself ridiculing the Baconians when I happened to take a second look at her face. I back-pedaled immediately, and without surrendering, became much less ironical, almost sympathetic, as she took the floor. No. 4 is my good friend Laura Bragg, curator of museums in Charleston, S. C., and Pittsfield, N. H. She has for years considered my weakest intellectual spot my failure to recognize the Earl of Oxford. No. 5 was John Stewart Bryan, editor, Richmond, and President of William and Mary (1934 to 1942). At Jim Bullitt's house in Chapel Hill, after cocktail No. 2, we talked of Oxford and Shakespeare's faking. And he finally informed me that Carter Glass was to give the commencement address at William and Mary against Shakespeare. I concealed my feelings with difficulty and a good time was had by President Bryan and me. President of the Marine Insurance Co. of America, Edwin Seibels, has for years written to me, talked to me, about Oxford. In 1934, my wife's nephew, Tom Taylor, nephew also of Oakes Ames, brought an author, Louis Shaw, living on a principality near Brookline, Mass., to my rooms to talk Shakespeare. We talked for several hours—once again about Oxford. He made a confession no other Oxfordian ever made, when I said, "But Oxford's own poetry is too pitifully poor for a Shakespearian genius to write." "That is puzzling," he replied, "Or as Hamlet would say to Laertes, 'a palpable touch'."

One could run on to Henry Watterson, editor and a Marlovian, and Mark Twain, professional humorist, who felt sure anyone except Shakespeare must have written the plays. Neither of these last two did I know personally. I wonder if we can find anyone of importance except high class specialists in other fields than Shakespeare who attempt to deny his authorship. Hence it is that those of us who have given the best part of our lives to the matter find ourselves being instructed by men who have devoted theirs to alien fields.

This reviewer has done his best to concede to Titherley some valuable contributions to the field of his study. It is only fair to point out some of the more obvious inadequacies of the work. In no one of the techniques necessary for the final determination of the issues involved does he show a bibliographical familiarity with books which must be reckoned with in the discussion. Three Titans in the Elizabethan field he takes little or no account of. E. K. Chambers, whose work it is necessary for all Shakespearians to consult, he mentions only four times very briefly. J. McK. Robertson he mentions not at all, despite the fact that Robertson has done more on the Canon of Shakespeare than any other scholar, and has taken away from Shakespeare so much of his major work that

Chambers was compelled to answer in his *Disintegration of Shakespeare*. He accepts the ridiculous statements of Pope and Macaulay that Bacon was corrupt, "The wisest, meanest of mankind," because he is unfamiliar with Spedding's work on Bacon. Kittredge, whom many think the leading American Shakespearian, he does not mention. These are a few of those who knew their Elizabethans best.

It is doubtless asking too much of anyone who has not given his major intellectual efforts to Elizabethan literature to compass the vast and heterogeneous mass of scholarly material which has accumulated during the better part of four centuries.

The book fails to convince for many reasons. With a few of these the review will conclude.

It fails to carry conviction as to its conclusions for much the same reasons that the thousands of books and articles which have attempted to show that William Shakespeare did not write Shakespeare have also failed. These reasons briefly stated are:

I. The theory is based on the bizarre assumption that only an aristocrat could possibly have created with such a marvelous verisimilitude aristocratic Elizabethan supermen. This theory shuts its eyes to the fact that given the faculty of imagination, one in any walk of life can bring into being the creatures of another world. If one accepts such a theory, we shall have to begin a search, for example, for some ghost writer for Lincoln, as no rail splitter and tobacco chewer could write a Gettysburg Address and no aristocratic slave owner could write with such eloquence as Jefferson's about men's freedom in the Declaration of Independence. Run through the list of first rate writers of the world and see how small is the proportion of aristocrats. Only occasionally will you find a Byron or a Shelley among them.

II. Reason 2 is that for such a theory to be tenable we must assume a gigantic conspiracy organized to suppress the truth. This conspiracy involves either the stupidity or cunning cupidity of Shakespeare's most intimate friends, like Heminge and Condell and Jonson and the now interminable list of men and women who for a century made those comments to be found in what are known as *Shakespeare Allusion Books*. (See E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, Vol. II, Appendix B.) And for what? To save the social life of some Elizabethan nobleman who never was able to write anything under his own name even worth quoting except by way of proving that his third rate literary style is similar to that of Shakespeare's best. Look through the Concordances of Poetry and see what is there, if any, worth preservation as literature from the works of those Elizabethan noblemen advanced as writers of Shakespeare's works.

III. The assumption that the Elizabethan actor was too low a creature ("rogues and vagabonds") to familiarize himself with the thoughts and behavior of aristocrats ("the barbarian aristocrats," A. C. Bradley calls them, not entirely with justice). Edward Alleyn, who gave his magnificent library to Oxford, Richard Tarlton, with all his scurrility, fraternizing with Elizabeth, Shakespeare handsomely paid by King James as entertainer, all of these were welcome in the homes of the nobility as the players were by Hamlet in his court and Southampton in his, and would not have had to walk with tender feet or speak with bated breath in any presence. Books and articles abound with reference to the low mentality of actors, an amazing assumption in view of the contribution of the actor to the sum-total of Shakespeare criticism (see Mrs. Carroll Carlyle, *Dissertation*, Univ. of N. C., 1950). Such men as Booth,

Irving, Forbes Robertson, were mental. Molière, of whom Cyrano exclaimed, "I own Molière a genius," died acting. Geniuses as entertainers have been from time immemorial and are still welcome guests at the homes of the great. There is not a shred of evidence to disprove Southampton's liking for Shakespeare. Where would one have a better opportunity to size up the behaviour and thoughts of noblemen than in the homes of the great?

It is of course impossible to understand how any human being could express himself with the easy perfection of Shakespeare. But when all is said and done, half a gentleman like Shakespeare (his mother was of gentle birth) is a much more sensible bet to make the inexplicable seem explicable than a one hundred per cent gentleman.

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Studies in Shakespeare (University of Miami Publications in English and American Literature, Vol. 1). Edited by ARTHUR D. MATTHEWS and CLARK M. EMERY. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1953. Pp. 152. \$2.50.

The studies printed in this volume are the papers read at the Shakespeare Conference held in 1952 at the University of Miami. Having been prepared with the requirements of oral presentation in mind, the papers vary in the amount of specific evidence and detailed analysis adduced to support their central themes; in general, they properly concern themselves with raising questions and suggesting ways of ascertaining the answers rather than with attempting a definitive treatment of some topic.

Precedence in the collection is accorded to Professor Fredson Bowers' address on "A Definitive Text of Shakespeare: Problems and Methods." Its place of honor is deserved; first, because an author's text must be determined before the detailed criticism of his writings can proceed upon a secure foundation; and second, because, as Mr. Bowers reminds his readers (and audience), although the tools for constructing a new standard text of Shakespeare far superior to the old have been in our hands for several decades, we are "still reading, and quoting, and criticizing from a standard Shakespeare text evolved over eighty years ago for the Globe edition, long before modern standards of textual criticism were formulated." The author's subsequent discussion of the problems and the methods involved in preparing a text that would satisfy the demands of modern scholarship explains, even though that is not altogether his primary intention, why this lamentable state of affairs persists. Fully aware of the chief problems that are amenable to solution by a more thoroughgoing application of methods that modern bibliographical and textual scholarship have made available to us, he recognizes at the same time both the difficulty and the amount of the work yet to be done before adequate evidence is accumulated either to solve these problems with confidence or to state with assurance that a solution is no longer possible. His conclusion is that "it will be a number of years before any editor can be prepared to publish a text which will have any pretensions towards definitiveness."

Manifestly the standard Mr. Bowers sets is high—nothing short of the closest approach to perfection that can be achieved. Commendable also is his distrust of the modern fetish of exorcising complicated problems of research by delegating them to a team of scholars working in collaboration. In fact, after a brief but unenthusiastic review of the feasibility of achieving his goal by such a short-cut, he flatly states that "we cannot expect our definitive text to be the

result of editorial collaboration" for "no mere director, or general editor, acting only in a supervisory capacity can expect to gain the intimate knowledge, much less the invaluable feel for his material which seems intuitive but is in truth semi-conscious accumulated experience." Little wonder, then, that his discussion and the illustrations he cites are pointed toward the specific tools that require sharpening for the task ahead and their employment in ascertaining decisive answers to questions that were formerly matters of scholarly conjecture and debate.

The principal problems in establishing the text of a Shakespearian play center around the editor's answer to the twofold question of (1) what was the nature of the copy that lay behind any authoritative printed text of a play; and (2) what has happened to that copy in the process of transmission to print? Mr. Bowers properly emphasizes this fact, and reminds us that these questions have remained the starting point of textual criticism in this century ever since Pollard, McKerrow, Greg, and their followers established the necessity of formulating acceptable answers to them before an editor's work could begin, and through their own studies and those of others which they inspired, added greatly to our knowledge of Elizabethan playhouse manuscripts and of the processes of Elizabethan printing. Today no one is more energetic than Mr. Bowers in carrying forward the work begun over three decades ago by these pioneers of modern bibliographical and textual scholarship; yet the cautious note that pervades his paper is evidence of his realization that bibliographical techniques have sometimes been employed with more enthusiasm than critical understanding and sound judgment to support answers to the two basic questions, which in their lack of agreement and diversity might well lead to despair of ever achieving general acceptance of any answer whatsoever. But the main purport of his analysis of the complexity of the problems which the editor must solve is not to offer the counsel of despair, but to reaffirm an unshaken confidence that further bibliographical studies can lead us to positive answers on many points still in dispute.

The new studies which Mr. Bowers puts forward as offering particular hope for further progress are those concerned with identifying the work of the different compositors employed in setting a printed text and with investigating the errors which they introduced. Because our conclusions about the nature of the printer's copy must almost always be based on inferences drawn from the internal evidence of printed texts, any unambiguous evidence that can be derived from the studies Mr. Bowers proposes will enable us to attain a much greater degree of certainty in our answer to the first of the basic questions confronting the editor of a play of Shakespeare.

Every literary scholar will be bound by his dedication to the disinterested pursuit of truth wherever it may be found to support Mr. Bowers' insistence that the arduousness of the necessary investigations should not deter us from following as far as it can profitably lead us any sort of technical study suggested by the analytical bibliographer. Even though the scholar may find it more congenial to leave to others the labor of these methodical studies, he cannot afford in the future to be uninformed about them or to overlook their value. He may be pardoned, however, for not being as sanguine as Mr. Bowers about the prospect that progress in analytical bibliography will confer upon the future editor of Shakespeare the means for removing a large proportion of his textual problems from the realm of conjecture to that of ascertainable fact. Observing the distinctions between analytical bibliography, critical or textual bibliography, and textual criticism which Mr. Bowers has enunciated in various articles (see for

example *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLVI [1952], 186-208; and *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, III [1950-51], 37-62), we may note that in this paper his concern is with calling attention to the work in analytical bibliography that needs to be completed before the way is clear for textual criticism to produce a complete edition of Shakespeare that would satisfy the requirements of modern scholarship. Yet the retort of the textual critic might well be to assert the necessity of further preliminary studies of a different sort; he could point out the inadequacy of our philological knowledge of the history of Elizabethan English and the need for the completion of the proposed *Dictionary of Early Modern English*—at present indefinitely postponed—to supply our deficiencies. He might also object that much of the bibliographical evidence—Mr. Bowers would call most of it “pseudo-bibliographical”—concerning the errors supposedly due to compositors is not easily assignable to any cause more definite than the illogical frailties of human beings. This reviewer, for example, to illustrate the unreliability of explanations usually offered to account for incorrect readings attributed to the compositor, has preserved as an exhibit the clear typescript copy and the galley proof set from it for an article he published some ten years ago. The nature of the copy ruled out mistakes due to a misreading of handwriting. Of the more than a dozen incorrect readings introduced by the compositor—literal errors are not included—only two could be attributed to a normal accident characteristic of the printing process. No logical explanation or consistent pattern could be devised to account for the other incorrect readings that turned up in the printed text; e.g., “preceded” for “presented,” “found” for “faced,” “Langley” for “Larkey,” “and” for “of” and “written” for “writing.” With only the printed text before him no editor could adduce firm bibliographical support for his emendations, even though they happened to be correct.

By his emphasis in this paper on the methods of analytical bibliography Mr. Bowers might lead one who had read it without careful reference to his other articles to infer that the editor of Shakespeare should expect to find salvation in bibliography alone. This would be a distortion of the author's purpose, which is to restate his conviction that bibliography and textual criticism are two methods so closely interrelated that to separate their respective functions would be impossible—without the other neither could operate successfully. The chief service that analytical bibliography can perform for the textual editor is to prevent his making certain choices whose falsity is scientifically demonstrable. Choices he cannot avoid. All that we can reasonably demand of an editor is that he use with intelligence every source of knowledge available, scorning none; and that he have the courage to go forward undeterred by the awareness that his knowledge will never attain perfection, for without the exercise of such courage we shall never have even an “almost definitive” text of Shakespeare.

Of the eleven other papers in the volume, none deals with editorial problems; all but one, which treats a matter of literary history (the edition of the Shakespeare apocrypha published in 1848 by William Gilmore Simms), could be grouped under the general classification of interpretation and literary criticism. Professor Allan Gilbert argues that it is an over-simplification of *Henry V* to treat the play as if it were Shakespeare's single-minded purpose to paint a heroic portrait of the ideal English king. He underlines the elements, usually overlooked, that manifest a satiric comment upon a conqueror's ambition, but observes that along with these two themes, which by contrast enhance each other, there is the third of a king who is no conscious hypocrite but deeply

and sincerely concerned with his responsibilities toward his subjects. Professor J. Max Patrick reminds us that in our interpretation of Ophelia we should not disregard the tradition, derived from Shakespeare's sources, that Ophelia was Hamlet's mistress, and suggests that such uncertainties or apparent contradictions about a character make her more credible and dramatically effective than complete consistency. Other papers, which relate Shakespeare's plays and dramatic characters to contemporary ideas and attitudes, such as Professor Robert H. West's "Elizabethan Belief in Spirits and Witchcraft," and Professor Paul N. Siegel's "Shylock and the Puritan Usurers," illustrate the balanced fare presented to those who attended the University of Miami's Shakespeare Conference.

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Shakespeare neu übersetzt. Vol. 1, Othello, Macbeth, Ein Sommernachtstraum, König Heinrich IV (Bühnenbearbeitung). By RICHARD FLATTER. Wien: Walter Krilg Verlag, 1952. Pp. 572.

This is the first volume of a projected new six-volume translation of Shakespeare into German. A tremendous amount of time, labor, thought and scholarship must have gone into this impressive undertaking. If our memory serves us right, some of Dr. Flatter's translations were performed on the Austrian stage during the thirties; and bibliographical evidence would indicate that at least some of these translations have appeared in print before,¹ although no copy of the earlier publications was available to the reviewer.

Dr. Flatter will be remembered as the author of *Shakespeare's Producing Hand*.² It was his work as a translator, so he said in the preface to that book, which led him to the conclusion that broken-off verses, missing syllables, irregular stresses, etc., amount to implied stage directions, wrought into the text by Shakespeare the producer. An "irregular" rhythm, a "faulty" line, an "ungrammatical" punctuation may mean a pause in the action, a break in the dialogue, an entry, an aside, a few steps taken by a speaker. The First Folio preserves these implied stage directions better than the Quartos which, according to Dr. Flatter, were "edited" for reading. The modern "vulgate" text of Shakespeare is hopelessly normalized and regularized; and German translations based on the edited text cannot help missing the touches of Shakespeare's "producing hand."

Ever since Shakespeare was "discovered" in Germany, new translations have tended to be literary manifestoes—often Shakespeare is appropriated by a new literary movement, and the new translation becomes a battle cry to rally the followers. Thus, in the early nineteen-twenties, Friedrich Gundolf re-translated Shakespeare in the "neue Dicht-geist" of Stefan George. Whereas to Gundolf Shakespeare was exclusively a poet—one of the two or three great "poets" in the sense that Stefan George had given to the term—Dr. Flatter sees in Shakespeare primarily the actor, the producer, the master of stagecraft. Although Dr. Flatter states that his theory of *Shakespeare's Producing Hand* was the by-product of his translation, it is this theory of his which has become the main *raison d'être* of his new translation—the longish introduction and the

¹ *Sh.s Sonette*, übertragen von R. Flatter, Wien, 1934.—*Sh. neu übersetzt: Macbeth, Romeo und Julia, Hamlet*. Wien: Reichner Verlag, 1937.

² Published in the U.S. by W. W. Norton, New York, 1948.

copious notes to the translation are largely a re-statement of the argument of *Shakespeare's Producing Hand*. One of the avowed new features of the translation itself is a faithful rendering into German of Shakespeare's implied stage directions. A minor example may illustrate the principles involved. The line in *Macbeth*, I.ii.5, reads in Kittredge's text: "... 'Gainst my captivity, Hail, brave friend!" Before "Hail" one syllable is missing (Kittredge, in an attempt to normalize the verse, reads "Hail" as a dissyllable). This gap, however, according to Dr. Flatter, is filled in by action—Malcolm pauses and turns before addressing the "bleeding sergeant." Therefore Dr. Flatter attempts an exact reproduction in German:

... Mich kühn heraushieb.—Heil, tapfrer Freund ...

First, in Shakespeare the missing syllable (if any) is unstressed; in the German translation it is the ictus that is missing and "Heil" becomes unaccented—which is contrary to German usage. Secondly, Dr. Flatter actually prints the dash that takes the place of the missing syllable; he thus adds to the metrical device a typographical one. If Shakespeare is really doing no more than indicating some stage business, wouldn't the typographical device in itself (or even an explicit stage direction by itself) be adequate? Is it really imperative that the translator closely imitate the prosody—if the prosody merely serves as an implied stage direction? I only wish to raise the question, not to answer it dogmatically one way or another in this review. Both Dorothea Tieck (in her almost canonical German version) and Gundolf normalize the verse; but Gundolf, for example, prints:

... Mich aus Gefangenschaft ... Heil, tapfrer Freund!

Perhaps here the three dots adequately indicate the pause and the action that fills it, and there is no need for an additional metrical hint.

Dr. Flatter's theory seems to be predicated on the implicit assumption that for Shakespeare the formal iambic pentameter is so much the standard and norm that every deviation from it must be weighed for its possible theatrical message. Perhaps, without misrepresenting Dr. Flatter, his theory can be interpreted to mean that much of Shakespeare is not written in strict blank verse at all, but rather in a subtle, flexible, rhythmic, free verse (or even prose), adaptable to expressing shades of emotion, mood, and content—in short, that it is poetic, and perhaps even dramatic, rather than exclusively indicative of stage business. If so, then every effort of the translator and his whole skill must be bent on finding exact equivalents for the rhythmic patterns of the original. Evidence of Shakespeare's use of "free" verse comes from the Folio, and especially from *Macbeth* (for which the Folio is our sole authority). Dr. Flatter's translation of *Macbeth's* soliloquy, I.iii.130-142, may serve as an illustration:

Der Ruf an mich aus jener andern Welt—
Unmöglich schlecht—unmöglich gut—
Wenn schlecht:
Was gibt sie mir ein Angeld auf den Schluss,
Beginnt mit Wahrem? Than von Cawdor *bin* ich.
Wenn gut:
Warum erlieg ich jener Vorstellung,
Vor deren grausem Bild mein Haar sich sträubt
Und gegen die Natur mein festes Herz
Mir an die Rippen schlägt. Wirklicher Schreck
Ist nie so grässlich wie das Grauen *in* uns:

Der Mord, noch nichts, Idee erst, bloss gedacht,
 Bringt all mein Ich derart ins Wanken,
 Dass schauernd jede Lebensregung stockt
 Und nichts ist als was *nicht* ist.

The line divisions, the rhythmic stresses, the emphases are different from those that we find in the "authorized" English text or in the German translations which are based on it. The fact is that Dr. Flatter follows the arrangement of the Folio, and in doing so he keeps the "drama" of the passage—the trembling indecision between "ill" and "good," a mind precariously balanced and torn. In the regularized lines of the standard texts and in the standard translations this "drama" is lost. This dramatic quality is indeed a new and outstanding characteristic of Dr. Flatter's translation. Or another illustration—after the murder of Duncan, six lines of the authorized text (II.ii.64-69) are eight lines in the Folio and in Dr. Flatter's translations. No doubt, these broken-off lines, with dramatic pauses where they ought to be, most effectively convey the tenseness of the situation and the ejaculated utterance of Lady Macbeth:

Gleich schmutzig ist nun meine Hand, doch ich—
 Ich schäme mich, hätt' ich ein Herz so weiss—

Klopfen

Ich hör ein Klopfen am Südtor—
 Zurück in unsre Kammer!
 Ein wenig Wasser wäscht die Tat von uns;
 Wie leicht ist sie nachher! Dein fester Sinn
 Hat dich im Stich gelassen!

Klopfen

Horch, noch immer!

A comparison of the original of Macbeth's soliloquy with the above-quoted translation of Dr. Flatter may serve to bring out another point. The drama and rhythm are there, but what is missing are the conceits, the rhetorical devices, the vocabulary, the language neither simple nor direct.—Here is the regularized text:

My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
 Shakes so my single state of man that function
 Is smother'd in surmise and nothing is
 But what is not.

This is simplified by Dr. Flatter into clear, easily understandable German which sounds more like Goethe's classical diction or that of Hofmannsthal ("dass schauernd jede Lebensregung stockt") than Shakespeare's Baroque. It is good German, it is poetical and noble, it is a good translation—but it is not quite the style of Shakespeare. In *Othello* I.i.108ff., when Iago informs Brabantio of Desdemona's elopement, he chooses with calculating cleverness such words as by their grossness and coarseness must infuriate Brabantio most:

You'll have your daughter cover'd with a Barbary horse; you'll have your nephews neigh to you; you'll have coursers for cousins, and gennets for germans.

These words are blows, given special punch by alliteration and by carefully counterbalanced rhythm. Dr. Flatter imitates the alliteration but loses the rhythm and the punch. The passage gives the impression of being both simplified and toned down; the parataxis with its abrupt blow-like element is, so to speak, "dissolved" by hypotaxis:

... wollt ihr Eure Tochter von einem Berberhengst belegen lassen, wollt einen Stall an Stelle der Kinderstube, statt der Enkel Hengste und Stuten, die in der Wiege wiehern.

Again, when Iago argues about virtue in I.iii.322ff., it is a sophisticated and sophistic speech, full of rhetorical devices, antithetically balanced: "plant nettles" balances "sow lettuce," "set hyssop" balances "weed up thyme," "supply" (with one gender of herbs) is antithetical to "distract" (with many), "sterile with idleness" is antithetical to "manured with industry," etc. Once again Dr. Flatter's version is somewhat smoother, clearer, less rhetorical:

Ob du nun Disteln ziehst oder Salat, Heilkräuter oder Blumen, eine Art Pflanzen oder vielerlei, ob du durch Faulheit alles verwildern lässt oder fleissig düngst, das kannst du tun oder lassen oder ändern, ganz nach Wunsch oder Belieben.

In Shakespeare, syntactical balance, logical antithesis break the speech up into counterpoised units. In the translation, the whole speech flows on in one forward movement, the rhythm is different, the tempo is faster, and Iago the rhetorical sophist becomes almost colloquial and dramatically insouciant. Dramatically insouciant—that states the crucial point. If we take Dr. Flatter's protestation strictly literally, he felt compelled to re-translate Shakespeare because previous translations were based on scholarly incorrect texts. If so, we may be surprised to find that he often translates more freely than, say, Gundolf. Perhaps Dr. Flatter's real claim is not so much that his translation is based on a philologically more reliable text (although it is that, too), but that it is based on a more correct conception of Shakespeare—namely of Shakespeare as producer and theatrical genius. The requirements of the theater are, indeed, met better by Dr. Flatter than by any of his predecessors.

This also explains the inclusion in this volume of a stage adaptation of the two Parts of *Henry IV* into one single play of fewer pages than *Macbeth*! This reviewer for one is not at all convinced that the two Parts actually form a single play and are not rather two Histories, each dealing with a different part of the reign of Henry IV. Obviously, too, in so free a re-writing as Dr. Flatter's adaptation, Shakespeare's dramatic structure had to be radically altered—and this by a translator whose professed aim is to be more faithful to the authentic Shakespeare than previous translators were. In short, not faithfulness to the Shakespearian text is the justification, but faithfulness to Shakespeare's presumed theatrical intentions.

Dr. Flatter's sense of theatrical values, his great poetical gifts, his original approach to Shakespeare lift his translations far above the usual run-of-the-mill translations. On its own terms, this is indeed a "new" translation and presents a new picture of Shakespeare, not to be found in previous translations. No doubt, Dr. Flatter's work will have its place in the history of Shakespearian fame and influence in Germany.

LUDWIG KAHN

The College of the City of New York

Macbeth. Recorded by THE OLD VIC COMPANY. New York: Radio Corporation of America, 1953. \$10.50.

Romeo and Juliet. Recorded by THE OLD VIC COMPANY. New York: Radio Corporation of America, 1953.

How many times in a year—or a decade—does one have the opportunity to see a skilled company perform one of Shakespeare's plays? If one is outside striking range of the Old Vic in London, the Memorial Theatre in Stratford, or New York's theatrical district, the number will be small. Radio and television are trying to remedy the situation, but time on the air is so costly that most broadcast versions have been very drastically abbreviated. The development of long-playing records and the great improvement in the tonal fidelity of record players now afford another medium for the enjoyment of full-length productions by actors of high attainments.

The Old Vic Company has many splendid achievements to its credit. It is to be commended for venturing with the Radio Corporation of America into the field of recorded performances of Shakespeare. Let us hope that the Old Vic, which was the first theater to present every one of Shakespeare's plays, will persevere in making records of all the plays.

The first two recordings to be put on the market are *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet*. *Macbeth* consists of two double-faced records requiring about one hour and forty-five minutes to play. Alec Guinness, who had appeared only once on this side of the Atlantic until he was starred in the Stratford (Ontario) Festival in the summer of 1953 but is widely known for his comic roles in *The Lavender Hill Mob* and *Kind Hearts and Coronets*, plays Macbeth. Lady Macbeth is played by Pamela Brown, who appeared in New York in 1947 in *The Importance of Being Ernest* and again in 1951 in *The Lady's Not for Burning*. What is most impressive about this recording is the accuracy with which every member of the cast reads his lines. There are scarcely a dozen missed or transposed words in the whole play. Cuts of the text are few and skillful. In a number of places a few words are introduced to indicate the entrance or departure of one of the dramatis personae, but these interpolations are kept to a minimum and are cleverly managed. Once the auditor has become accustomed to the voices, he may settle in his chair to the appreciation of a fine performance. The atmospheric music and sound effects get out of hand now and again, necessitating adjustments in the volume of sound. Otherwise the recording is good.

Romeo and Juliet, which is on three double-faced discs that play for two and one-half hours, is easier to listen to than *Macbeth*. The voice projection is better in *Romeo*, and the voices are better balanced. As in *Macbeth*, the volume of sound is uneven, and incidental music is sometimes almost overwhelming. The greatest flaw in the production is the inaccuracy with which the lines are read. Romeo, Juliet, and Mercutio are the chief offenders, but Friar Laurence is not innocent, nor is the Nurse or Capulet. Scores of verbal changes have been made, and most of them can be charged to faulty memories. Both Alan Badel (Romeo) and Claire Bloom (Juliet) get off to unimpressive starts, but they improve rapidly, and the Balcony Scene is beautifully done. Mercutio's Queen Mab speech doesn't quite get across, but it may be doubted whether the unaided voice is ever adequate to the demands of this passage. Another scene that falls just short of excellence is the lovers' aubade before parting. Juliet's scene alone before drinking the sleeping potion is very mov-

ing. Athene Seyler is adequate as the Nurse, but Lewis Casson's Friar Laurence is lacking in dignity and wisdom.

Make no mistake, however. The over-all effect of these two recordings is powerful. We are genuinely moved to pity by the fate of the star-crossed lovers, and the tragedy of *Macbeth* stirs in us, not pity, but fear and wonder. Without doubt future recordings will be better, as technical problems are solved and as experience is gained in the new techniques of directing and performing before the recording microphone. But *Macbeth* and *Romeo* are recommended to all lovers of Shakespeare's plays and especially to clubs and study groups and to all those who teach Shakespeare.

J.G.M.



THEEVES FALLING OUT.

True-men come by their Goods :

OR,
The Bel-man wanted a Clapper.

*A peale of new Villanies rung out : Being muscall to all
Gentlemen, Lawyers, Farmers, and all sorts of people that come up to the
Tearme : Shewing, that the Villanies of lewd Women
doe, by many degrees, excell those of Men.*

By ROBERT GREENE.

Goe not by me, but Buy me, and get by me.



LONDON Printed for Henry and Mafes Bell. 1627.

London Types and Costumes: A nightwatchman, a courtesan, and a card sharper.
Robert Greene's *Theeves Falling Out, True-men Come by their Goods* (1627).
STC 12238. This is the fifth edition of *A Disputation between a Hee Conny-catcher
and a Shee Connycatcher*.

Queries and Notes

THE FLYING HORSE IN *HENRY V*

HALDEEN BRADY

More than a third of the 141 lines in *Henry V*, Act III, Scene vii, depict the French Dauphin boasting to the Constable of France and Charles of Orleans about his flying horse, astride whom, he declared, that he became "a hawk." Both the horse and hawk are mentioned near the start of the Dauphin's bragging speech.

I will not change my horse with any that treads but on four posterns. *Ça, hal* he bounds from the earth, as if his entrails were hairs; *le cheval volant*, the Pegasus, *chez les narines de feu!* When I bestride him, I soar, I am a hawk . . . (III.vii.11-17)

Is this passage original with Shakespeare? There is, one may observe in reply, nothing at all corresponding to it in the known sources of the play, Holinshed's *Chronicle* and the anonymous drama, *The Famous Victories of Henry V*.¹ Lacking a model in his sources, Shakespeare presumably invented the description himself. The question is whether he relied only upon his imagination or sought pertinent information from some hitherto unidentified source.

Tales of flying horses were commonplaces in the literature available to the Elizabethans, and Shakespeare cited perhaps the most famous one of all when he mentioned Pegasus. The further descriptive references to his mount as "*le cheval volant*" and to himself as a "hawk" would appear, at face value, additions well within the range of Shakespeare's powers of invention as well as without any particular background. It happens, however, that there existed a well-known medieval fable about Charles VI, the French King featured in *Henry V*, which involved both a hawk and *le cerf volant*.²

According to the fourteenth-century French chronicler Froissart, the Dauphin's father, King Charles VI of France, prior to departing for Flanders in 1382, dreamed that he lost his favorite falcon (*i.e.*, hawk) and that a hart with wings flew to him, placed him on its back, and enabled him to retrieve the bird and return to earth. It is an historical fact that the French King adopted *le cerf volant* for his emblem and bore it proudly into battle. When the bird flew away, the King spoke to the Constable of France about the difficulty of recapturing it. A fuller statement of what occurred may be seen in the English text of Froissart's *Chroniques*.

. . . he said to the constable: "Ah, I fear me I shall lose my falcon, whereof I am sorry, and I have no lure nor nothing else, wherewith to call her again."

And at this point the king thought that there appeared suddenly before

¹ W. G. Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed* (New York, 1907), pp. 185-186; J. Q. Adams (ed.), *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (Boston, 1924), pp. 667-690.

² The word today also means a paper kite flown on a string.

him a great hart with wings and inclined himself before him, whereof he had great joy and thought how he said to the constable: "Sir, abide you here, and I will mount on this hart and so follow my falcon." And so the king thought he mounted on this flying hart, and how the hart according to the king's desire did bear him over all the great woods and trees . . . and incontinent the falcon came and sat her down on his fist: and then the hart flew again over the woods and brought the king to the same laund. . . . And therewith the king awoke and had great marvel of that vision, and he remembered everything thereof right well and shewed it to them of his chamber that were about him; and the figure of this hart pleased him so much, that all his imagination was set thereon . . . when he went into Flanders to fight with the Flemings, he took to his device to bear the flying hart.³

The author of the foregoing English version was Lord Berners, whose *Huon of Bordeaux* is the ultimate source for the name of the King of Fairyland, Oberon, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*.⁴ Yet more important, the historical foundation of *Richard II* (IV.i.162-222), the first of the related chronicle plays to discuss the Lancasters and the father of Henry V, is usually given as Chapter CCXL of the second volume of this English translation of Froissart.⁵ The passage I have quoted comprises a little more than the first half of Chapter CCCCVI of the first volume by Lord Berners, which is probably where Shakespeare first encountered the story unless he had already heard an oral version of it.

It is not unlikely that the Elizabethan audience—at least the English nobility—also knew this medieval fable. Froissart's remarkable explanation of the emblem of Charles VI, which he says the King was proud to boast of to his nobles, would be widely retold and reach far beyond the courtly circles in Paris. Froissart himself visited England in 1395 and paid his respects to Richard II, who was, the chronicler said, "wondrously gracious and kind to me."⁶ Later on, in 1400, Deschamps, whose work became known in London as early as Chaucer's day, wrote a *balade* (No. 67) in honor of Charles VI. In it Deschamps did not feel required to refer to his sovereign by name but designated him allegorically under the title of "*le cerf volant*."⁷ Moreover, the appellation would hardly be forgotten in England, for Charles of Orleans, a nobleman of the French King's entourage, was taken prisoner at Agincourt and remained in Britain, as a prisoner-guest in the literary home of the Earl of Suffolk and his wife, for a quarter of a century, from 1415 to 1440.⁸ It seems probable that Charles VI might be well remembered in London as *le cerf volant* long after his own time, as of course Richard *coeur de lion* was, and that the English nobility would have recognized the description of the hawk

³ G. C. Macaulay (ed.), *The Chronicles of Froissart*, translated by John Bourchier, Lord Berners (London, 1924), pp. 282-283. This English translation was first printed in two volumes, dated respectively January 28, 1523/24 and August 31, 1525, and follows the French original with considerable accuracy. With the aid of my colleague Professor E. T. Ruff, I studied Gaston Raynaud (ed.), *Chroniques de J. Froissart* (Paris, 1897), X, 256 ff., which text gives the hart "twelve wings," *douze ailles*.

⁴ Karl Holzknicht, *The Backgrounds of Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1950), p. 238.

⁵ Llewellyn M. Buell (ed.), *King Richard the Second* (Yale University Press, 1948), p. 127.

⁶ F. S. Shears, *Froissart, Chronicler and Poet* (London, 1930), p. 68.

⁷ Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire (ed.), *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps* (S.A.T.F., Paris, 1878), I, 164, 350.

⁸ H. N. MacCracken, "An English Friend of Charles of Orleans," *PMLA* (1911), XXVI, 142 ff.

and *le cheval volant* as an obvious and a natural reference to his son, the Dauphin. Presumably some of the royal playgoers knew French history. They would have been obliged to know the language as well to appreciate the earlier Scene iv in this same Act III, for here the servant Alice teaches Kate her English lesson in the French tongue.

Shakespeare evidently did not invent the episode of the flying horse in *Henry V* but turned, instead, to the English translation of Froissart by Lord Berners, as he had done in *Richard II*, for this colorful symbolism. He recalled the fable of the favorite hawk belonging to the young Dauphin's father and so depicted this King's eldest son in figurative language, giving him, not the flying hart associated with his father, but a *cheval volant* of his own and having him to boast, allegorically, that "I am a hawk."

Texas Western College

A FAIR HOUSE BUILT ON ANOTHER MAN'S GROUND

ROY F. MONTGOMERY

In Act II, Scene II, of *The Merry Wives*, Ford, burning with jealousy and suspicion, goes in disguise to call on Falstaff in order to lay a trap for the fat knight and Mrs. Ford. Pretending to be an unsuccessful suitor for the favors of Mrs. Ford, he is interrogated by Falstaff:

Fal. Of what quality was your love then?

Ford. Like a fair house built on another man's ground, so that I have lost my edifice by mistaking the place where I erected it [lines 223-226].¹

I do not recall that anyone has hitherto pointed out the extra-dramatic allusion contained in Ford's speech; but it seems clear that, although logically and dramatically justified in its context, the "fair house" analogy was by more than mere aptness thrust into its composer's mind. For, as is indeed well known, in late December of 1598 Shakespeare was party to a doubtfully legal enterprise which actually rescued from loss "a fair house built on another man's ground" by bodily removal of the edifice to another place.² James Burbage who owned the Theatre in Shoreditch, where Shakespeare's company played, was about to lose his building. In April 1597 his lease to the land where the Theatre stood had expired and he was unable to obtain from landowner Giles Alleyn suitable terms for a new lease. According to the strict letter of the old agreement, the building was forfeit to the landowner unless it had been removed from the land by expiration date. But for a year or more after that date, wrangling over terms of renewal continued.³ Finally the Company found a solution of its own. Burbage's two sons, along with Shakespeare and other players in the Company, subscribed among themselves enough money

¹ Text from the *Complete Works*, ed., G. L. Kittredge (1936).

² C. W. Wallace, *The First London Theatre: Materials for a History*, The University Studies of the University of Nebraska, XIII, Nos. 1-3 (Lincoln, 1913), pp. 29-30. G. B. Harrison, *Introducing Shakespeare*, pp. 46-49, has a good though brief account of the matter.

³ Wallace, pp. 24-26.

to lease a new site on the Bankside south of London and to pay a contractor and crew to "kidnap" their Theatre from Shoreditch and rebuild it on the newly leased tract.⁴ The removal was speedily accomplished on December 28, 1598, during the absence of Alleyn from the city, and the re-erected playhouse in its new location was soon operating under the name of the Globe. Opinions vary whether *The Merry Wives* was composed before or after this episode; but in any case the problem if not its solution must have been on Shakespeare's mind for some time, and his alluding to it in Ford's lines seems unquestionable. If the play was first presented in April 1597, as Hotson believes,⁵ the lease would be just then expiring, with no solution to the problem yet in sight. And Ford's statement of the plight of such a house does indeed make it seem a hopeless case.

University of Tennessee

FALSTAFF'S INSTINCT

HENRY HITCH ADAMS

In *1 Henry IV* when the Sheriff with a "most monstrous watch" pounds on the door of the Tavern, Falstaff quips to Prince Hal:

Doeſt thou heare Hal? neuer call a true piece of golde a counterfet, thou art essentially made without ſeeming ſo. (II.iv.461-463.)¹

This speech has puzzled editors; its crux lies in the last clause, "thou art essentially made without seeming so." Capell in 1779 suggested that the word "made" should be emended to read "mad," the reading of F₃, and he has been followed by Malone, Hudson, Elton, and even by so recent an editor as J. Dover Wilson. Others have attempted to connect "essentially" with "gold" of the preceding clause, which has led to some fantastically complicated interpretations.² This note is an attempt to explain the line in a somewhat simpler fashion and in accordance with the original quarto reading.

A fundamental principal of editing demands that before he accepts the reading of a derivative, unauthoritative edition, an editor should exhaust all his bibliographical and critical skill to understand and explain the reading of the substantive edition or editions. As I have said, most editors have attempted to explain this passage by reading the second clause as amplifying the first, that is, understanding "essentially made" to have something to do with "gold." Hal's answer, however, tells us that Shakespeare meant something quite different. Hal replies, "And thou a naturall coward without instinct" (II.iv.464). The obvious opposition of "naturall" to "essentially" in Falstaff's line has not escaped notice, but the last phrase in Hal's speech is the revealing

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁵ Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare versus Shallow* (Boston, 1931), pp. 121-122.

¹ All quotations are taken from the New Variorum Edition of *Henry the Fourth Part I*, ed. by Samuel Burdett Hemingway, Philadelphia, 1936.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 168-170.

one—"without instinct." This can only mean that Hal is referring to Falstaff's excuse at the denouement of the Gadshill robbery story.

By the Lord, I knew ye as wel as he that made ye. Why heare you my maisters, was it for me to kill the heire apparant? should I turne vpon the true prince? why thou knowest I am as valiant as Hercules: but beware instinct, the lion will not touch the true prince, instinct is a great matter. I was now a cowarde on instinct, I shall thinke the better of my selfe, and thee during my life; I for a valiant lion, and thou for a true prince: . . . (II.iv.246-253).

Here, of course, Falstaff has been attempting to put Prince Hal on the defensive. In effect, he is saying, "Since I am as brave as a lion, my instinct kept me from harming the true prince. If you deny my instinct, you are admitting that you are not the true prince."³ This, to the son of King Henry IV! Logically, this is quite interesting, since Falstaff is starting with a major premise of his bravery, one which is not challenged by Prince Hal until much later in the line we have quoted. Falstaff, of course, notes this when he replies to Hal's "And thou a naturall coward without instinct," by saying, "I deny your Major, . . ."

Since Falstaff's "essentially made" speech is thus closely tied to his excuses for his conduct at Gadshill, let us see how that helps us in understanding the puzzle. The considerable emphasis in his earlier speech on "true prince" becomes pertinent when we see the words "true piece of gold" later. Falstaff is saying, "I recognized you for a true prince before; my instinct told me so; never call a true prince or a true piece of gold a counterfeit."⁴ Thus, the second clause of the speech can only mean that Hal is made of the essence of princeliness, even though his actions do not seem to show it. In other words, he is reminding Hal that he as a prince can protect him from the sheriff, and that a true prince would not let his friends down. Hal, of course, cannot afford to let the challenge pass; so he retorts that Falstaff is by nature a coward without finer instinct, even though he does accept Falstaff's "major" and protects him from the sheriff.

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DUCIS'S HAMLET

WILLARD B. POPE

Miss Vanderhoof has rescued from obscurity the texts of the first important French version of *Hamlet*, through which Shakespeare became widely known not only in France, but in Italy, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Russia.¹ Ducis's

³ I am indebted to my colleague, John P. Boatman, for pointing this meaning out to me. It has been noted as early as Hudson.

⁴ The equation of gold as the highest of metals with a king or with royalty is an Elizabethan commonplace, but its applicability here should not be overlooked. See E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture*, 1945, Chapter II.

¹ Mary B. Vanderhoof, "Hamlet: a Tragedy Adapted from Shakespeare (1770) by Jean François Ducis. A Critical Edition." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 97, No. 1, February 14, 1953, pp. 88-142. Reviewed by H. Carrington Lancaster in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV (October 1953), 470-471.

adaptation was acted at the Comédie Française 203 times between 1769 and 1851; "its record at that theatre is superior to that of any other tragedy written in the eighteenth century except that of seven by Voltaire."²

Diderot and other eighteenth-century French critics cited by Miss Vanderhoof condemned many aspects of Ducis's adaptation but made no comparison with Shakespeare's play, which very probably they had never seen. Such a comparison and an English opinion on Ducis are found in the diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846), the artist, who visited Paris with his friend David Wilkie during Napoleon's banishment to Elba, primarily to inspect the Louvre, which at that time housed the greatest collection of art ever assembled, since Napoleon's plunder had not yet been returned to its owners. Because of his deep interest in the London theater and his profound admiration for Shakespeare, Haydon inevitably saw the French *Hamlet* performed at Versailles by "the actors of the Théâtre Français, who had come out from Paris for the night" of June 17, 1814.³ In his diary, Haydon wrote:

At Versailles I saw *Hamlet traduit* and rendered fit for the French stage. Ophelia was murdered,⁴ and Hamlet literally rendered a blubbering boy. "Oh ma mere, mon pere." Ophelia is with Hamlet entreating by her affection to be more composed, when his Mother enters. Here, as he is talking, he sees the Ghost. The impression on the audience and the effect on me was certainly dreadful. I never shall forget it and it has shaken my orthodoxy as to the admission of the Ghost. It was truly terrific to see Talma's terrible look, and the stupified amazement of his Mother & mistress. There was some cause for their amazement, when nothing was seen. Hamlet in the next scene brings out an urn that contains his Father's ashes. Here was true French whine & affection. Tho when his Mother again returns, and he makes her swear she knew nothing of her husband's murder, and brings her to touch his sacred ashes, there was an awful silence and a severe agony throughout the House. The Translator has completely lost Shakespeare's exquisite feeling of a 'grief within that passeth shew'⁵ by making his Hamlet's grief all shew! and nothing else.⁶

After seeing the play again in Paris, Haydon wrote in his diary for June 23, 1814:

At the Théâtre Français last night, when the King in Hamlet said,

Laissons à l'Angleterre et son deuil et ses pleurs
L'Angleterre en forfaits trop souvent fut féconde,⁷

the whole House burst forth in applause of the most tumultuous fury. This was mean & paltry, and was only the effusion of impotent malice for having been well beaten. It was the mouthing of a beaten boy, who lies on the ground afraid to rise from the experience he has had of his adversary's strength. The people about us looked at us, but we were so high we did not

² Vanderhoof, p. 97.

³ Allan Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, London, 1843, I, 419.

⁴ Ophelia dies in none of the versions of Ducis. Gertrude, however, kills herself in the versions of 1809 and 1813 but was murdered by Claudius in earlier versions.

⁵ Cf. *Hamlet*, I, ii, 85.

⁶ Although this passage from the diary has never been published, its substance is found in Haydon's *Autobiography*, ed. Tom Taylor, 2nd ed., London, 1853, I, 266.

⁷ Ducis (1809), III. ii. 106-107 (Vanderhoof, p. 133).

hear distinctly what had been said. Had I distinctly heard it, I would have certainly said something. There was some row beneath us and I suspect from English men opposing.⁸

The University of Vermont

THE SYMBOLIC CLOUD IN *HAMLET*

ROGER J. TRIENENS

When Polonius informs Hamlet of the Queen's urgent desire to see him, Hamlet feigns madness and points to the sky:

Ham. Do you see that cloud that's almost in shape like a camel?

Pol. By the mass, and it's like a camel, indeed.

Ham. Methinks it is like a weasel.

Pol. It is back'd like a weasel.

Ham. Or like a whale?

Pol. Very like a whale.

Ham. Then will I come to my mother by and by. *Aside.* They fool me to the top of my bent.—I will come by and by. (III.ii.393-402)

Hamlet's remarks about the cloud may be devoid of significance, mere foolery, or they may be richly suggestive; but, in any event, it is improbable that they involve such a complicated symbolism as Harold C. Goddard attributes to them. Goddard fantastically interprets the three shapes of the cloud as symbolizing three stages in the development of the play; so that for him the camel symbolizes Hamlet's burden in the first two acts, the weasel symbolizes his hot wrath and wiliness in the third, and the whale is the "monster" of the unconscious which finally swallows Hamlet.¹

It would be a mistake not to seek any significance in the imagery of the cloud, because even when he feigns madness Hamlet's speech is usually meaningful or allusive. As Polonius says, there is method in his madness. Therefore I am going to offer an interpretation which is simpler and more plausible than Goddard's; namely, that the three creatures which Hamlet sees in the cloud all connote lust. During the Renaissance, at least, any bestial creature might have been suggested by lust or sensuality; for that was a time when man keenly sensed the opposition between the soul and the flesh, between the divine and the bestial components of his own nature. It is not necessary to believe that the camel was associated with lust more than other animals were; yet Edward Topsell wrote that "this beast is very hot by nature, and therefore wanton and full of sport and wrath" and that camels "continue in copulation a whole day together" and Robert Burton wrote that "those old Egyptians, as Pierius informeth us, express in their Hieroglyphicks the passion of Jealousy by a Camel; because that fearing the worst still about matters of Venery, he loves solitudes, that he may enjoy his pleasure alone, and he will quarrel and fight with whosoever comes next, man or beast, in his jealous fits."² Accord-

⁸ Cf. Haydon's *Autobiography*, I, 258.

¹ *The Meaning of Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 357 and 374.

² Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (London, 1607), p. 94; Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. F. Dell and P. Jordan-Smith (New York, 1927), p. 825. Pierius, otherwise known as Valeriano Bolzani, is the sixteenth-century Italian author of *Hieroglyphica, sive de Sacris Aegyptiorum*, a frequently reprinted book, of which the earliest edition given in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.* is dated 1567.

ing to the modern and monumental *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, the weasel had possessed an erotic signification since antiquity and its foot was used as a love-charm in the sixteenth century.³ As evidence that the English also associated the weasel with lust we might cite a passage from John Ford's play, *The Fancies Chaste and Noble* (1638), wherein Nitido is called a "wanton monkey" and a "whoreson, lecherous weasel."⁴ If, however, in order to suggest lust, Shakespeare utilizes goats, monkeys, and the Barbary horse in such a play as *Othello*, for example, and if he utilizes the camel, the weasel, and the whale in *Hamlet*, his particular choice of creatures may be governed by merely incidental reasons. The animals named in *Othello*, for instance, are incidentally suggested by the hero's native country; whereas the animals named in *Hamlet* are incidentally suggested by the amorphous shape of a cloud, the camel and the whale being bulky creatures and the weasel having a rounded back which imparts to it a similar outline.⁵

Modern scholars would have guessed the meaning of the symbolic cloud long before now if Shakespeare had mentioned an animal commonly associated with lust, such as the goat, along with the camel and the weasel. The whale, which Shakespeare selected partly on account of its shape, has completely misled them. Nevertheless, during the Renaissance educated men could easily have associated the whale with lust, because they identified the whale with the sea-monsters in classical mythology that abducted virgins.⁶ To some extent they might also have been influenced by the medieval tradition that hungry whales emitted an enticing, perfumed breath capable of attracting great numbers of fish into their mouths. Medieval writers compared the enticements of the whale to those of the devil, and in the multiple settings of the early miracle plays the open-stretched mouth of a whale (or dragon) symbolized the gates of hell.⁷ It is interesting that the copulation of whales was said to cause a great deal of sperm to rise to the surface of the sea, which might be gathered and dried and turned into amber; because the aroma of amber was that with which the whale enticed its victims.⁸ The capacious appetite of the whale seems to be connected with the classical tradition in a melodramatic passage from the *Gesta Romanorum* where the daughter of Ancelmus the Emperor figures as the sole survivor aboard a tempest-tossed vessel. "Thenne the mayde sette all hire hope strongly in God; and at the laste, the tempest sesid; but their folowide strongly a gret whale, to *devowre this maide* [italics mine]. And whenne she sawe that she moche dradde; and whan the nyght com, the maide

³ Ed. E. Hoffman-Krayer and Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, 10 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927-42), Vol. IX, cols. 584-85.

⁴ *The Dramatic Works*, ed. W. Gifford and A. Dyce, 3 vols. (London, 1895), II, 259.

⁵ This idea accords with the following evidence presented by A. L. Mayhew in *Notes and Queries* (Ser. 6, I [March 27, 1880], 251): "Compare *Dictionnaire Historique de l'Ancien Langage Français*, par La Curne de Sainte Palaye (s. v. 'Chameau'):"—

'Chameau—Nuage épais. C'est en ce sens qu'on emploie ce mot dans le langage champenois, pour signifier une nuée très épaisse, qui fond tout-à-coup sur une grande étendue de pays. On l'appelle *balin* aux environs de Cosne.'

⁶ In Chapter Eighty-two of *Moby Dick* Herman Melville notes that the monster from which Perseus rescued Andromeda was believed to be a whale and he states that "in many old chronicles whales and dragons are strangely jumbled together, and often stand for each other." Cf. Ovid, *Met.* iv. 663-752.

⁷ P. Ansell Robin, *Animal Lore in English Literature* (London, 1932), p. 125.

⁸ *Batman uppon Bartholome* (London, 1582), f. 200 verso.

dredyng that the whale wolde have swolewide the ship, smot fire at a stone. . . ." Though she temporarily fended off the whale by keeping a fire, she eventually succumbed to sleep and the whale swallowed up the whole ship and the virgin with it. But the virgin was the morsel he particularly desired. Shakespeare may have read this passage; for it is a part of "The Story of the Choice of Three Caskets" which W. C. Hazlitt included in *Shakespeare's Library* as a possible direct source for the story of the caskets in *The Merchant of Venice*.⁹

Shakespeare unquestionably knew about the whale's mythological role as the abductor of virgins; for in *The Merchant of Venice* Portia mentions

young Alcides, when he did redeem
The virgin tribute paid by howling Troy
To the sea-monster. (III.ii.55-57)

William Warner, in *Albion's England* (1586), terms this same monster a "fiend-like fish" and a "boisterous whale"; and he describes it as follows:

Anone the dreadfull Divell drives
The sea before his brest,
And spitting mighty waves abrode,
Disgorgde from monstrous chest,

Lifts up his ugly head above
The troubled waves to catch
The trembling lady, for which pray
His yawning jawes did watch.¹⁰

On account of its mythological role, Shakespeare makes the whale a virtual symbol of lust. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor* Mistress Ford stresses his lust when she compares Falstaff, her fat suitor, to a whale (II.i.64-69); and in *All's Well That Ends Well* Parolles says of Bertram, "I knew the young Count to be a dangerous and lascivious boy, who is a whale to virginity and devours up all the fry it finds" (IV.iii.247-250). This latter example is especially interesting because in it the classical *motif* of the whale assaulting a virgin and the medieval *motif* of the whale devouring small fish are united and because it constitutes our best evidence that the whale which Hamlet sees in the cloud should suggest lust even more strongly than the camel or the weasel.

By means of the symbolic cloud Shakespeare indicates the state of Hamlet's mind after the play-scene. As soon as the exhilaration which immediately follows his "tenting" of Claudius wears off, Hamlet begins to think of the crisis which must ensue in his relationship with his mother, and the thought of his mother's guilt brings bestial images into his troubled mind. As a poetic image the cloud ultimately signifies how deep-seated Hamlet's grief continues to be, even in his moment of triumph, and it subtly anticipates the emotionally climactic scene in the Queen's chamber.

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⁹ *Shakespeare's Library*, 6 vols. (London, 1875), I, 361-366. The passage on the whale is on pp. 363-364.

¹⁰ In A. Chalmers, *The Works of the English Poets*, 21 vols. (London, 1810), IV, 515. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xi. 211-215.

Correspondence

To the Editor of *Shakespeare Quarterly*:

Mr. Clifford Leech's approach to Shakespearian tragedy in his recent book is so very different from mine that his partial commendation of my *Flaming Minister* in the January *SQ* is commendable, and welcome. His review is intense and interesting. But oddly, while accusing me of over-emphasizing my points, he misses my main point. My claim is that "*Othello* is a true, and sublime, love tragedy—not a true-love romance with a tragic ending brought about chiefly by a heavy villain: it is *Romeo and Juliet* matured and recomposed" (page xxxiii). The two principals, not Iago, are mainly responsible for their catastrophe. This idea, according to an experienced and able dramatic director who reviewed the book elsewhere, rules out happily the stage *Othello* who is "the brainless dupe of Iago"; also he says, "Often Professor Elliott shows his delight in the physical action . . . as he reconstructs the Elizabethan stage and recreates its actors in his imagination." But Mr. Leech accuses me of "not seeing the play in terms of the stage." Actually I hope the presentation of this play on the modern stage may be revolutionized and revitalized (see the last paragraph of my Preface) with the help of Renaissance dramatic ideas. Mr. Leech says I reduce Iago to "a creature of petty spite": he misses the dramatic contrast, stressed by me, between Iago so petty in his jealousy and Iago so terrific as the instrument of the great unseen powers of evil. And Mr. Leech omits entirely the distinction made by Renaissance thought, and surely by common sense at all times, between false pride and true pride, i.e. right self-esteem. Thus, along with Mr. T. S. Eliot whom he cites, he disregards the superbly dramatic conjuncture in *Othello*'s final speech of revived self-respect and new spiritual humility. But I am grateful to Mr. Leech for suggesting, near the end of his review, that I am trying "to see a Shakespeare tragedy as a dramatized compression of *The Divine Comedy*." For surely Dante's great poem gives "a general picture of the human situation"—which Mr. Leech, at the outset, declares I fail to see in *Othello*! My impression is that he like many others reads into Shakespeare the modern confused view of the human situation; which, however, would have obviated the excellent *whole form* achieved by the dramatist in *Othello*. And there, exactly, is the reason for my detailed and non-critical treatment, disliked by Mr. Leech, of *Hamlet* and *Othello*. We cannot see Shakespeare's faults truly, nor his excellences, until we have interpreted his work in the light of the Renaissance picture—not entirely different from Dante's yet strongly appealing to *dramatic common sense*—"the human situation."

G. R. ELLIOTT

To the Editor of *Shakespeare Quarterly*:

There is little that I wish to say by way of rejoinder to Professor Elliott's courteous reply to my review. I am quite willing to distinguish between "false pride" and "right self-esteem," but have some difficulty in finding the latter in a dying boast that once upon a time one took by the throat a circumcised dog. Professor Elliott was, however, quite right to point out an inconsistency of wording between my reference to Dante and my suggestion that his view of *Othello* obscured the play's general picture of the human situation. If this tragedy were Dantesque, it would be so in a very small way, presenting a single case-history which the medieval poet might take up into his vast scheme. But by the early seventeenth century men had perhaps acquired a little of "the modern confused view of the human situation"—Webster and Chapman, for example, would suggest that—and came sometimes to consider the immediate event without simultaneous reference to an inherited but oddly shrunken cosmology. It is good to see that Professor Elliott does not quite bring himself to equating the "world-pictures" of Dante and Shakespeare: to-day we are in danger of an Orwellian situation in which the Renaissance and Reformation will be declared historically non-existent.

CLIFFORD LEECH

Notes and Comments

THE FRONTISPIECE

The Frontispiece is reproduced by permission from Ms. HM 264 in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The manuscript, in the hand of an English scribe, is written on five pieces of vellum fastened end to end, making a roll 14' 5" x 12¼". It may be dated about 1480. The segment here reproduced shows in parallel columns the lines of English and Roman kings. Bladud's crown is in the center. Leire comes next in line, with his daughters Rigan (identified as "2^a filia," i.e., *secunda filia*) and Geronilla ("P^a gena," i.e., first born). Directly below Leire's crown is the crowned head of Cordeilla. Gunedagius and Morganus, sons respectively to Rigan and Geronilla, are also named.

In the parallel line of Italian kings, Vesta and her sons Romulus and Remus follow two or three generations later than Cordeilla.



QUEEN ELIZABETH I DANCING

The painting in Penshurst Palace, the ancient home of the Sidney family, which has long been called "Queen Elizabeth Dancing La Volta with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester," and which was reproduced opposite p. 185 of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, III, is discussed by Mr. James Laver in the Christmas 1953 number of *The Sphere*, p. 20. He calls attention to a painting in the Louvre that is curiously similar to it. It represents a dance at the Court of King Henri III of France. There are noticeable differences, but it has a lady seated on a stool with back turned toward the artist, as in the Penshurst picture. There is also a little dog. The Louvre painting is attributed to Herman van der Mast and dated about 1575. Mr. Laver questions whether the Duc d'Alençon brought van der Mast to England when he came courting Queen Elizabeth. He also refers to a painting at Versailles of a dance at the wedding of the Duc de Joyeuse in which there is the same back view of the lady and a similar little dog. Was it, too, by van der Mast?



DATES OF PUBLICATION

Beginning with this issue, the numbers of *SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY* will be identified as "Winter," "Spring," "Summer," and "Autumn." The change has been made so as to give the Bibliographer and the compilers of the Index additional time for their labors.



THE ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

At a special meeting of the Directors of the Shakespeare Association on 1 March, the resignation of Dr. SIDNEY THOMAS was reluctantly accepted. A

resolution was adopted, thanking Dr. Thomas for the excellent service he has rendered in compiling the Annual Shakespeare Bibliography and expressing profound regret that the pressure of his private researches makes it impossible for him to continue as Bibliographer. Thanks to the hearty cooperation of his correspondents in many lands and to his own untiring efforts, Dr. Thomas has brought together in each volume of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, including the present one, the titles of the significant books, articles, and reviews throughout the world for the convenience of Shakespearians.



MEMORIAL TO HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER

Everyone who has read chapters of *Prefaces to Shakespeare* by the late Harley Granville-Barker will be glad that friends and admirers of this distinguished actor, author, producer, and critic are uniting to raise a fund for the purchase of a bust of him by Jacob Epstein to be placed in the British National Theatre in London. Committees of the National Theatre and the British Drama League have approved the plan. On completion, an audited account and a photograph of the bust will be sent to each subscriber. All but £150 has been secured. Communications may be addressed to the Committees, in care of the Westminster Bank, West End Office, 1 St. James's Square, London, S.W. 1.

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RICHARD D. ALTICK, Professor of English at Ohio State University is generally interested in the nineteenth century but finds time for occasional studies in Shakespeare. He is the author of *The Cowden Clarkes* and *Scholar Adventurers*.

PROFESSOR HALDEEN BRADY, of Texas Western College, El Paso, is the author of several Chaucerian studies.

PROFESSOR WOLFGANG CLEMEN, Director of the English Seminar at Munich and Vice President of the Shakespeare Gesellschaft, is the author of important studies of Shakespeare's imagery. In 1953 he was Visiting Professor at Columbia University.

DR. MILTON CRANE, author of *Shakespeare's Prose*, has resigned from the Department of English at the University of Chicago to enter the service of the Federal Government in Washington, D.C.

PROFESSOR ALAN S. DOWNER of Princeton University is spending the academic year 1953-54 in Denmark on a Fulbright Fellowship.

PROFESSOR FRANCIS R. JOHNSON, graduate of West Point and erstwhile Rhodes Scholar, has taught for many years at Stanford University. He is the author of *A Critical Bibliography of Edmund Spenser* and several books dealing with scientific thought in the sixteenth century.

LUDWIG W. KAHN is Professor of German in the City College, New York.

PROFESSOR ROY F. MONTGOMERY is a member of the English Department of the University of Tennessee.

KENNETH MUIR, after graduating from Oxford and teaching for fourteen years at Leeds University, became in 1951 King Alfred Professor at the University of Liverpool. He has edited the poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt and the new Arden editions of *Macbeth* and *King Lear*.

THOMAS MARC PARROTT, Professor Emeritus of Princeton, and member of the Advisory Board of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, continues as actively as before his retirement.

A Keats specialist and a member of the Editorial Board of the *Keats-Shelley Journal*, WILLARD B. POPE is Frederick Corse Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Vermont. His studies in Shakespeare began under Ristine at Hamilton College and continued under Kittredge at Harvard.

PROFESSOR HEREWARD T. PRICE, who retired several years ago from his post at the University of Michigan, holds a special professorship this year at Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin, is a member of the Advisory Board of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, and is engaged in editing *Titus Andronicus* for the Variorum Shakespeare.

H. C. SCHULZ is Curator of Manuscripts at the Henry E. Huntington Library and author of many studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

GEORGE WINCHESTER STONE, JR., Professor of English at George Washington

University, lectured in the summer of 1953 at Washington State College. A Garrick specialist, he is one of the editors of the forthcoming history of the London stage.

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR, Professor Emeritus of the University of North Carolina, lives in academic retirement in Columbia, South Carolina.

DR. ROGER J. TRIENENS, whose doctoral dissertation at Northwestern University, "The Green-Eyed Monster," dealt with sexual jealousy in Elizabethan literature, remarks that anyone interested in Renaissance symbolism will find in this field that things get curiöser and curiöser. He is at the University of Michigan preparing for a library career.

PROFESSOR EDWARD P. VANDIVER, JR., of Furman University, has been engaged in a study of the influence of Shakespeare on American novelists of the nineteenth century.

Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography for 1953

SIDNEY THOMAS, *Editor*

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HE following bibliography, which includes only works directly relating to Shakespeare, attempts to list all items of interest to the scholar, the actor and producer, and the general reader. A number of books and articles which may be of use to those concerned with Shakespeare have therefore been included, even though they do not represent original contributions to knowledge or criticism. Such items, however, as journalistic reviews of productions or books, or brief popular articles, have generally been omitted. New printings of previously issued editions or studies are not listed unless there has been substantial revision or expansion. An exception to this rule has been made for foreign countries, where re-issues of editions and translations are significant indications of a continuing interest in Shakespeare. All reviews have been grouped under the books they deal with, even if these books have been included in previous bibliographies. In such instances, however, the description of the book has been given in short form. The year 1953 is always to be understood, if no other year is specifically mentioned.

The annotations are designed to indicate the subject matter or argument of the items listed. In no sense are they intended as criticisms of the books or articles which they explain. Certain significant articles are not annotated because their titles sufficiently indicate their content. The length of the annotation is also no guide to the importance of the item. Some items are listed without annotation because they have not yet become available here.

The editor wishes to thank the members of the staffs of the Queens College Library, the Columbia University Library, and the New York Public Library for their many courtesies. The distinguished scholars from many countries who have cooperated in the preparation of this bibliography have contributed greatly towards broadening its scope and increasing its usefulness.

The editor would appreciate receiving copies of books, and offprints of articles and reviews dealing with Shakespeare, in order to insure as complete a coverage of the field as possible.

The following abbreviations have been regularly used:

E.C.	— <i>Essays in Criticism</i>	PMLA	— <i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
J.E.G.P.	— <i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>	R.E.S.	— <i>Review of English Studies</i>
M.L.N.	— <i>Modern Language Notes</i>	S.-J.	— <i>Shakespeare-Jahrbuch</i>
M.L.Q.	— <i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>	S.N.L.	— <i>Shakespeare Newsletter</i>
M.L.R.	— <i>Modern Language Review</i>	S.P.	— <i>Studies in Philology</i>
M.P.	— <i>Modern Philology</i>	SQ	— <i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
N. & Q.	— <i>Notes and Queries</i>	S.S.	— <i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
	T.L.S.		— <i>Times Literary Supplement</i>

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Contains, in addition to numerous articles (for which, see separate listings), a section of "International Notes" on Sh. studies and productions in various countries, and a listing of "Shakespeare Productions in the United Kingdom: 1951."
Rev. in *T.L.S.*, May 8, p. 303; by S. F. Johnson in *SQ*, IV, 181-185; in *The Listener*, May 14, pp. 809, 811.
18. Orsini, Napoleone. "Stato attuale della filologia shakespeariana," *Paideia* (Arona), VIII, No. 3 (May-June), pp. 153-176.
Important trends and achievements in Sh. textual studies are discussed.
- 18a. Shakespeare Memorial Library. "Shakespeare Productions in the United Kingdom, 1951," *S.S.* 6, pp. 126-128.
A list compiled from the records in the Shakespeare Memorial Library, Birmingham.
19. Stroedel, Wolfgang. "Theaterschau," *S.-J.*, Vol. 89, pp. 173-177.
Surveys recent Sh. productions in Germany.
20. Talbert, E. W. (ed.) and William Wells (ed. for English studies). "Recent Literature of the Renaissance," *S.P.*, L, 231-246.
Sh. bibl. on pp. 266-281.
21. Thomas, Sidney (ed.). "Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography for 1952," *SQ*, IV, 219-254.

COLLECTIONS, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS

22. *Complete Works*, ed. by Peter Alexander (The Tudor Shakespeare). London, 1952.
Rev. by G. Bullough in *M.L.R.*, XLVIII, 332-333.
23. *Complete Works* (4 volumes). London: Nonesuch Press. Coronation Edition. Pp. 1081; dix + 1199; ix + 1473; [2] + xvi + 249.
Text prepared by Herbert Farjeon (based on the Lee facsimile of the First Folio, with marginal additions from the good quartos, and complete reprintings of the bad quartos). Introductory material by Ivor Brown.
Rev. by John Crow in *The Listener*, June 25, pp. 1063, 1065; in *T.L.S.*, July 3, p. 428; by W. R. Davies in *Saturday Night*, July 11, pp. 16-17.
- 23a. *Comedies, Histories, Tragedies* (Everyman's Library): 3 vols. London: Dent. Pp. viii + 848; vi + 888; vi + 982.
The text is that of Clark and Wright's Cambridge Shakespeare with a few minor alterations.
24. *Collected Works*, tr. into Japanese by Shôyô Tsubouchi. Tokyo: Sôgen-sha, 1952. Pp. [vi] + [1347].
25. This is a one-volume reprint of the 40-vol. edition published first in 1907-1928 and re-issued with revisions in 1933-1935. Commentary and notes adapted by Shigetoshi Kawatake (pp. 1281-1324) from those of the 40-vol. ed. Appendices: Life and works of Shakespeare, by Tadaichi Hidaka, pp. 1327-1334; Shakespeare plays and actors, by Shikô Tsubouchi, pp. 1335-1341; Shôyô Tsubouchi in relation to Shakespeare, by Hisao Homma, pp. 1342-1346.
- 24a. *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. T. Henshaw. London: Ginn. Pp. xc + 250.
25. *As You Like It*. London: Folio Society. Pp. 95.
Contains an introduction by Peter Brook and eight designs of "décor and costumes" by Salvador Dalí.
26. *Coriolano*, tr. into Italian by Cesare Vico Lodovici. Torino: Piccola Biblioteca Scientifico Letteraria, G. Einaudi. Pp. 192.
27. *Hamlet: A Tragedy Adapted from Shakespeare (1770)* by Jean François Ducis, ed. by Mary B. Vanderhoof. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 97, no. 1, February. Pp. 55, double columns.

- Rev. by H. Carrington Lancaster in *SQ*, IV, 470-471.
28. *Amleto*, tr. into Italian by Luigi Squarzina. With an Introduction by Silvio D'Amico and directions for the stage by Vittorio Gassman and Luigi Squarzina. Bologna-Rocca San Casciano: Tipografia Licineo Cappelli. Pp. 293.
- 28a. *Hamlet, Prins av Danmark*, tr. into Swedish by Sven Rosin. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Fornted och nutid, 1952. Pp. 330.
- 28b. *Henry IV, Pt. 1*, ed. J. J. Hogan (Malone Shakespeare series). Dublin: Browne and Nolan. Pp. 176.
29. *Henry VI, Parts I, II, and III*, ed. by J. Dover Wilson (New Shakespeare). Cambridge Univ. Press, 1952.
- Rev. by Andrew S. Cairncross in *R.E.S.*, New Series, IV, 157-160; by G. Blakemore Evans in *SQ*, IV, 84-92.
- 29a. *Julius Caesar and the Life of William Shakespeare*. Introduction by John Gielgud. London: Gawthorn. Pp. 224.
- Published as a supplement to the M.G.M. film version. The Life of Shakespeare is anonymous.
30. *Julius Caesar*, ed. D. R. Gupta. Chandausi: G. B. Bhargava & Sons, n. d. Pp. [iv] + 387.
- Introduction, notes, paraphrases. Questions with answers.
31. *King Lear*, ed. by G. I. Duthie. Oxford, 1949.
- Rev. by Robert Fricker in *English Studies*, XXXIV, 178-181.
32. *King Lear*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (Arden Edition). Harvard Univ. Press, 1952.
- Rev. by T. M. Parrott in *J.E.G.P.*, LII, 409-416; by Fredson Bowers in *SQ*, IV, 471-477; by Alice Walker in *R.E.S.*, New Series, IV, 376-377; in *The Listener*, May 14, pp. 901, 903.
33. *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by Richard David (Arden Edition). Harvard Univ. Press, 1952.
- Rev. by T. M. Parrott in *J.E.G.P.*, LII, 404-409.
34. *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by G. B. Harison (The Penguin Shakespeare). London: Penguin Books. Pp. 128.
35. *Macbeth*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (Arden Edition). London, 1951.
- Rev. by Richard Flatter in *S.-J.*, Vol. 89, pp. 207-212.
- 35a. *Phönix und Taube*, tr. by Heinrich Straumann. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag.
- 35b. [Poems] *Shakespeare's Earliest Poems, in Approximately Chronological Order*, ed. A. W. Titherley. Winchester: Warren. Pp. viii + 78.
- 35c. *Richard III*. Acting edition. London: S. French. Pp. 116.
- 35d. *The Tragedy of Richard the Third*, ed. G. B. Harrison (Penguin Shakespeare). London: Penguin Books. Pp. 159.
36. *I Colloqui di Giulietta e Romeo nella Tragedia di Guglielmo Shakespeare*, ed. and tr. into Italian by Luigi Motterle. Bari: Società Editrice Tipografica. Pp. 52.
- 36a. *Sonetter*. Tolkning av Eva von Koch. Göteborg, 1951. Pp. 46.
- Translations into Swedish of 15 of the Sonnets.
37. *Sonnet 71*, tr. into Spanish by Eduardo San Martin, *SQ*, IV, 486.
38. Schröder, Rudolf A. "Shakespeares Sturm Akt V in deutscher Übersetzung," *S.-J.*, Vol. 89, pp. 5-17.
39. *La Tempesta*, tr. into Italian by Cesare Vico Lodovici. Torino: Piccola Biblioteca Scientifico-Letteraria, G. Einaudi. Pp. 126.
40. *Titus Andronicus*, ed. by J. C. Maxwell (Arden Edition). London: Methuen. Pp. xlii + 129.
41. *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by Harold N. Hillebrand and T. W. Baldwin (New Variorum). Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. Pp. xix + 613.
- Rev. by M. A. Shaaber in *SQ*, IV, 171-181; in *T.L.S.*, July 3, p. 428.
42. *Venus and Adonis*, testo criticamente riveduto e commentato, saggio di una interpretazione e versione italiana a fronte di Gabriele Baldini. Parma: Guanda, 1952. Pp. xx + 199.
- Includes also Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES RELATING TO SHAKESPEARE

43. Abend, Murray. "More Allusions to Shakespeare in Beaumont and Fletcher," *N. & Q.*, Vol. 198, No. 5 (May), pp. 191-192.
Finds reminiscences of *Hamlet* in *The Scornful Lady*, *A Wife for a Month*, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *The Loyal Subject*, and esp. *Monsieur Thomas*.
44. Adams, Robert M. "Trompe-L'Œil in Shakespeare and Keats," *Sewanee Review*, LXI, 238-255.
Discusses passages in which Sh. "violates the esthetic frame by calling attention to it in order to belittle the esthetic act and thereby create the effects of depth and distance."
45. Arthos, John. "Pericles, Prince of Tyre: A Study in the Dramatic Use of Romantic Narrative," *SQ*, IV, 257-270.
Discusses the construction of the play in the light of its source material.
- 45a. Austin, E. W. *The Shakespeare Tour, from London to Warwick, Stratford, and Oxford* (Master Guides). London: J. C. Henderson. Pp. 89.
46. Babb, Lawrence. *The Elizabethan Malady*. Michigan State College Press, 1951.
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47. Babcock, Weston. "Macbeth's 'Cream-Fac'd Loone,'" *SQ*, IV, 199-202.
Sees Macbeth's outburst against the servant who brings him news of the English forces' approach as embodying Sh.'s characteristic "rush of eager associations."
48. Baldini, Gabriele. "Atti pigri e corte parole. Un Belacqua shakespeariano," *Belfagor* (Florence), VIII, No. 3 (May 31), pp. 324-330.
Discusses Barnadine of *Measure*.
49. Baldini, Gabriele. "La critica teatrale shakespeariana e l'aggiornamento del gusto," *Letteratura Moderna* (Milan), III, No. 6 (Nov.-Dec., 1952), pp. 711-719.
Discusses reasons for the frequent mistakes in the emendation of Sh. texts, with examples.
50. Baldini, Gabriele. "Shakespeariana: di una lezione poco nota in *Macbeth*, V, v, 23, secondo in folio," *Convivium* (Turin), 1952, No. 6, pp. 896-904.
51. Ball, Robert H. "Shakespeare in One Reel," *Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television*, VIII, 139-149.
Surveys the early period of Shakespeare films.
52. Bamborough, J. B. *The Little World of Man*. London: Longmans, Green, 1952. Pp. 187.
A manual of Elizabethan psychology, which interprets certain passages of Sh. (among others) in terms of Elizabethan beliefs.
Rev. by M. Poirier in *Etudes Anglaises*, VI, 152-153.
53. Banke, Cécile de. *Shakespearean Stage Production: Then & Now*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Pp. xviii + 342.
A guide for the producer and director.
Rev. by Hubert Heffner in *SQ*, IV, 477-479.
54. Barker, George. "William Shakespeare and the Horse with Wings," *Partisan Review*, XX, 410-420.
55. Barnett, Alan W. "Stafford's Girth: Compass of Imagery," *Univ. of Kansas City Review*, XIX (1952), 51-56.
56. Barton, Margaret. *Garrick*. London, 1948.
Rev. by Richard Flatter in *S.-J.*, Vol. 89, pp. 204-207.
57. Bateson, F. W. "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," *E. C.*, III, 1-27.
Discusses, as one among a number of examples of "critical irresponsibility," Empson's analysis of Sonnet 73.
Comment by W. Empson, reply by F. W. Bateson, further comment by W. Empson, in *E. C.*, III, 357-363.
58. Baum, Bernard. "Tempest and Hairy Ape: The Literary Incarnation of Mythos," *M.L.Q.*, XIV, 258-273.
Sh.'s world one of a rational principle of order, as contrasted with the dynamic world of O'Neill's "naturalistic mythos."
59. Bennett, Josephine W. "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes," *SQ*, IV, 3-9.
Polonius' speech, drawn from Isocrates, would strike the Eliz. audience as "a familiar and conventional

- set of wise saws . . . schoolboy wisdom . . ." Polonius not a caricature of Burleigh.
- 59a. Bentley, Eric. "Doing Shakespeare Wrong," *Perspectives*, No. 3 (Spring), pp. 97-109.
60. Bergmann, Fredrick L. "Shakespeare in Indiana: A Report on the 'Shakespeare Meeting' of the Indiana College English Association," *SQ*, IV, 337-341.
61. Berryman, John. "Shakespeare at Thirty," *Hudson Review*, VI, 175-203.
62. Blair, Frederick G. "Shakespeare's Bear 'Sackerson'," *N. & Q.*, Vol. 198, No. 12 (Dec.), pp. 514-515.
The name derived from John Sackerson of Nantwich.
63. Bland, D. S. "The Heroine and the Sea: An Aspect of Shakespeare's Last Plays," *E.C.*, III, 39-44.
"The storm in [the] later plays . . . not only the symbol of tragedy . . . [but] it also becomes an agent in the process of rebirth."
64. Bluestone, Max. "An Anti-Jewish Pun in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III.i.97," *N. & Q.*, Vol. 198, No. 8 (Aug.), pp. 325-329.
Argues that "juvenal" in this line should be read "Jew, venal".
65. Bowden, William R. *The English Dramatic Lyric, 1603-1642*. Yale Univ. Press, 1952.
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66. Bowers, Fredson. "A Definitive Text of Shakespeare: Problems and Methods," in Matthews and Emery (ed.), *Studies in Shakespeare*, 11-29.
67. Bowers, Fredson. "A Note on *Hamlet*, I.v.33 and II.ii.181," *SQ*, IV, 51-56.
A textual note.
68. Bowers, Fredson. "The Problem of the Variant Forms in a Facsimile Edition," *Library*, Fifth Series, VII, 262-272.
69. Bowers, Fredson (ed.) *Studies in Bibliography*, V. Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1952. Pp. [xii] + [238].
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70. Bowers, R. H. "An Existentialist Shakespeare," *N. & Q.*, Vol. 198, No. 1 (Jan.), pp. 22-23.
- Discusses Goffredo Quadri's *Shakespeare e la Maturità della Coscienza Tragica* (Firenze, 1947).
71. Bowers, R. H. "A New Shakespeare Allusion," *SQ*, IV, 362.
Misquotation of Sh. for comic effect in a ms. farce of the late 17th cent., *The Merry Loungers*.
72. Bowers, R. H. "Polonius: Another Postscript," *SQ*, IV, 362-363.
Comments on Josephine W. Bennett's article, "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes" (q.v.) and revives Gollancz's suggestion that the name Polonius was created by Sh. in reference to a Polish writer on public affairs, Goslicius.
73. Boyd, Catharine B. "The Isolation of Antigone and Lady Macbeth," *Classical Journal*, XLVII (1952), 174-177, 203.
74. Bracy, William. *The Merry Wives of Windsor: The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text*. Columbia, Mo., 1952.
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75. Bradbrook, M. C. *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1952.
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- 75a. Bransom, Laura. *The Living Shakespeare, Book 4*. Illustrated by Molly Wilson. London: Newnes. Pp. 176.
Much Ado, 1 *Henry IV*, *Hamlet* retold in prose.
- 75b. Bransom, Laura. *The Living Shakespeare, Book 5*. Illustrated by Molly Wilson. London: Newnes. Pp. 160.
2 *Henry IV*, *Richard III*, *Henry VIII* retold in prose.
- 75c. Bransom, Laura. *The Living Shakespeare. Teachers' Companions*. 5 vols. London: Newnes. Pp. 47; 45; 44; 44; 37.
76. Brennecke, Ernest. "Nay, That's Not Next: The Significance of Desdemona's 'Willow Song,'" *SQ*, IV, 35-38.
Sh.'s changes in the old ballad and his dramatic use of it "comprise one of his most astonishing feats in dramaturgy."
77. Brennecke, Ernest. "What shall he have that killed the deer?" A Note

- on Shakespeare's Lyric and its Music," *Musical Times*, XCIII (1952), 347-351.
78. Bridges-Adams, W. "The Lost Leader," *The Listener*, July 30, pp. 173-175. An appreciation of H. Granville-Barker, with particular attention to his Sh. productions.
79. Brock-Sulzer, Elisabeth. "Shakespeare-Pflege am Schauspielhaus Zürich," *S.-J.*, Vol. 89, pp. 162-172.
80. Brother Baldwin Peter, F.S.C. "Hamlet and *In Paradisum*," *SQ*, IV, 209. Corrects a statement in his note in *SQ*, III, 279.
81. Brown, Huntington. "Enter the Shakespearean Tragic Hero," *E. C.*, III, 285-302.
- The sympathy we feel for one group of Sh.'s tragic heroes, and the lack of sympathy we feel for another group, due to the method of dramatic portraiture used.
82. Brown, John Russell. "On the Acting of Shakespeare's Plays," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXXIX, 477-484. Argues that "formalism on the stage was fast dying out in Shakespeare's age, and that a new naturalism was a kindling spirit in his theatre."
- 82a. Browning, D. C. (ed.). *Everyman's Dictionary of Shakespeare Quotations*. London: Dent. Pp. 576.
83. Brunner, Karl. "Middle-Class Attitudes in Shakespeare's Histories," *S.S.* 6, pp. 36-38.
- Stresses Sh.'s middle-class predilection for peace and order.
- 83a. Buck, Eva. "Vier Zeilen von Shakespeare in berühmten französischen und deutschen Uebersetzungen," *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. Neueren Sprachen*, Bd. 190, Heft 1-2, Oct., pp. 21-32.
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- 84a. Burke, Kenneth. "Antony in Behalf of the Play," *Perspectives*, No. 5 (Autumn), pp. 111-122.
85. Calendoli, Giovanni. "Il *Macbeth* di Orazio Costa," *Teatro Scenario* (Milan), New Series, V, No. 4 (Feb. 16-28), p. 12.
- Discusses a production of the play in the Teatro delle Arti, Rome.
86. Campbell, O. J. *Comical Satyre and Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida*. San Marino, Calif. 1938.
- Rev. by Richard Flatter in *S.-J.*, Vol. 89, pp. 200-202.
87. Capocci, Valentina. *Genio e Mestiere*. Bari, 1950.
- Rev. by Gabriele Baldini in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), April, pp. 490, 500.
88. Carrère, F. "La Conception Shakespeareenne du Tragique et le drame d'Othello," *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse*, December, 1952, pp. 77-85.
- 88a. Carter, F. A. *More Haywire Shakespeare*. London: French.
- Verse accounts of six plays: *Dream, Antony, Richard III, Macbeth, Othello*, and *Tempest*.
89. Cazamian, Louis. *The Development of English Humor*. Duke Univ. Press, 1952.
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90. Chang Chen-Hsien. "Shakespeare in China," *S.S.* 6, pp. 112-116.
- On the difficulties of translating Sh. into Chinese.
91. Chillemi, Guglielmo. "Lorenzaccio, Amleto romantico," *Teatro Scenario* (Milan), New Series, V, No. 12 (June 16-30), pp. 44-45.
- Sh.'s influence on Alfred de Musset's *Lorenzaccio*.
- 91a. Chute, Marchette. *Shakespeare and his Stage* (Pathfinder Library). University of London Press. Pp. 128.
- For children.
92. Clemen, Wolfgang H. "Anticipation and Foreboding in Shakespeare's Early Histories," *S.S.* 6, pp. 25-35.
93. Clemen, W. H. *The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery*. London, 1951.
- Rev. by Lillian Haddakin in *M.L.R.*, XLVIII, 202-204; by O. J. Campbell in *M.L.N.*, LXVIII, 50-51.
94. Clemen, W. H. *Wandlung des Botenberichts bei Shakespeare* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1952, Heft 4). Munich, 1952.
95. Cohen, Hennig. "Shakespeare in

- Charleston on the Eve of the Revolution," *SQ*, IV, 327-330.
96. Colafelice, Franco L. "Shakespeare in Italia," *Insegnare* (Rome), VIII, No. 11 (Nov.), pp. 25-30.
Argues that Sh. was in Italy.
97. Cook, Albert. "Metaphysical Poetry and Measure for Measure," *Accent*, XIII, 122-127.
Finds a strong influence of the terms and concepts of formal logic in the play.
- 97a. Craik, T. W. "Much Ado about Nothing," *Scrutiny*, XIX, 297-316.
- 97b. Crosse, Gordon. *Shakespearean Playgoing, 1890-1952; Illustrated from the Raymond Mandes and Joe Mitchenson Theatre Collection*. London: Mowbray. Pp. 164. Plates.
- 97c. Cruttwell, Patrick. *The Shakespearean Moment*. London: Chatto and Winders. Pp. 256.
Examines the late sixteenth-century revolution in subject and style headed by Shakespeare and Donne.
- 97d. Dale, Celia. *The Wooden O: a Novel*. London: Cape. Pp. 255.
98. Danby, John F. *Poets on Fortune's Hill*. London, 1952.
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99. Davenport, A. "Notes on King Lear," *N. & Q.*, Vol. 198, No. 1 (Jan.), pp. 20-22.
II.i.56; II.iv.89; III.iv.85 sqq.; III.vi.9 sqq.; IV.i.10.
100. Davenport, A. "Shakespeare and Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*," *N. & Q.*, Vol. 198, No. 9 (Sept.), pp. 371-374.
Finds reminiscences of Nashe's work in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*.
101. Davenport, A. "Shakespeare's Sonnet 51 Again," *N. & Q.*, Vol. 198, No. 1 (Jan.), pp. 15-16.
Argues against retaining "naigh" in l. 11.
102. David, Richard. "Shakespeare's History Plays—Epic or Drama?" *S.S.* 6, pp. 129-139.
Discusses 1951 productions of *R. II*, 1 and 2 *H. IV*, and *H. V*. at the Sh. Memorial Theatre in Stratford.
103. Davidson, Levette J. "Shakespeare in the Rockies," *SQ*, IV, 39-49.
Summarizes the history of a century of the reading, production, and criticism of Sh. in the Rocky Mountain region.
104. Davies, Godfrey. "The Huntington Library," *S.S.* 6, pp. 53-63.
A history and description of the collection.
105. Desai, Chintamani N. *Shakespearean Comedy*. (With a Discussion on Comedy, the Comic, and the Sources of Shakespearean Comic Laughter.) Indore City, M. B., India: The Author. Pp. 204.
106. Draper, John W. "Shakespeare and the Lombard Cities," *Rivista di Letteratura Moderna*, IV, 54-58.
107. Draper, John W. *The Othello of Shakespeare's Audience*. Paris: Didier, 1952. Pp. 246.
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108. Draper, John W. *The Twelfth Night of Shakespeare's Audience*. Stanford Univ. Press, 1950.
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109. Dupont, Victor. "Etude des images dans le premier acte de *Measure for Measure*," *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse*, December, 1952, pp. 129-148.
110. Duthie, G. I. *Shakespeare*. London, 1951.
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- 110a. Dyson, H. V. D. "The Emergence of Shakespeare's Tragedy: [40th] Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1950," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXVI, 69-92. London: Cumberlege.
111. Elliott, G. R. *Flaming Minister: A Study of Othello*. Duke University Press. Pp. xxxvi + 245.
112. Ellis-Fermor, Una. "Shakespeare and the Dramatic Mode," *Neophilologus*, XXXVII, 104-112.
Sh. a supreme master of "the true dramatic mode" in which the speech of the characters, convincing and life-like in itself, further reveals the hidden depths of life.

113. Elmen, Paul. "Shakespeare's Gentle Hours," *SQ*, IV, 301-309.
Reference to "howers" in Sonnet 5 suggests classical *Horae* or goddesses of the seasons.
114. Empson, William. "Falstaff and Mr. Dover Wilson," *Kenyon Review*, XV, 213-262.
Argues against Wilson's theory that Sh. originally intended to introduce Falstaff as a comic figure at Agincourt. Falstaff and Prince Hal complex dramatic figures, not embodiments of the Medieval Vice and the Ideal King.
115. Empson, William. "Hamlet When New," *Sewanee Review*, LXI, 15-42, 185-205.
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- 115a. Empson, William and F. W. Bateson. "Bare ruined choirs," *E.C.*, III, 357-363.
116. Evans, B. Ifor. *The Language of Shakespeare's Plays*. London, 1952.
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117. Evans, G. Blakemore. "Thomas Nashe and the 'Dram of Eale,'" *N. & Q.*, Vol. 198, No. 9 (Sept.), pp. 377-378.
Stresses the dependence of the speech in *Hamlet* (Liv.23-38) on Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*.
118. Evans, Maurice. "Metaphor and Symbol in the Sixteenth Century," *E.C.*, III, 267-284.
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119. Feldman, Abraham B. "Othello's Obsessions," *American Imago*, IX (1952), 147-164.
- 119a. Feldman, Abraham B. "Playwrights and Pike-trailers in the Low Countries," *N. & Q.*, vol. 198 (May), 184-187.
Discusses the possibility that Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Will Kemp served there.
120. Feuillerat, Albert. *The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays: Authorship, Chronology*. Yale Univ. Press, Pp. viii + 340.
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- 120a. Field, Arthur. *Recent Discoveries Relating to the Life and Works of William Shakespeare* [new ed.] Southampton: Roy Davis (privately printed). Pp. [i] + 103.
Typescript.
121. Fiocco, Achille. "I rischi del Macbeth," *La Fiera Letteraria*, No. 10 (Mar. 8), p. 8.
122. Flatter, Richard. "Shakespeare, der Schauspieler," *S.-J.*, Vol. 89, pp. 35-50.
123. Fluchère, Henri. *Shakespeare*. London: Longmans, Green. Pp. x + 272.
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INDEX

- Abend, Murray, 43
Adams, Robert M., 44
Alexander, Peter, 22
Antigone, 73
Anti-Stratfordians, 130, 196, 214, 244, 288,
332
Antony and Cleopatra, 24a, 271, 335
Arthos, John, 45
As You Like It, 25, 77, 295
Austin, E. W., 45a
- Babb, Lawrence, 46
Babcock, Weston, 47
Baker, Herschel, 305
Baldini, Gabriele, 42, 48, 49, 50, 87
Baldwin, Peter (*See Brother Baldwin*)
Baldwin, T. W., 41
Ball, Robert H., 51, 209
Bamborough, J. B., 52
Banke, Cécile de, 53
Barker, George, 54
Barnet, Sylvan, 273
Barnett, Alan W., 55
Barraut, J.-L., 142
Barton, Margaret, 56
Bateson, F. W., 57
Baum, Bernard, 58
Beaumont, Francis, 43
Bennett, Josephine W., 59, 72
Bentley, Eric, 59a
Bergmann, Fredrick L., 60
Berryman, John, 61
Bibliothèque Nationale, 1
Blair, Frederick G., 62
Bland, D. S., 63, 116
Bluestone, Max, 64
Bonnard, G. A., 108
Borderers, The, 304
Bowden, William R., 65
Bowers, Fredson, 32, 66, 67, 68, 69, 120
Bowers, R. H., 70, 71, 72
Boyd, Catharine B., 73
Bracy, William, 74
Bradbrook, M. C., 1a, 2, 75
Bradner, Leicester, 305
Branson, Laura, 75a, 75b, 75c
Brennecke, Ernest, 76, 77
Bridges-Adams, W., 78
Brock-Sulzer, E., 79
Brook, Peter, 25
Brother Baldwin Peter, 80
- Brown, Huntington, 81
Brown, Ivor, 23, 217a
Brown, John R., 82
Browning, D. C., 82a
Brunner, Karl, 83, 286
Buck, Eva, 83a
Bullough, G., 22
Burke, Kenneth, 84a
Butcher, Philip, 348
Byrne, M. St. Clare, 84, 159, 211
- Cairncross, Andrew S., 29
Calendoli, Giovanni, 85
Campbell, O. J., 86, 93, 206
Capocci, Valentina, 87
Carrère, F., 88
Carter, A. H., 65, 172
Carter, F. A., 88a
Cazamian, Louis, 89
Chang Chen-Hsien, 90
Charlton, H. B., 265
Chester, Allan G., 3
Chester, Sir Robert, 299
Chillemi, G., 91
Chute, Marchette, 91a
Clemen, Wolfgang, 6, 7, 92, 93, 94
Cleopatra, 271
Cohen, Hennig, 95
Colafélice, F. L., 96
Cole, D. W., 110
Collier, J. P., 270
Conrad, Joseph, 298
Cook, Albert, 97
Coriolanus, 26, 171, 193, 215, 232, 275, 281
Costa, Orazio, 85
Craig, Hardin, 4, 6
Craik, T. W., 97a
Croce, Benedetto, 248
Crosse, Gordon, 97b
Crow, John, 23, 164, 197
Crutwell, Patrick, 97c
Cymbeline, 185, 260a
- Dali, Salvador, 25
D'Amico, Silvio, 28
Danby, John F., 98, 296
Daniel, Samuel, 271
Davenport, A., 99, 100, 101
David, Richard, 33, 102
Davidson, Levette J., 103

- Davies, Godfrey, 104
 Davies, John, 124
 Davies, W. Robertson, 145
 Dawson, Giles E., 244
 Dekker, Thomas, 238, 294
 Derby, Earl of, 130, 196, 288
 Desai, Chintamani N., 105
Display of Heraldry, 124
 Don John of Austria, 220
 Draper, John W., 106, 107, 108
 Du Bartas, Guillaume Salluste, 330
 Ducis, Jean François, 27
 Dupont, Victor, 109
 Duthie, G. I., 31, 110
 Dyson, H. V. D., 110a
- Edward III*, 233
 Edwards, Philip, 69
 Eliot, John, 202
 Eliot, T. S., 123
 Elliott, G. R., 111
 Ellis-Fermor, Una, 112
 Elmen, Paul, 113
 Emery, Clark M., 213
 Empson, William, 57, 114, 115, 115a
 Evans, B. Ifor, 116
 Evans G. Blakemore, 29, 117
 Evans, M. Blakemore, 207
 Evans, Maurice, 118
- Faithful Shepherdess, The*, 43
 Feldman, Abraham B., 119, 119a
 Felheim, Marvin, 174
 Feuillerat, Albert, 120
 Field, Arthur, 120a
 Field, Richard, 185
 Finch, Henry, 208
 Fiocco, Achille, 121
 Flatter, Richard, 35, 56, 86, 122, 199
 Fletcher, John, 43, 246
 Fluchère, Henri, 123
 Foakes, R. A., 305
 Fox, Charles O., 124
 Fox, Levi, 124a
 Fredén, G., 124b
 Fricker, Robert, 5, 31, 125
 Frye, Northrop, 126, 127
 Frye, Roland M., 128, 129
- Galland, Joseph S., 130
 Gardner, W. H., 130a
 Garrick, David, 56, 137a
 Gassman, Vittorio, 28, 131
 George, Louise W., 135
- Gielgud, John, 29a
 Gilbert, Allan, 132
 Glover, A. S. B., 132a
 Goddard, Harold C., 133
 Goethe, J. W., 186
 Goffe, Thomas, 243
 Gollancz, I., 72
 Gombosi, Otto, 134
 Gordon, D. J., 337
 Goslicius, 72
 Graham, Cary B., 136
 Granville-Barker, H., 78
 Green, Andrew J., 137
 Greene, Godfrey, 137a
 Greer, C. A., 138, 139, 140
 Greg, Sir W. W., 74, 141
 Griffin, Alice V., 142, 143
 Gupta, D. R., 30, 144
 Guthrie, Tyrone, 145, 146
 Gwynn, Frederick L., 147
- Haddakin, Lillian, 93
Hairy Ape, The, 58
 Hallberg, P., 147a
 Halliday, F. E., 148
 Hamilton, Guy, 123
Hamlet, 27, 28, 28a, 43, 59, 67, 72, 80, 100, 115, 117, 131, 137, 142, 143, 147, 147a, 158, 167, 177, 182, 207, 210, 211, 237, 241, 243, 251, 258, 277, 289, 291, 298, 334, 347
 Hammelmann, H. A., 148a
 Hammerle, Karl, 148b
 Hardy, Barbara, 149
 Hardy, Thomas, 147
 Harrison, G. B., 34, 35d, 150, 151
 Heffner, Hubert, 53, 236
 Heilman, Robert B., 152, 153, 337
 Heninger, S. K., Jr., 154
Henry IV, Pt. 1, 28b, 294, 314
Henry IV, Pt. 2, 201, 334
Henry IV, 55, 102, 114, 139, 140, 314
Henry V, 102, 132, 139
Henry VI, 29, 175
Henry VIII, 246, 355b
 Henshaw, T., 24a
Hero and Leander, 42, 220
 Heuer, Hermann, 6, 7, 8, 155
 Hidaka, Tadaichi, 24
 Hillebrand, Harold N., 41
 Hinman, Charlton, 156
 Hodgart, M. J. C., 156a
 Hodges, C. Walter, 157
 Hoepfner, Theodore C., 158
 Hogan, Charles B., 159
 Hogan, J. J., 28b
 Holinshed, R., 329

- Holland, P., 230
 Holloway, John, 159a
 Holzknecht, Karl J., 89
 Homma, Hisao, 24
 Hook, Lucyle, 160
 Hoppe, Harry, 332
 Hosley, Richard, 161, 162
 Hotson, Leslie, 163, 164
 Houseman, John, 165, 166, 166a
 Howarth, R. G., 167
 Hubler, Edward, 168
 Huhner, Max, 169
 Hunter, G. K., 170, 171
 Huntington Library, Henry E., 104
 Hyde, Mary C., 9, 172
- Illustrium Poetarum Flores*, 326
 Ing, Catherine, 173
In Paradisum, 80
 Irving, Henry, 174
 Irving, Laurence, 174
 Isocrates, 59
- Jackson, Sir Barry, 175
 James, D. G., 176
 Janaro, Richard P., 177
 Jeffares, A. N., 318
 Jenkins, Harold, 89, 178
 Jepsen, Laura, 179
 John, Don, of Austria, 220
 Johnson, F. R., 347
 Johnson, Samuel, 225, 298a
 Johnson, S. F., 17
 Johnson, W. Stacy, 180
 Jones, Joseph, 89
 Jones, Margo, 180a
 Jorgensen, Paul A., 181
 Joseph, Bertram, 182, 183
Julius Caesar, 29a, 30, 84a, 143, 165, 166, 166a, 193, 238, 257, 261, 306, 328, 335a
- Kane, Robert J., 184, 185
 Kaufman, Walter, 186
 Kawatake, Shigetoshi, 24
 Keats, John, 44
 Kemp, T. C., 187
 Kermod, Frank, 16, 268
 Kernan, Joseph, 188
 Kerr, S. Parnell, 189
 Kindervater, Jos. Wilh., 10
King Lear, 31, 32, 99, 234, 252a, 253, 259, 334, 346
 Kirschbaum, Leo, 144
 Kloten, Edgar L., 190
 Knight, G. Wilson, 191, 192
- Knights, L. C., 176, 193
 Koch, Eva von, 36a
 Kocher, Paul H., 194
 Kökeritz, Helge, 195
 Koszul, A., 16, 125, 240
 Kreider, Paul V., 46
- Lambin, G., 196
 Lancaster, H. Carrington, 27
 Lascelles, Mary, 197
 Law, Robert A., 198
 Leech, Clifford, 11, 74, 199, 200, 201
 Lefranc, Abel, 288
 Lever, J. W., 202
 Liljegren, S. B., 107, 108
 LoBue, Francesco, 235
 Lodge, Thomas, 295
 Lodovici, C. V., 26, 39
 London, 45a
 Long, John H., 203
 Longworth-Chambrun, C., 204
 Loper, Robert B., 205
Love's Labour's Lost, 33, 34, 278
Loyal Subject, The, 43
 Lucas, F. L., 206
 Lüthi, Hans J., 207
 Lyons, Clifford P., 333
- Maas, P., 208
Macbeth, 35, 47, 50, 73, 84, 85, 100, 121, 128, 137a, 216, 223, 254, 255, 274, 319, 336
 Macdonald, Angus, 12
 Macdonald, Grant, 145
 MacLiammóir, Micheál, 209
 Madariaga, S. de, 210
 Magni, Eva, 239
 Mander, R., 211
 Marder, Louis, 13, 212
Margarite of America, A, 295
 Marlowe, Christopher, 42, 220, 247, 280, 349
 Marston, John, 243
 Martin, Eduardo San, 37
 Matthews, Arthur D., 213
 Maurice, Martin, 214
 Maxwell, Baldwin, 172
 Maxwell, J. C., 40, 215, 216, 217, 290
 McBean, Angus, 217a
 McCullen, Joseph T., Jr., 218
 McCurdy, Harold G., 219
 McManaway, James G., 14, 148, 352
 McNeal, Thomas H., 220
 McNeir, Waldo F., 221
Measure for Measure, 48, 97, 109, 196, 197, 301, 324, 350

- Merchant of Venice, The*, 136, 303
Merry Loungers, The, 71
Merry Wives of Windsor, The, 74
Midsummer-Night's Dream, A, 64, 154, 223, 302
 Miller, Edwin H., 223
 Milner, R. H., 224
 Mitchenson, J., 211
 Monaghan, T. J., 225
 Money, John, 226
 Monsey, Derek, 227
Monsieur Thomas, 43
 Moore, Olin H., 228
 Moore, Robert E., 229
 Morris, Christopher, 229a
 Motterle, Luigi, 36
Much Ado About Nothing, 97a, 220, 268
 Muir, Kenneth, 32, 35, 164, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 343
 Murry, John Middleton, 235
 Musset, Alfred de, 91

 Nagler, A. M., 236
 Nashe, Thomas, 100, 117, 353
 Nathan, Norman, 237, 238
 Nicholson, Joseph, 239
 Nicoll, Allardyce, 15, 16, 17, 159, 240, 297
 Norman, Sylva, 241
 North, Thomas, 232
 Noyes, Robert G., 242

 O'Donnell, Norbert F., 243
 Ogburn, Charlton, 244
 Ogburn, Dorothy, 244
 O'Neill, Eugene, 58
 Oppel, Horst, 245
 Oras, Ants, 246, 247
Orestes, 243
 Orsini, Napoleone, 18, 248
Ortho-epia Gallica, 202
Otello, 188
Othello, 76, 88, 107, 111, 119, 143, 152, 153, 188, 209, 226, 230, 300, 312, 320, 334, 348
 Otsuka, Takanobu, 249, 250
 Oxford, Edward de Vere, Earl of, 244
 Oxford, 45a

 Pandolfi, Vito, 251
 Pargeter, Edith, 251a
 Parks, Edd W., 252
 Parr, Johnstone, 252a
 Parrott, T. M., 32, 33, 144, 253, 288
 Parsons, Howard, 253a, 254, 255
 Partridge, A. C., 256
 Pasinetti, P. M., 257

Passionate Pilgrim, The, 124
 Patrick, J. Max, 258
 Pauncz, Arpad, 259
 Pearce, Josephine A., 260
 Peery, William, 15
Pericles, 45, 184, 343
 Pettit, Henry J., Jr., 12
 Phillips, George L., 260a
 Phillips, James E., 261
Phoenix and the Turtle, The, 35a, 321
Pierce Penilesse, 100, 117
 Pliny, 230
 Plutarch, 232, 322
 Poel, William, 205
Poems, 35b
 Poirier, M., 52, 98, 116
 Prange, Gerda, 262
 Praz, Mario, 263
 Presson, Robert K., 264
 Price, H. T., 110, 265, 266
 Prince, F. T., 98
Prometheus Unbound, 323
 Prouty, Charles T., 228, 267, 268
 Putney, Rufus, 268a

 Quadri, Goffredo, 70
 Quayle, Anthony, 269

 Race, Sydney, 270, 270a
Rape of Lucrece, The, 326
 Raynor, Henry, 270b
 Rees, Joan, 271
 Reese, M. M., 272, 272a
 Reik, Theodor, 273
Return of the Native, 147
 Reynolds, George F., 151
 Ribner, Irving, 274, 275
 Ricci, Renzo, 239
Richard II, 138, 329, 330
Richard III, 35c, 35d, 282, 334
 Ridley, M. R., 276
 Ringler, William, 277
 Roesen, Bobbyann, 278
 Rogers, Carmen, 279
 Röhrman, H., 280
Romeo and Juliet, 36, 161, 162, 221, 228, 310, 345
 Rosati, Salvator, 281
 Rosén, Sven, 28a
 Rosenfeld, Sybil, 315
 Roth, Cecil, 282
 Ruegg, August, 283
 Rylands, George, 284, 285

 Sackerson, John, 62

- Schilling, Kurt, 286
 Schmitt, Saladin, 287
 Schoell, F. L., 288
 Schreiber, Flora R., 289
 Schröder, Rudolf A., 38
Scornful Lady, The, 43
 Sehr, Ernst T., 290
 Semper, I. J., 291, 292
 Sen, N. B., 293
 Seronsy, Cecil C., 294, 295
 Sewell, Arthur, 296
 Shaaber, Matthias A., 3, 41, 75
 Shakespeare, William
 Acting, 56, 82, 183, 315
 Allusions to, 71, 242
 Apocryphal plays, 252
 Children in, 270b
 Dances in, 262
 Films, 51, 143, 165, 166, 166a, 209, 257, 335a
 General criticism, 44, 54, 59a, 61, 63, 70, 81, 86, 87, 92, 97c, 98, 105, 110, 110a, 112, 123, 124a, 125, 126, 127, 133, 144, 148, 148a, 151, 159a, 160, 176, 178, 179, 186, 191, 192, 198, 199, 206, 222, 235, 240, 245, 248, 260, 263, 265, 272, 272a, 273, 279, 280, 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 296, 305, 318, 333, 337, 341, 341a, 349
 Handwriting, 250
 Historical and social background, 83, 196, 208
 Imagery, 63, 93, 109, 129, 130a, 345
 Influence and reputation, 91, 95, 103, 156a, 242
 Intellectual background, 46, 52, 97, 129, 181, 194, 252a, 321, 325, 339
 Language, 116, 249, 256, 266, 276
 Learning, 336a, 340
 Life, 61, 91a, 96, 97d, 119a, 120a, 122, 214, 219, 251a, 272, 299, 303a, 316, 350a
 Literary background, 75, 86, 118, 132a, 202, 217, 338
 Music in, 76, 77, 134, 203, 224, 229
 Philosophy of, 229a, 293, 311
 Productions, 9, 17, 19, 79, 131, 137a, 142, 143, 145, 146, 159, 175, 200, 204, 212, 223, 251, 284, 289, 315, 351
 Pronunciation, 195
 Staging, 53, 78, 84, 97b, 157, 160, 163, 180a, 190, 203, 205, 267, 307, 308, 335
 Text, 49, 66, 68, 74, 120, 138, 156, 161, 253a, 297, 334, 346
 Translating, 90, 210
 Shakespeare Memorial Library, 18a
 Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, 187, 217a, 269
 Shapiro, I. A., 176, 297
 Shelley, P. B., 323
 Sherbo, Arthur, 298, 298a
 Shield, H. A., 299
Shoemaker's Holiday, The, 238
 Siegel, Paul N., 300, 301, 302, 303
 Simms, W. G., 252
Sir Thomas Moore, Booke of, 208
 Sirluck, Ernest, 176
 Sisson, C. J., 297
 Sladen-Smith, Frank, 303a
 Smith, Charles J., 304
 Smith, Hallet, 305
 Smith, Warren D., 306, 307, 308
Sonnets, 36a, 37, 101, 113, 115a, 124, 168, 170
 Southampton, Earl of, 189
 Southern, A. C., 309
 Spadaro, Ottavio, 310
 Spaeth, J. Duncan, 169
 Spalding, K. J., 311
 Speaight, Robert, 312, 312a
 Spencer, Terence, 313
 Spenser, Edmund, 148b, 337
 Sprague, Arthur C., 314, 315, 351
 Squarzina, Luigi, 28
 Stamm, Rudolf, 6, 7
 Steer, Barbara D. G., 316
 Sternfeld, F. W., 173
 Stevenson, Burton, 317
 Stewart, J. I. M., 318
 Stirling, Brents, 319
 Stoll, E. E., 320
 Stow, John, 329
 Stratford, 45a, 124a, 336a
 Straumann, Heinrich, 35a, 321
 Stroedel, Wolfgang, 19
 Stull, Joseph S., 322
 Sydenham, Humphrey, 167
 Sylvester, J., 330
 Talbert, E. W., 20
 Tave, Stuart M., 89
 Taylor, E. M. M., 323
Tempest, The, 38, 39, 58, 180, 218, 283, 312a, 350
 Thaler, Alwin, 324
 Thomas, Sidney, 21
 Thomson, J. A. K., 325
 Thomson, J. Oliver, 325
 Thurmann, Erich, 10
Timon of Athens, 231, 313
 Titherley, A. W., 35b
Titus Andronicus, 40, 141, 353
 Tolbert, James M., 326
 Trewin, J. C., 187
 Trienens, Roger J., 327

- Troilus and Cressida*, 41, 86, 155, 264, 334
 Trowbridge, H., 133
 Tsubouchi, Shôyô, 24
Twelfth Night, 108, 309, 344

 Uhler, John E., 328
 Ure, Peter, 329, 330
Unfortunate Traveller, The, 353

 Vallette, J., 331
 Vanderhoof, Mary B., 27
 Van Moerkerken, P. H., 332
Venus and Adonis, 42, 268a
 Verdi, G., 188
 Vere, Edward de, Earl of Oxford, 244
Victory, 298

 Wagner, Bernard M., 333
 Walker, Alice, 32, 334
 Walker, Roy, 335, 335a, 335b, 336
 Warwickshire, 45a, 124a
 Watkins, Leslie, 336a
 Watkins, W. B. C., 337
 Weelkes, Thomas, 277
 Weisinger, Herbert, 338

 Wells, William, 20
 West, Robert H., 339
 Whitaker, Virgil K., 340
 Whitehouse, J. H., 341
 Whiter, Walter, 149
 Wickert, Maria, 341a
 Wiese, Benno von, 342
Wife for a Month, A, 43
 Wilkins, George, 343
 Williams, Charles, 344
 Williams, Philip, 334, 345, 346
 Williamson, Claude C. H., 347
 Wilson, Arthur H., 348
 Wilson, F. P., 349
 Wilson, H. S., 350
 Wilson, James S., 116
 Wilson, J. Dover, 29, 114, 327, 350a, 351
 Wilson, Molly, 75a, 75b, 75c
Winter's Tale, The, 327
Wonderful Year, The, 294
 Wordsworth, William, 304
 Worsley, T. C., 351
 Worth, Katherine J., 352

 York, Ernest C., 353

the following: (1) the patient's condition, (2) the patient's wishes, (3) the patient's family, (4) the patient's community, (5) the patient's country, (6) the patient's world.

The first of these is the patient's condition. The physician should know the patient's condition, and should know the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's community, the patient's country, and the patient's world.

The second of these is the patient's wishes. The physician should know the patient's wishes, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's family, the patient's community, the patient's country, and the patient's world.

The third of these is the patient's family. The physician should know the patient's family, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's community, the patient's country, and the patient's world.

The fourth of these is the patient's community. The physician should know the patient's community, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's country, and the patient's world.

The fifth of these is the patient's country. The physician should know the patient's country, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's community, and the patient's world.

The sixth of these is the patient's world. The physician should know the patient's world, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's community, and the patient's country.

The seventh of these is the patient's world. The physician should know the patient's world, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's community, and the patient's country.

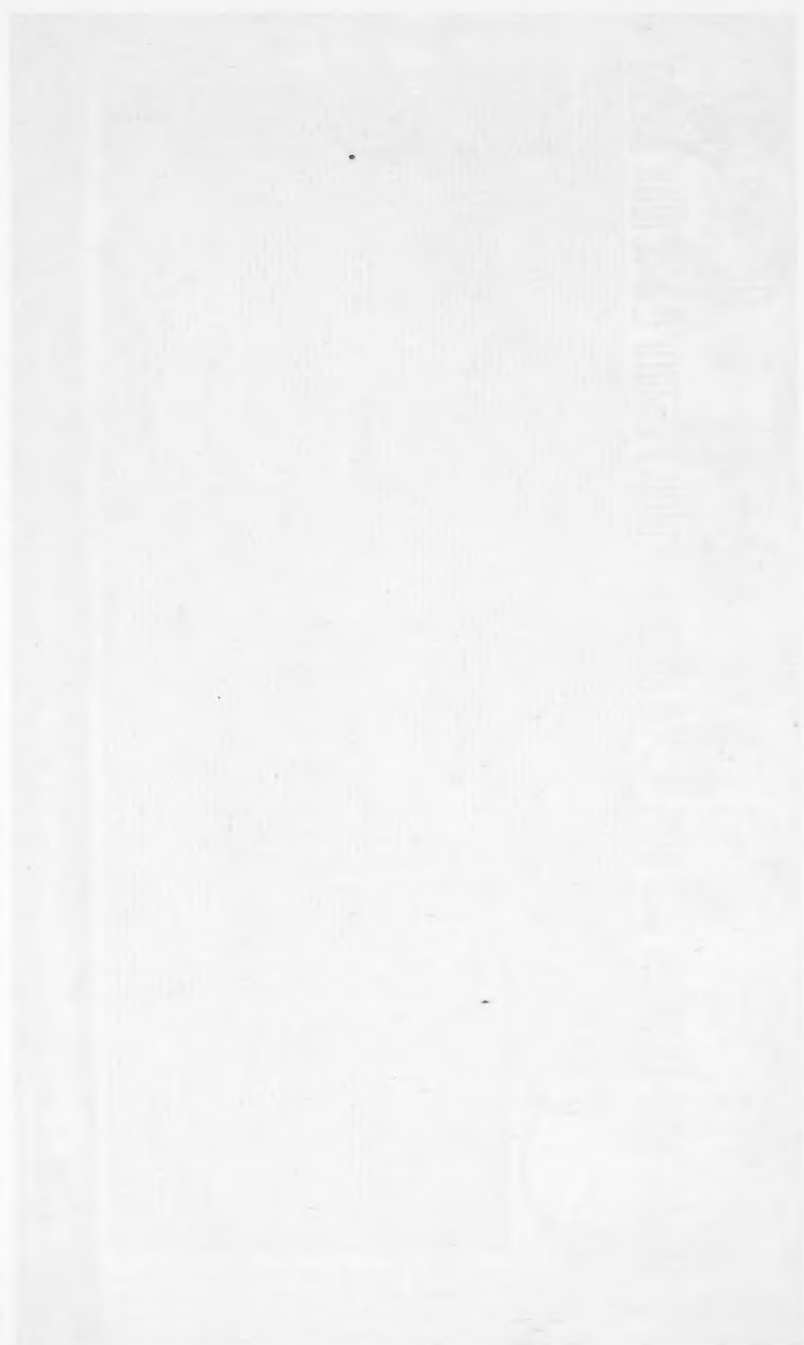
The eighth of these is the patient's world. The physician should know the patient's world, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's community, and the patient's country.

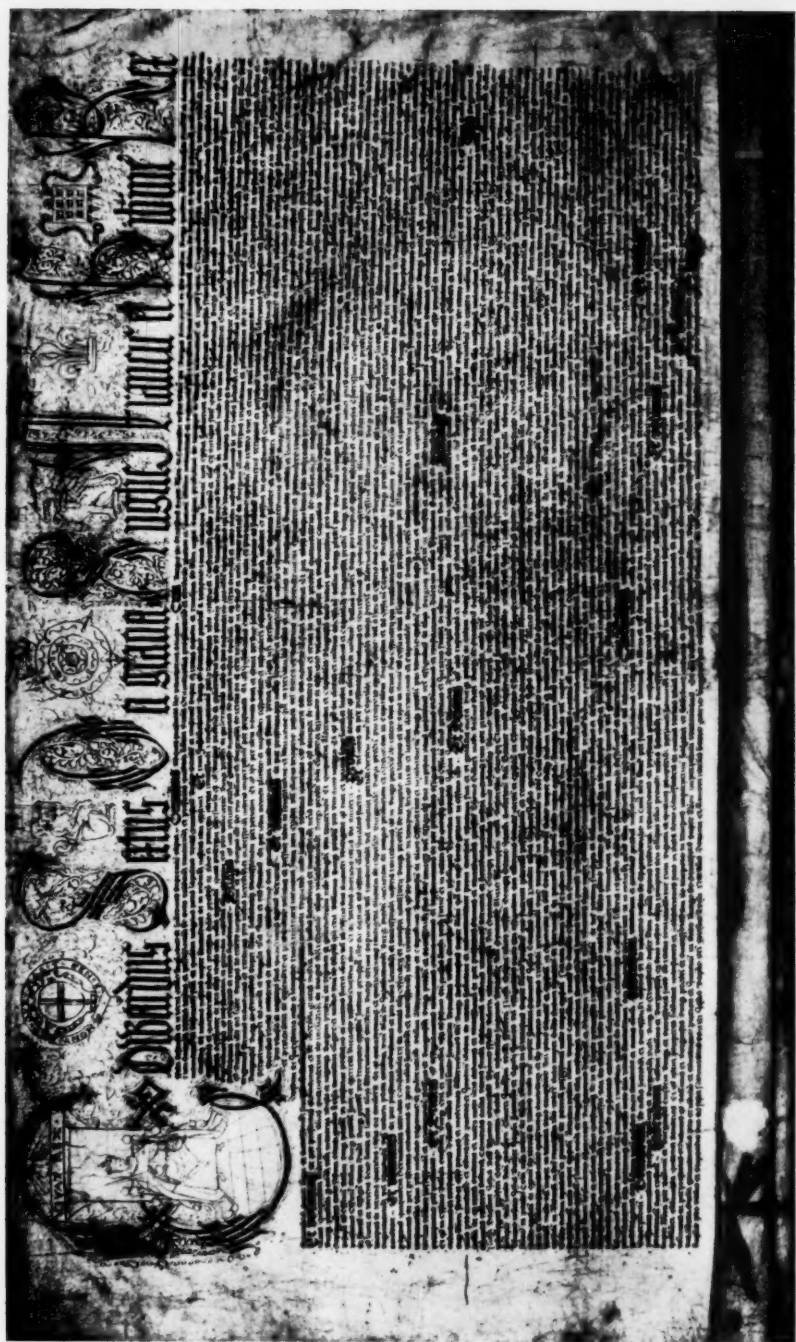
The ninth of these is the patient's world. The physician should know the patient's world, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's community, and the patient's country.

The tenth of these is the patient's world. The physician should know the patient's world, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's community, and the patient's country.

The eleventh of these is the patient's world. The physician should know the patient's world, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's community, and the patient's country.

The twelfth of these is the patient's world. The physician should know the patient's world, and should know the patient's condition, the patient's wishes, the patient's family, the patient's community, and the patient's country.





The Charter of Incorporation granted by King Edward VI to Stratford-upon-Avon on 28 June 1553. Membrane 1. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's Birthplace. See p. 337.

Tradition and Originality in Shakespeare's *Richard III*

WOLFGANG H. CLEMEN



HE¹ relation between the originality of a dramatist and the tradition from which his work derives is an interesting subject in the case of any playwright. But it is of particular and indeed fascinating importance in the study of Shakespeare's dramas. This is due not only to the fact that Shakespeare is just a greater dramatist than the others. For we could well imagine a great dramatist very soon developing his own individual style and no longer caring about tradition, in fact discarding and ignoring tradition to such an extent that the interplay between tradition and originality could be studied only at the very outset of his career. But Shakespeare appears to have been intensely aware of the dramatic traditions around him throughout his whole career; he was more given over to experiment than any other dramatist of his time (excepting, perhaps, Greene), and he was also more interested in the fusion, transmutation, and evolution of existing literary and dramatic genres than anybody else. He sought his own way and his own style not by developing exclusively his own idiosyncrasies and his own once-discovered devices but by an ever-renewed encounter with existing modes of dramatic expression. Thus the astounding originality of his plays is balanced by the equally amazing integration and amalgamation of dramatic tradition; and these two do not appear as hostile forces but as friends, supplementing and stimulating each other.

In this paper I should like to consider *Richard III* as an early example of this relationship. Criticism of this play seems to have been guided from the very beginning by certain likes and dislikes and also certain modern dramatic criteria rather than by an attempt at finding out what kind of play Shakespeare wanted to write and an endeavor to appreciate Shakespeare's achievement in terms of the drama existing before and during his time. Admiration for Shakespeare's creation of Richard's character, recognition of the play's effectiveness on the stage, appraisal of certain fine passages or great dramatic moments on the one hand, but discontent with the play's so-called faults and improbabilities on the other hand²—these "evaluations" in terms of modern dramatic criticism may have blinded our eyes to the fact that here is a play which marks a decisive step in the history of English drama, a play which in its structure, style and char-

¹ This paper was delivered as Theodore Spencer Memorial Fund Lecture at Harvard University 17 April 1953. It is published here with only minor alterations.

² For examples see Appendix to Variorum Edition of *Richard III* but also the respective passages in more recent monographs on Shakespeare.

acter constitutes a very peculiar and revealing compound of various elements, a play in which Shakespeare succeeded in solving a difficult problem that each dramatist of his time, trying his hand at chronicle plays, had to face.

In the chronicle play the wealth of facts and of historical material to be covered was likely to hinder the attainment of unity of structure and clarity and coherence of plot (if indeed such an effort had been made at all).³ The audience's express wish to learn the facts of English history through the chronicle play was a minor factor in convincing the dramatist that a chronicle play which included a great many historical circumstances, persons and names was better than one which presented only a rather limited phase of history. Hence we find that the first history plays are dramatized chronicle rather than genuine drama, a series of spectacular scenes with much episodic matter interspersed, knit together by an exterior interest rather than by inner necessity. The sequence of events, in adhering too closely to that of the chronicle, is epic rather than dramatic, and the variety and disconnectedness of episodes treated and of characters introduced in such a play (again following the chronicle source) accounts for the sense of confusion which these dramas leave in the minds of most readers. For an audience which saw them presented on the stage this effect was perhaps outweighed by the enjoyment of so much colorful variety and spectacular panorama of "pageantry on the stage," the importance of which has recently been demonstrated to us in Miss Venezky's book *Pageantry on the Shakespearean Stage*.⁴ But for a dramatist of Shakespeare's calibre it must have been clear that this was not and could not remain his ultimate aim. That in *Richard III* Shakespeare gave roundness, unity and coherence to the chronicle play, that he overcame its formlessness by creating a closely and well-knit plot is a statement which is to be found in many accounts of the English drama. And even if substantial evidence should one day force us to wholly accept Professor F. P. Wilson's challenging new theory that there were no chronicle plays based on English history before Shakespeare and that Shakespeare was in fact the first to write them, we could still subscribe to this statement in so far as the sequence of the plays in Shakespeare's first tetralogy of histories from *Henry VI* up to *Richard III* reveals to us this very process—Shakespeare's development from the more epic and episodic dramatization to his grasp of a play's dramatic unity in the tragic history of *Richard III*. And this step of course also involved a freer, more selective handling of his source material.

Moreover, it was not only the chronicle play which in its structure showed this diffuseness and diversity, this predominance of colorful variety and wealth over unity and coherence. For most of the popular plays were marked by the mixture of heterogeneous elements, by the juxtaposition of farcical incident and serious pathos, of colloquial and rhetorical language, in fact by this whole naive and wonderful jostle of divergent modes and styles of dramatic expression. But unity, reached by the observance of decorum and other means was far more a characteristic of the *coterie plays*, to adopt Professor Harbage's distinction.⁵ The

³ On the English chronicle play see F. E. Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play* (1902). One of the best recent discussions of the English chronicle play before Shakespeare is A. P. Rossiter's introduction to his edition of *Woodstock* (1946).

⁴ New York, 1951.

⁵ *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (New York, 1952).

new unity and coherence Shakespeare achieved in *Richard III* therefore means a decisive stage in view of the whole development of the popular drama and not only with regard to the chronicle play. And we shall see that this unity was attained by Shakespeare without sacrificing the rich potentialities inherent in that multi-colored and diversified dramatic form of the popular play.

I should like to indicate by a few examples how this process of unifying and tightening the play's structure goes on, as it were, on several levels, how it means far more than merely focussing our interest on one central figure, and how it involves a new and original integration of traditional dramatic forms and elements. I should also like to show how different this new unity is from what we see in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, which is usually, but wrongly, taken as the decisive model and influence under which Shakespeare wrote *Richard III*.

Every fresh study of the play of *Richard III* will reveal how extraordinarily well-planned and closely knit is its plot, how the events follow each other with necessity, how each scene is a unit within a larger unit, a link in a logical chain which runs from the beginning to the end and comes to its inevitable conclusion when the "wheel has come full circle." The logic of this well-wrought plot is however at the same time an inner logic. Each new event, each new character introduced into the action has a meaning beyond that of outward circumstance and sequence of facts. *Richard III* seems to be the first play of Shakespeare's in which the machinery of plot, the course of the outward action is raised to a higher level of inner significance. Events and characters have become at the same time more concrete and specific, but also more meaningful and significant in a sometimes almost symbolic way. It is remarkable that Shakespeare has in most scenes attained this greater significance of character and situation without becoming more abstract and without sacrificing the vividness and concreteness of detail.

Furthermore in the structure of this play, unlike that of almost all plays before Shakespeare, there are no "loose threads." Each motive of the action, once it has been introduced, each minor character and each detail is never lost sight of but taken up again at a later moment and made use of in connection with the major issue. This is all the more admirable as Shakespeare has not achieved this tightness of construction by restricting, as the early English classical tragedies had done, the number of persons and of events to be covered in his play but by retaining the large number of characters and incidents which usually figured in a chronicle play. This elaborate and well-considered construction of the play is generally attributed to Shakespeare's superior dramaturgical skill. But it is more than that. Shakespeare has given it a deeper significance by reflecting through this well-planned action Richard's intellectual superiority in planning and scheming, his immense power of will, his clarity of purpose. Richard is the secret agent of the action, and all its threads eventually converge in his hands even if he is not on the stage. Again this is different from *Tamburlaine's* role in Marlowe's play. For in *Tamburlaine* the whole action is a kind of façade for *Tamburlaine's* conquering advance and the repetition of parallel episodes of victory over different sets of enemies in their lack of interconnectedness is epic rather than dramatic. In Shakespeare's play we can see how it is Richard who secretly and cunningly watches the movements and actions of his enemies to weave them into his spider's web before they are aware of it and then to wait

for the advantageous moment at which he can overcome them. Thus the movements and indeed even the words and the thoughts of Richard's victims are made use of by him for his diabolical intents, are integrated into his plans. The plot is thus, in a manner very different from *Tamburlaine*, of Richard's doing, it is or rather it becomes in the course of the play, *his*, the master-plotter's plot. And though the play is centered in him, all other characters being subordinated and dependent on him and all reacting on him in different ways, this does not mean that it is, like *Tamburlaine*, an egocentric play. For *Tamburlaine* is indeed a play around a superhuman figure who overrides and overshadows all his enemies and all other characters; for these are only feeble foils to serve as interchangeable material for the illustration of his victorious passage. This, however, we cannot say of *Richard III*. Far more than in *Tamburlaine* we are allowed to enter the mind and world of his victims, not only in that scene for which Shakespeare found no foundation in the source, Clarence's dream and murder, but also in several other scenes of which mention shall be made later on. These so-called "minor characters" in *Richard III*, though in themselves vivid and individual portraits, are in a much higher degree than the characters in *Tamburlaine* or even in *Edward II* indirect means of characterizing the main hero. Each of them discloses to us a different and a new facet of Richard's complex personality. They do not merely repeat the same portrait-picture (as in *Tamburlaine*), for Richard behaves differently towards each of them, and consequently their reaction is different. Moreover they are not merely characterized through their different relation towards Richard, but some of them are independently of this relation individualized by subtle touches. And lastly Richard himself, to be sure, is no superman, no "overreacher" in H. Levin's phrase,⁶ but a realist carefully calculating how far he can go, a man who knows the world of men and weighs the realities of this world before he proceeds to action.

But the aim of this paper is not to enlarge upon Richard's character (a subject too much talked of for more than a century) but to suggest how there is a relation between the form of the play and the mood of its hero. Nor is this the only way by which the form and composition of the play ceases to be merely a technical matter of dramaturgical skill but is raised to a level of symbolic significance. Even if we cannot today entirely adopt Moulton's ingenious system of several parallel nemesis-actions in *Richard III*, we can still safely speak—in O. J. Campbell's words—of the play's "carefully wrought moral architecture"⁷ which, superimposed on and corresponding to its external architecture, illustrates the operation of Nemesis. For we are made to realize how every murder is both crime and punishment for crime, until at the end Richard pays the final penalty. As this idea is brought home to us by recurring similar situations and episodes, we expect this end as a necessary consummation, with the same kind of simultaneous tension and absolute certainty with which we watch "the wheel coming full circle." Again we can see in this case how Shakespeare has transformed a basic conception of tragedy into a structural principle of composition. Not only has he thus modified and in a way elevated the crude treatment of the revenge-motif in the conventional revenge-tragedies, he has also given to this Nemesis-

⁶ Harry Levin, *The Overreacher A Study of Christopher Marlowe* (1952).

⁷ *The Living Shakespeare*, ed. O. J. Campbell (New York, 1949), p. 116.

idea—for which he found only a very faint suggestion in the chronicle's account of the York-Lancaster struggle—a dramatic expression on various levels.

Curses and forebodings belonged to the conventional apparatus of Senecan tragedy. Their use in *Richard III* would therefore not be original in itself. But if we look into Seneca and into the early English classical tragedies such as *Misfortunes of Arthur*, or even popularized Seneca such as the *Spanish Tragedy* or *Lochrine*, we find that these curses occur as emotional outcries, so to speak, as conventional gestures at moments of despair or wrath. But they have no bearing on the course of the action, no place in the dramatic structure. In *Richard III*, however, these curses are all fulfilled, they are not "loose threads" or mere figures of speech, but they will be remembered at decisive moments later on. Contrary to their form in pre-Shakespearian drama, the curses in *Richard III* refer to concrete events in the past and prepare for concrete events in the future. They are thus, as in the case of Margaret's curses, an important link with the past, in fact with *Henry VI*. The memory of the past is embodied in them and, pronounced by Margaret who comes into the play as from a world far remote in the past, these curses impress on us the feeling that the action we are watching transcends this present encounter between individuals and carries with it the impact of that hundred-year old struggle between York and Lancaster.

The same integration of rhetorical outbursts into the course of the action applies to the lamentations which come mainly from the lips of the three women, Anne, Elizabeth, and the Duchess. For whereas these laments in Senecan drama are like interchangeable formulae which give conventional expression to moments of distress, Shakespeare concretizes and makes specific these complaints in making these women on this occasion sum up all that so far has been done by Richard and all that so far has been suffered by his victims. In Shakespeare's hands these lamentations, looking back into the past and forward into the future, become another of his numerous means of binding his play together and of giving it inner coherence and unity. A rhetorical figure is made to form a connecting link in the dramatic structure.

Other means to serve this purpose of unifying and tightening can only very briefly be summed up here. Tragic irony, found as a rare device here and there in pre-Shakespearian drama, becomes in *Richard III* a deliberately applied instrument of foreshadowing and cross-referencing. Presentiment, forecast, omen, and prophecy as well as announcement of future intent are further means of continually connecting the past with the present and the present with the future, of establishing a whole network of interwoven threads throughout this play.⁸ With regard to these features and to several others which cannot be dwelt upon, we can speak of Shakespeare's conscious art of preparation in this play—a subject which in all his plays would deserve more attention. The art of suggesting the play's central theme through leading motives in the imagery, also a contribution to unity, is as yet slightly developed in *Richard III*, but we find that another technique of leading motives is very effectively used. Certain abstract words that bear relation to the play's moral issues are repeated in different contexts and through the mouths of different characters (love, hate, conscience, fear, God).

⁸ See the present author's article, "Anticipation and Foreboding in Shakespeare's Early Histories," *Shakespeare Survey* 6 (1953).

And lastly, mention should be made of Shakespeare's new and original treatment of time which—as shown in a Yale dissertation⁹—not only consists in his frequent allusions to hours and days, which creates the effect of a rapid passing of time, but also in his extraordinary condensation of time into a very few days. (The material of the chronicle covered in fact ten years.)

But we must look once again at Shakespeare's modification of features of Senecan tragedy. Margaret has already been mentioned. She has been justly called a descendant of the Furies of a Senecan tragedy, an embodiment of Nemesis or Ate, and of the chorus in tragedy.¹⁰ We could call her a humanized or individualized Nemesis, but she is still superhuman enough to fill us with awe and an intimation of destiny that will "shape our ends rough hew them how we will." In fitting Margaret into the pattern of his play, Shakespeare has given to his chronicle play another tragic ingredient, at the same time avoiding the obvious use of the conventional chorus or of the Ghost calling for revenge.¹¹ And would not a play which has in it this figure of a Margaret allow and indeed demand a diction very different from the chronicle play's usual language? We can again see how the high formality of language, the abundant use of balanced and antithetical rhetorical figures, of solemn lament and execration find their equivalent in the static form and the symmetrical pattern of the mourning scenes (IV.i; IV.iv), in the statuesque or tableau-like grouping of the lamenting women, in the superpersonal choric complaints. But even these scenes in which we can clearly trace the Senecan influence are in a sense original. For this Senecan diction is no longer an "over-all style" covering the whole play and thus achieving unity through monotony and uniformity, but an appropriate medium for situation and figures which by their very nature would demand heightened language.

The combination of artificial and natural styles was, to be sure, a characteristic feature of quite a few plays before Shakespeare. We find it in plays such as *Lochrine*, *Edward I*, *James IV*, and even in the *Spanish Tragedy*. But it appears as though these different levels of style were either rigidly kept apart from each other or mixed with little feeling for the innate appropriateness of these different media of expression. Shakespeare's *Richard III* is—as far as I can see—the first play in which a successful attempt is being made at reconciling and fusing the language of Senecan tragedy with that of the popular play. The transition from one style to another in most scenes seems natural and easy. By means of this alteration the stylized and rhetorically heightened passages can be counterbalanced by the more natural utterance of quick dialogue and colloquial phrase. This humanizing and normalizing influence of natural language is most apparent in Richard's own speech, which again and again drops from the rhetorical attitude to an outspoken directness and a stark colloquialism which is unique in the whole range of tragic heroes in the drama before and during Shakespeare's time.¹²

The blending of the styles of Senecan tragedy and popular chronicle play

⁹ Mable Buland, *The Presentation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama*. Yale Studies in English, XLIV (New York, 1912).

¹⁰ Cf. *The Living Shakespeare*, p. 117.

¹¹ Cf. P. Simpson, *The Theme of Revenge in Elizabethan Tragedy*. Annual Sh. Lecture of the Brit. Acad. (1935).

¹² Cf. A. H. Thorndike, *Tragedy* (London, 1908), p. 123.

involves not only differences of language but also different modes of dramatic expression and representation. It involves the combination of two dramatic styles; on the one hand, one which is more static, slow moving and without much regard to stage business, emphasizing reflection, retrospection, narrative, description, elaborate expression of emotion; and a very different dramatic style on the other hand which makes us watch the progress of the action *on the stage*, entailing more acting and gesticulation, more change of place, more short dialogue, more characters and more circumstance and event dramatized in the scenes themselves. Kyd not unsuccessfully tried to combine these two dramatic methods, but a close comparison with *Richard III* would again reveal how great is Shakespeare's advance in this direction. By this I do not mean to suggest that Shakespeare has succeeded in completely harmonizing these two styles. He will do so in the two Parts of *Henry IV*, where by the inclusion of comic material he reaches an even wider range of different styles than in any of his previous history plays. In *Henry IV* he gave harmony to the contrasting dramatic moods of farce and tragedy, of the serious and the comic element which we find side by side in earlier drama from *Cambises* up to Peele's and Greene's plays. Shakespeare thus realized and fulfilled the rich potentialities latent in this unique compound of tragicomedy so characteristic of Elizabethan drama. In appreciating this achievement of *Henry IV* we can better understand Shakespeare's wisdom in failing to include any comic material in *Richard III* such as he had tentatively introduced in the Jack Cade episodes in *Henry VI*. He probably knew that the dramatic unity he was aiming at in *Richard III* would have been upset if at that phase of his dramatic career he had introduced comic material.

One scene only should be mentioned where we can watch the effect of this juxtaposition of pathos and realism: The long scene IV.iv often blamed for its tiresome, long-drawn-out dialogue between Richard and Elizabeth in which he asks for her daughter's hand,¹³ in similar method as in Act I.ii. The scene begins with that sublime picture of mourning, reminiscent of Attic tragedy, in which the three royal women sitting down on the floor one after the other join in a symphonic chorus of lament, imprecation and curse. This passage is a striking example of that essentially static and melodramatic Senecan style involving highly formalized and rhetorical language, with this chief difference, however, that nowhere in Seneca would we find that kind of masterful distribution of choric lament among three voices, giving us the effect of simultaneousness as in a symphony. This first picture is followed by the equally "static" scene between Richard and Elizabeth, a scene which still relies entirely on words and not on action. Here Shakespeare in a manner similar to that of Richard's wooing of Anne, makes use of the technique of stichomythia for the sake of persuasion, enhancing the speed of dialogue by the use of broken lines, sudden interruption, interrogation, and exclamation. We do not find these irregularities in typical Senecan drama, and here they may suggest the transition from artificiality to naturalness. But at the end of this scene, after Queen Elizabeth's exit, full reality, action and movement break in and counterbalance the static tableau of

¹³ For a textual criticism of this scene of which the Quarto contains only a small part and therefore may be a later addition see L. L. Schücking, *Über einige Nachbesserungen bei Shakespeare. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächs. Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-histor. Klasse.* 95. Bd. (1943).

the choric lamentations and the brilliant word-encounter between Richard and Elizabeth. For one breathless messenger after the other rushes in, carrying alarming news of the growing revolt against the King and we now see Richard facing a new situation, new realities which in fact threaten to upset his hitherto preserved balance of mind. For he beats the third messenger before the latter is able to deliver his news (which happens to be the only good news on that day), and even his language reflects this gradual loss of control over himself ("My mind is changed, sir, my mind is changed"). These last hundred lines of the scene not only make up for the previous lack of realism but also constitute the answer and reaction of the real world to the wishes and curses previously expressed by the mourning women. The device of the messenger's report, in Senecan drama used for the insertion of retrospective narrative and consequently contributing to slowing down the tempo of the action, is here used by Shakespeare just in the opposite way: it enhances the speed of the action and brings realism into the play.¹⁴

In Senecan tragedy the messenger had primarily the function of reporting events which could not be acted on the stage, and the Elizabethans adopted this convention—ignoring the fact that it derived from *closet* drama—in their own Senecan imitations, to drop it again in the popularized Senecan play such as the *Spanish Tragedy*. Shakespeare, in *Richard III*, seems to steer a middle course, allowing only one murder—namely that of Clarence—to be acted on the stage, the remaining murders being referred to or being reported. In this we may see an endeavor to raise the so-called tragedy of blood to a higher level, not consisting so much in atrocities and acts of sheer force as in villainous plotting which springs from intellectual superiority. To make us realize this intellectual superiority and audacity of mind as the first and foremost thing about Gloucester was surely also the reason why Shakespeare placed the wooing of Anne, for which the chronicle gave us foundation, near the beginning of the play in the second scene.

This scene has often been criticized as outrageously improbable, and it certainly is one of the greatest extremes to which Shakespeare ever went. But it affects us as less extreme and also as less improbable when we see it well acted in a good performance of the play. And does not this scene, viewed against the background of pre-Shakespearean drama, also reveal to us certain conventions handled in an entirely new manner? The verbal technique of the wooing scene in comedy with its quick repartee, its puns and its brilliant dialogue is here transferred to tragedy and suffused with grim pathos and terrible paradox. The figures of rhetoric are here used in their original function, namely as means of persuasion. Moreover, Richard slyly characterizes himself through this rhetorical dialogue. He who uses these figures like a virtuoso and who enjoys this "keen encounter of our wits" with such sarcasm and cynical pleasure appeals to us as the kind of man in whose command over words and people we begin to believe, the master-actor who watches himself and applauds himself while acting and talking, a man who can play with words just as he can play with people. This virtuosity in language and the conscious enjoyment of it, through which this

¹⁴ For Shakespeare's use of the messenger's report see the present author's *Wandlung des Botenberichts bei Shakespeare*. Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. histor. Klasse (1952).

great dissembler can adjust himself to very diverse situations and persons gives more credibility or, shall we say, a more "organic function" to the use of the "arts of language" not only in this scene. Richard's rhetoric is effectively set off by the brusque colloquialism of his diction on other occasions. In fact, Richard's peculiar speech seems to be the first example of Shakespeare's characterizing a person through language—another feature of his art which we do not find in the drama before him.

I mentioned the scene of Clarence's murder, and I should now like to say a few words about it, as it offers a particularly illuminating example of the relation between tradition and originality. The narrative Clarence gives of his dream is—according to its type—the kind of introspective and retrospective piece of narrative to be found in Senecan tragedy. But it differs from all extant and all possible parallels and models in important respects. It is more imaginative, more poetic, and at the same time more concrete, because richer in graphic detail.¹⁵ The sublime imaginative vision of hell and of the realm deep below the surface of the sea with its strange fusion of mythological, biblical, and legendary elements is counterbalanced by the psychological realism with which the actual dream-experience is conveyed. Nowhere in any sixteenth-century description of a dream do we find this instinctive rendering of what we feel and what we are likely to experience when dreaming. Besides, the dream motif is handled here in an entirely new and original manner compared to pre-Shakespearian drama. For the usual procedure was to give a brief matter-of-fact account of the dream and then to add its interpretation or explanation, which was the chief thing. This method was actually followed by Shakespeare in Act III, Scene ii, in the account of Stanley's dream. But here no moral is drawn, no interpretation is added. Through this dream Shakespeare wanted to act on our imagination, not on our rational or logical understanding. By this evocative series of images he wished to bring home to us the atmosphere of suffering, sudden assault, threatening death which we shall see spreading out into reality in the next acts.

It is significant that these lines, surely the most poetical and imaginative in this play (which is otherwise so full of keen rationalism), come from the lips of Gloucester's first victim but not from Gloucester himself. Besides, this dream is a prelude and foreboding not only to the murder of Clarence himself but also to the whole series of dark catastrophes following. Theodore Spencer was the first to point this out,¹⁶ and he drew the attention to the dramatic function of this passage, comparing it to an equally startling and imaginative, but *undramatic* description of hell in *Tamburlaine* II.iii.

From the moving pathos and the sublime vision of Clarence's dream the tone drops to the realistic prose dialogue between the two murderers. Being "low characters," murderers had to speak in prose, and being of a low and at the same time mischievous extraction, murderers were apt to be put into the role of witty clowns. So much for the "tradition" in this case. But it would be difficult to find two low characters conversing with each other so wittily and so philosophically, at the same time in their dialogue carrying on one of the play's major themes. The murderers' talk about conscience and especially the second

¹⁵ For a comparison of Clarence's dream-narrative with Barabas' description of his jewels see F. P. Wilson, *Marlowe and the Young Shakespeare* (1953), p. 122.

¹⁶ *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 118.

murderer's definition of it anticipate Falstaff's remarks about honor and are an early example of Shakespeare's art of integrating this kind of low, clownish prose (in pre-Shakespearian plays a comic digression but rarely ever to the point) into the structure and meaning of his drama. It must be admitted, however, that in this scene the murderers' later lines, spoken in solemn and sonorous blank verse, are not in keeping with their preceding prose-dialogue and indicate that here Shakespeare has used them as a mouthpiece for the verdict on Clarence's guilt which he wished to bring home to us. Besides, their roles are confused and there is the ironical contradiction of Clarence being first stabbed and then drowned in a Malmsey butt, as tradition would have it. In the period of *Henry IV* Shakespeare would have escaped these pitfalls. But even if we admit this, the scene is a fine example of how Shakespeare tried to combine pathos and realism, high and low style, in one single scene; how he managed to find the transition from the poetic vision of the dream narrative to the absorbing acting of the murder at the end of the scene.

We could thus go through the play scene by scene and would find that at the basis of almost each scene there is a typical situation of pre-Shakespearian drama, or a typical convention, or a conventional motif. We should then realize that the full current of dramatic tradition is reflected in *Richard III* and that without this wealth of already existing models and modes of dramatic representation the play could not have been written. But we should also become aware that there is always something new and original in Shakespeare's treatment of this heritage of tradition which goes beyond the usual modification to be found in any dramatist's adoption of conventional material. Generalizations are always hazardous in a matter as complex as a Shakespearian play. But I suggest that Shakespeare's original handling of tradition takes three main directions. One is his superior sense of dramatic form and art, his feeling for essentially dramatic values, for the inner unity and coherence of the drama, and his consequent endeavor to integrate heterogeneous elements in the play. The second is his conscious and deliberate use of dramatic conventions, figures of speech and single elements which, to be sure, had all existed before, but which are here coordinated and made use of with a view to their contribution to the joint effect within the framework of just this drama. And the third direction is that the new element which we can trace in Shakespeare's use of tradition is very often the human aspect which he emphasized, added, or rediscovered in the conventional patterns or forms. This ranges from his rediscovery of the inherent psychological function of certain figures of speech to his achievement in arousing a genuine human interest in the hero, who is more than a compound of the three stock figures of the Senecan tyrant, the Machiavellian villain, and the Dissembler of the Morality Play. Again, we may admit that the human vividness of Richard does not come out in all scenes of his appearance on the stage. But it certainly appears in the play's total effect and is conveyed to us in a most striking, unusual, and again "original" manner in his famous speech toward the end of the play when he starts out of his dream: "Give me another horse, bind up my wound." For here he is not only "cut off from the rest of mankind," as Theodore Spencer put it,¹⁷ but cut off even from himself in that terrible experi-

¹⁷ *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (New York, 1949), p. 72.

ence of the dissociation of his personality.¹⁸ I have deliberately used the term "direction," to suggest that the achievement of *Richard III* is not yet fulfilment but a milestone on Shakespeare's way. This statement must further be qualified by saying that from *Richard III* we cannot even infer in what direction Shakespeare would go next. For in *Richard II* he adopted a style entirely different from that in *Richard III*. In our play Shakespeare appears to have tried out what this particular dramatic form would yield him, and after having achieved a certain perfection in this specific manner he dropped it again to turn to quite another way of writing a chronicle play. Again, this perfection which we find in *Richard III* is still to a large extent a perfection that lies on the surface. However, a perfection of form and of expression, and even an original and effective handling of conventional material is not yet everything. It seems as if Shakespeare knew how to write a good and effective play before he had within his reach that full and profound experience of tragic human existence which he will present to us in dramatic form in his tragedies. It is for this reason, too, that with *Richard III* a study of the means of dramatic expression, of form and structure in their relation to the tradition, is particularly interesting and fruitful.¹⁹

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¹⁸ For a comparison of this speech with the use of the Doppelgänger-motiv in a Dutch play about Richard III see O. J. Campbell, *The Position of the Roode en Witte Roos in the Saga of King Richard III* (Madison, 1919).

¹⁹ In a forthcoming interpretative commentary on *Richard III* the ideas advanced in this brief essay will be more fully illustrated and expanded.

WOFVLL
NEVVES FROM THE
West-parts of *England*.

BEING THE LAMENTABLE

Burning of the Towne of *Teuerton*, in *Deuon-shire*,
vpon the fift of *August* last, 1612.

VVhereunto is annexed, the former burning of the
aforesaid Towne, the third of *Aprill*, 1598.



LONDON:

Printed by T. S. for Thomas Paucier. 1612.

Methods of fighting fires in Tudor and Stuart times. S.T.C. 10025. Reproduced
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An Approach to *Julius Caesar*

R. A. FOAKES



ULIUS CAESAR has often been regarded as a difficult or unsatisfactory play, and two problems in particular seem to demand a solution, problems that do not even arise in the discussion of many other plays by Shakespeare. The first concerns what the play is about and in what sense, if any, it has unity. The answers are varied: to one critic the play remains simply a puzzle; to another it can only be understood in terms of *Antony and Cleopatra*, as the first part of a two-part play; to a third it is a tragedy with Brutus as a tragic hero. It has been seen as a play about tyranny, a play about Rome, a play about Brutus and as a play about Caesar and Caesarism; Caesar has been seen as the villain, and, so, perhaps more plausibly, has Brutus; both have also been seen as the hero. This diversity of views indicates the complexities of the central problem, and suggests how rash it may be to offer yet another possible answer.

The way to a solution may lie through a consideration of the second problem, which concerns style and imagery. Some have praised the clarity of style and sparing use of metaphor as giving a dignified and Roman simplicity to the play; others have condemned what they saw as a stiffness and baldness of diction. The analysis has not been taken much further; in particular, writers on imagery have had little to say of *Julius Caesar*; Caroline Spurgeon found no leading image in it, and fewer images than in any other play of Shakespeare's except *The Comedy of Errors*.¹ Marion Smith found still fewer images in the play, and because of their extreme bareness assigned the last two acts to an author other than Shakespeare.² W. H. Clemen almost ignores the play in *The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery*; only G. Wilson Knight has something constructive to say incidentally to his comparison between Brutus and Macbeth.³

Style and poetic imagery have usually been analyzed as aspects of *Julius Caesar* detachable from the rest of the play, and it may be for this reason that the study of them has been so unrewarding on the whole. Even the acute stylistic criticism of Mark van Doren assumes from the simplicity of style that the play is "more rhetoric than poetry," so that the characters are for him simply "public men."⁴ This is perhaps to ignore the dramatic functions of the use of oratory

¹ *Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells Us* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 346-347.

² *Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 189-191.

³ *The Wheel of Fire* (London, 1930), pp. 120-139.

⁴ *Shakespeare* (London, 1941), pp. 180-181.

and rhetoric in the play, just as to concentrate on metaphors may be to ignore the dramatic means by which the powerful atmosphere of the play is created.

As is usual in Shakespeare's plays, language and action continually interfuse; what is a metaphor, a statement or a hint in the language at one point, is acted out or enters directly into the scene at another. So the rhetoric often noted throughout the play becomes at the peak of its stiffness and artificiality in the orations of Brutus and Antony, the very life and center of the action. To examine imagery and language from a dramatic viewpoint, is also to examine the action and structure; a more positive approach to the second problem may suggest a solution to, or illuminate the answers already given to the first.

One of the most notable features of the dramatic imagery is the way in which the various themes are all used to suggest a full circle of events. A striking theme is that of the superstition and omens which surround the main figures, ennoble Caesar and add grandeur to his downfall; soothsayers enter on four occasions, and Caesar's death and the commotion which follows are foreshadowed in the long list of portents preceding his downfall:

all the sway of earth
Shakes like a thing unfirm. (I.iii.3-4)

Either there is a civil strife in heaven
Or else the world, too saucy with the gods
Incenses them to send destruction. (I.iii.11-13)

All the strange happenings and prodigies prove indeed to be
instruments of fear and warning
Unto some monstrous state. (I.iii.70-71)

The cries of the soothsayer, the advice of the augurers Caesar consults before deciding to go to the Capitol, the dream of Calphurnia, the prophecy of war Antony makes (III.i.262-264), all prove true. Cinna is led against his will to walk out, although "things unluckily charge my fantasy" (III.iii.2), and is torn in pieces. Men ignore omens, as Cassius walks boldly out daring the gods, or reject them, as Caesar is led to reject the warning of Calphurnia's dream, only as a mark of evil or of foolishness. Caesar unwisely listens to the plea of Decius and goes to his death. Cassius shows his evil in defying the heavens before Caesar's death, but at the end, when crows and ravens replace the eagles flying with the rebels' army, he learns to reject Epicurus' opinion

And partly credit things that do presage (V.i.79)

following the example of Caesar, who, before his downfall, had

superstitious grown of late
Quite from the main opinion he held once
Of fantasy, of dreams and ceremonies. (II.i.195-197)

The wheel is brought full circle from Cassius' defiance of the gods to his acceptance finally of omens. It is noteworthy that Brutus accepts false omens, such as the message thrown in at his window (II.i.45ff.) as philosophically as he accepts the true portent of Caesar's ghost (IV.iii.275ff.).

The full circle is also implied in the early creation of a warlike atmosphere.

In the opening scene the tribunes ask why Caesar should receive the people's support, returning as he does not with conquest, but "in triumph over Pompey's blood" (I.i.56), victor in a civil war. The portents before Caesar's death tell of the civil war to come (I.iii.19-20), and the incitement of Brutus to join the conspirators is expressed in terms of war,

... poor Brutus, with himself at war (I.ii.46)

the man entire

Upon the next encounter yields him ours (I.iii.155-156)

the state of man

Like to a little kingdom, suffers then

The nature of an insurrection. (II.i.67-69)

Antony foresees the "domestic fury and fierce civil strife" (III.i.263) which engrosses the final part of the action. So the civil war which brought Caesar to power begins an action which culminates in another civil war, and Cassius, who had been ready in rebellion to "tempt the heavens" (I.iii.53), is driven to suicide on the sword that stabbed Caesar.

The portents are connected with dreams⁵ and sleep, the conspiracy with darkness. Sleep is denied the plotters; Caesar desires "Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights" about him (I.ii.193), not men like Cassius. The message thrown into Brutus's window, "Brutus, thou sleep'st; awake!" (II.i.48) is ironical in relation to his inability to sleep in fact:⁶

Since Cassius first did whet me against Caesar,
I have not slept. (II.i.61-62)

Nor does the death of Caesar bring sleep or peace, for his spirit haunts Brutus, in contrast to the sound sleep enjoyed by his boy, the innocent Lucius. Only in death may he find rest, and put to rest Caesar;

Night hangs upon mine eyes; my bones would rest (V.v.41)

Caesar, now be still. (V.v.50)

The first of these lines points another way in which the circle of events has been completed; the conspirators, men who "hide their faces Even from darkness" (II.i.277-278), have their day, begun in darkness turning to dawn as Casca points his sword to the sunrise,

Here, as I point my sword, the sun arises. (II.i.106)

and ended in the return of darkness at the close of the battle,

O setting sun,

As in thy red rays thou dost sink to-night,

So in his red blood Cassius' day is set;

The sun of Rome is set! Our day is gone. (V.iii.60-63)

This passage is a culmination of two other themes in the play, blood⁷ and

⁵ See II.ii.76ff.; III.iii.1ff.; I.ii.24; II.i.65; IV.iii.296.

⁶ Cf. also II.i.4, 88, 252.

⁷ Shakespeare's use of blood on the stage here and in *Coriolanus* has been discussed by Leo Kirschbaum, "Shakespeare's Stage Blood and its Critical Significance," *PMLA*, LXIV (June 1949), 517-529.

fire. In the opening scene we hear that Caesar has come to Rome, "in triumph over Pompey's blood" (I.i.56), and soon that he too must bleed (II.i.171). The portents include "fierce fiery warriors" which drizzle "blood upon the Capitol" (II.ii.19-21), and the sky is "most bloody, fiery, and most terrible" (I.iii.130). In these, and in Calphurnia's dream of Caesar's statue spouting blood, the welter of blood in the third act is foreshadowed. Caesar is stabbed under Pompey's statue which "all the while ran blood" (III.ii.193); the conspirators bathe their arms in blood, and Antony enters to shake each by "his bloody hand" (III.i.184). The body, the "bleeding piece of earth" (III.i.254), remains on the stage for the bigger part of Act III, while Antony displays the wounds in it to the crowd, stirs up men's bloods to mutiny and prophesies future "blood and destruction" (III.i.265). Finally, as Caesar had paid with his blood for shedding Pompey's, so the conspirators pay with their blood for shedding Caesar's (V.iii.62). Fire, connected with blood in the portents and represented in lighting,⁸ comes home to the conspirators when Antony incites the mob to "burn the house of Brutus . . . fire the traitors' houses" (III.ii.236, 260). The fire,⁹ which is really started by the conspirators, returns to plague them at the end also, when Portia kills herself by swallowing fire (IV.iii.156), and just before Cassius dies with the red rays of the setting sun, he sees his own tents burning,

Are those my tents where I perceive the fire? (V.iii.13.)

The idea of sickness functions in a similar way in relation to the conspirators, besides its use to point the contrast between the public ideal and private human being that are Caesar.¹⁰ Brutus puts forward sickness as an excuse for staying up all night and ignoring Portia,

Is Brutus sick? and is it physical
To walk unbraced and suck up the humours
Of the dank morning? What, is Brutus sick,
And will he steal out of his wholesome bed . . . ? (II.i.261-264)

and there is a fine irony in the entrance of Ligarius, a sick man, who joins the conspirators crying "I here discard my sickness" (II.i.321), for they are to do

Brutus. A piece of work that will make sick men whole.

Ligarius. But are not some whole that we must make sick? (II.i.327-328)

There are some indeed, the conspirators themselves, for Brutus finds his pretended sickness real, that he has a "sick offence" within his mind (II.i.268), and Portia notices his sickly appearance (II.iv.13-14). Instead of making sick men well, the deed of the conspirators only produces further griefs, leading to dissension even between Brutus and Cassius

When love begins to sicken and decay
It useth an enforced ceremony. (IV.ii.20-21)
O Cassius, I am sick of many griefs. (IV.iii.144)

and before the final battle birds of ill-omen

⁸ See also I.iii.10, 15-18, 25, 50-51, 63; II.i.44-45.

⁹ For other references to fire see I.ii.176-177, 186; I.iii.57-58, 107-108; II.i.109-110, 120-121, 332; II.ii.31; III.iii.41; IV.iii.110-113.

¹⁰ See I.ii.119, 127-128, 256-258.

Fly o'er our heads and downward look on us,
As we were sickly prey, (V.i.86-87)

which indeed they have shown themselves to be.

The use of noise may also be noted; sounds of battle, confusion and thunder occur in the portents foreshadowing Caesar's death, when the bird of night sits "Hooting and shrieking" (I.iii.26) in broad daylight, and

The noise of battle hurtled in the air,
Horses did neigh, and dying men did groan,
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets. (II.ii.22-24)

This noise of battle returns at the end of the play, and as Calphurnia cries out in her sleep before the death of Caesar (II.ii.2), so Brutus' servants cry out in their sleep before his death (IV.iii.304). There is dramatic completeness also in one other use of sound; Brutus and the conspirators had sought to free a Rome "groaning underneath this age's yoke" (I.ii.61), and immediately after the death of Caesar had proclaimed liberty about the streets (III.i.79). At the end of the play in their last despairing stand they have nothing left but their own names to proclaim "about the field" (V.iv.3) in defeat; now the name, the honor is all they have to live, or rather die for,

I am Brutus, Marcus Brutus, I;
Brutus, my country's friend; know me for Brutus! (V.iv.7-8)

These various themes in language and action all suggest a full circle of events in the play, civil war leading to civil war, blood to blood, imaged in the beginning and close of a day. They form a large part of the play's imaginative framework, and perhaps indicate that the structural unity of *Julius Caesar* lies in the birth and completion of the rebellion. If this view is taken, there is no need to go beyond the play into *Antony and Cleopatra* in order to explain it, to see the spirit of Caesar as a fate against which Brutus strives in vain, or to see the play as a kind of revenge tragedy.¹¹

At the same time this view of the play as being about faction, and the waste and destruction that attends it, calls for a reassessment of the main characters. For Caesar, Brutus and Cassius, in spite of their different natures and functions, are equal participants. The conspirators stand up against the spirit of Caesar, which only finds rest in their deaths, so that in a sense the death of Brutus and Cassius is the death of Caesar also. These three figures share the main action of the play, which culminates in their destruction; Antony and Octavius are left to provide continuity, to suggest the life that carries on. In this main action, the rebellion, Brutus does not appear a tragic hero, as he is so often made out to be, nor does Caesar appear a villain, a tyrant-dictator.¹² Brutus believes in an ideal, honor, but confuses it with treachery; Caesar maintains an ideal vision of himself as necessary to his position; Cassius uses the various ideals posited in the play to sway Brutus, to engineer Caesar's murder, and yet himself shares the

¹¹ See J. E. Phillips Jr., *The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays* (1940), p. 174; J. Dover Wilson (Editor), *Julius Caesar* (New Cambridge Edition, 1949), p. xxii; J. A. K. Thomson, *Shakespeare and the Classics* (1952), pp. 204-205.

¹² J. Dover Wilson sought to prove that this was the traditional view of Caesar in his New Cambridge edition, but the arguments against have been well put by D. S. Brewer, " 'Brutus' Crime': A footnote to *Julius Caesar*," *R.E.S. New Series*, III (January 1952), 51-54.

ideals of liberty and of being a Roman. Brutus and Caesar as men do not measure up to the ideal, and Cassius proves to be nobler than a manipulator, than a mere sketch for Iago.

Once again an examination of the use of language in relation to action amplifies this analysis. The use of rhetoric in the play has often been noticed; repetition, balanced phrasing, formal apostrophes and similes, give a "public" quality to much of the verse, culminating in the orations, which stand out from their context, yet are harmonious with it. By its nature the verse helps to point the contrast between the public figure and the private man. In addition it is hinted that the major characters are acting when in public, notably when Brutus tells the conspirators

Let not our looks put on our purposes,
But bear it as our Roman actors do,
With untired spirits and formal constancy, (II.i.225-227)

and when, immediately after the murder, Cassius and Brutus in turn speak of the times "this our lofty scene" shall be "acted over" in the future, and Caesar shall "bleed in sport" (III.i.112ff.).

A more individual rhetorical feature is the device of speaking in the third person, as in Brutus's oration:

Brutus' love to Caesar was no less than his. If then that friend demand why Brutus rose against Caesar. . . . (III.ii.20-22)

This device puts a distance between the speaker and what he is saying, makes his words impersonal,¹³ and it is a feature of Caesar's speeches that he speaks in this way:

Speak; Caesar is turn'd to hear. (I.ii.17)
Yet Caesar shall go forth; for these predictions
Are to the world in general as to Caesar. (II.ii.28-29)
Caesar should be a beast without a heart,
If he should stay at home to-day for fear.
No, Caesar shall not: danger knows full well
That Caesar is more dangerous than he. (II.ii.42-45)
Shall Caesar send a lie? (II.ii.65)

Caesar speaks in this way even in conversation with Calphurnia, but the contrast between the public figure, the name, the ideal, "know, Caesar doth not wrong" (III.i.47), Caesar on whose face "things that threaten'd" dare not look (II.ii.10), Caesar as "unshaked of motion" (III.i.70), constant as the northern star (III.i.60), and the private citizen, Caesar as deaf, subject to the falling-sickness, inclined to be superstitious, continually appears:

¹³ It is notable that Brutus, who maintains his dignity and distance in his oration, uses the device, but Antony, who descends from the pulpit, mingles with the crowd, and pretends to be a "plain, blunt man" in contrast to the "orator" Brutus (III.ii.221-222), speaks in his own person. Professor Allardyce Nicoll, to whom I am indebted for his advice, points out that this device is used in other plays, as by Othello (III.iii.357; V.ii.291) and Hamlet (I.v.185; V.ii.244). In these plays it occurs infrequently and for special purposes, but emphasis on the worth of a name is by no means confined to *Julius Caesar*.

I rather tell thee what is to be fear'd
Than what I fear; for always I am Caesar. (I.ii.211-212)

The other important characters, especially Brutus and Cassius speak sometimes in a similar way, as in the following examples:

Brutus had rather be a villager . . . (I.ii.172)
You speak to Casca, and to such a man . . . (I.iii.116)
Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius (I.iii.90)
To see thy Antony making his peace . . . (III.i.197)
Revenge yourselves alone on Cassius,
For Cassius is aweary of the world (IV.iii.94-95)
 think not, thou noble Roman,
That ever Brutus will go bound to Rome. (V.i.111-112)

Names are thus important in themselves, being marks of the lineage and standing of a character, and indicating the qualities and virtues the character ought to have, though not necessarily those he actually possesses. So Caesar does not fear Cassius,

Yet if my name were liable to fear (I.ii.199),

he would avoid no man sooner; Caesar may be afraid in himself, but his name, his reputation must be impervious to fear. Cassius incites Brutus by comparing his name with Caesar's,

Brutus and Caesar: what should be in that Caesar?
Why should that name be sounded more than yours?
Write them together, yours is as fair a name;
Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well;
Weigh them, it is as heavy; conjure with 'em,
Brutus will start a spirit as soon as Caesar. (I.ii.142-147)

and by throwing papers in at his window speaking of the "great opinion That Rome holds of his name" (I.ii.322ff.). Before the battle Brutus quarrels with Cassius over a question of bribery,

The name of Cassius honours this corruption. (IV.iii.15)

The importance of a man's name is shown vividly when the plebeians seize Cinna the poet in spite of his protests,

Cinna. I am not Cinna the conspirator.
4th Citizen. It is no matter, his name's Cinna; pluck but his name
out of his heart, and turn him going. (III.iii.36-39)

So the soldiers who capture Lucilius take the name he gives, Brutus, for the person; the name and the ideal, the reputation and the person, are identified in public, but the differences between them are clear to the audience; Caesar the man is less powerful than his name, and Brutus less honorable than his reputation, or his great ancestry,

There was a Brutus once that would have brook'd
The eternal devil to keep his state in Rome (I.ii.159-160)

My ancestors did from the streets of Rome
The Tarquin drive, when he was call'd a king, (II.i.53-54)

and the crowd's shout "Give him a statue with his ancestors" (III.ii.54) after Brutus's funeral speech carries irony. The contrast is apparent also in the character of Portia, who proudly calls herself

A woman well reputed, Cato's daughter, (II.i.295)

yet has to confess in private that she is after all but a weak woman (II.iv.39).

The names of Caesar (211 times), Brutus (130 times), and to a much lesser degree Cassius (69 times) and Antony (68 times) echo through the play,¹⁴ and are used frequently where a pronoun would occur in the other tragedies. Besides contributing to the formality and dignity of the play, the names of Caesar and Brutus in particular have their own special meanings. The word Caesar had long been in use to signify an all-conquering, absolute monarch,¹⁵ and is used in the play with this implication:

3rd Citizen. Let him be Caesar.

4th Citizen.

Caesar's better parts

Shall be crown'd in Brutus. (III.ii.55-56)

Caesar is kingly: at the beginning of the play a crown is offered to him three times, and later it is reported

The senators to-morrow

Mean to establish Caesar as a king;

And he shall wear his crown by sea and land. (I.iii.86-88)

The Senate have concluded

To give this day a crown to mighty Caesar. (II.ii.93-94)

The main motive for Brutus' rebellion is that Caesar "would be crown'd" (II.i.12 ff); Caesar is like a lion, the king of beasts, among the herd of Romans (II.ii.106) and more dangerous than danger,¹⁶

We are two lions litter'd in one day. (II.ii.46)

This "royal Caesar" (III.ii.249), whom Brutus had wished to kill only in spirit, in name

¹⁴ A comparison with others plays perhaps emphasizes this importance of names; in *Hamlet*, a very much longer play, the hero's name occurs 85 times according to Bartlett's *Concordance*, in *Macbeth* 42 times, *Othello* 34 times, *Coriolanus* 43 times (30 as Coriolanus; 13 as Caius or Caius Marcius). It may be significant also that in *Antony and Cleopatra*, where the spirit of Caesar is again prominent, names are also prominent, the name of Antony occurring in 116 passages, and that of Caesar (Octavius and Julius) in 152 passages. This again is a much longer play than *Julius Caesar*, and the repetition of names here seems to be a special feature.

¹⁵ Especially in the form "kaiser," see *Oxford English Dictionary* "kaiser" b, where uses are recorded from 1225 onwards, especially in the phrase "king or kaiser"; see also *Oxford English Dictionary* "Caesar" 2 and 2b. Shakespeare elsewhere uses "Caesar" in a generic sense, cf. 3 *Henry VI*, III.i.18. "No bending knee will call thee Caesar now," and *Merry Wives*, I.iii.9.

¹⁶ It is notable that all the references to lions, in relation to Caesar, or as portents, or in imagery, occur in the early part of the play, before Caesar's death; see II.ii.17; I.iii.75; II.i.206. Perhaps it is not going too far to associate Caesar with the "lion in the Capitol" (I.iii.75), and with Casca's

Against the Capitol I met a lion
Who glared upon me, and went surly by,
Without annoying me (I.iii.20-22)

O that we then could come by Caesar's Spirit,
And not dismember Caesar! But alas,
Caesar must bleed for it! (II.i.169-171)

lives on in spirit after his death, and as Antony forecasts,

Caesar's spirit, ranging for revenge,
With Ate by his side come hot from hell,
Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice
Cry "Havoc," and let slip the dogs of war. (III.i.270-273)

Besides this linkage with royalty,¹⁷ Caesar's name and the presence of his dead body on the stage during much of Act III, suggest the presence of Caesar's spirit, although the character has only about 130 in a play of about 2,500 lines. The conspirators "stand up against the spirit of Caesar" (II.i.167) in order to kill him, but are vanquished by that spirit, embodied in the ghost that visits Brutus, and represented in the iteration of the name,

O Julius Caesar, thou art mighty yet!
Thy spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords
In our own proper entrails. (V.iii.94-96)

Only on the death of Brutus may Caesar "now be still" (V.v.50).

The name of Brutus has connections already noticed with distinguished ancestors, and also, more prominently, with honor. This is particularly noticeable in the famous lines of Antony's funeral oration, the repeated "Brutus is an honourable man" (III.ii.87), but on his first appearance Brutus says

Set honour in one eye and death i' the other,
And I will look on both indifferently,
For let the gods so speed me as I love
The name of honour more than I fear death. (I.ii.86-89)

The "name of honour" is frequently attributed to him, not least by himself, as when he tells his audience in his oration, "Believe me for mine honour, and have respect to mine honour, that you may believe" (III.ii.14-15), blames Cassius for selling "the mighty space of our large honours" (IV.iii.26), and proudly tells Octavius that he could not die "more honourable" (V.i.60) than on the sword of Brutus. The name of Brutus is equated with honor, and it is appropriate and sufficient for Lucilius to say to the enemy

When you do find him, or alive or dead,
He will be found like Brutus, like himself. (V.iv.24-25)

The names of Caesar and Brutus thus have symbolic qualities, and represent a concept as well as an individual character. Two other names which have much importance are that of Rome and Roman (72 times in the play), and the name of liberty. The fact that he is a Roman should in itself indicate certain qualities in a man:

those sparks of life
That should be in a Roman you do want (I.iii.57-58)

¹⁷ The last ironical echo of crowning and kingliness comes in the final scenes when a victor's wreath is placed upon the head of the dead Cassius

Look, whether he have not crown'd dead Cassius! (V.iii.97)

what other bond
Than secret Romans, that have spoke the word,
And will not palter? (II.i.124-126)

every drop of blood
That every Roman bears, and nobly bears,
Is guilty of a several bastardy,
If he do break the smallest particle
Of any promise . . . (II.i.136-140)

. . . show yourselves true Romans (II.i.223)

Who is here so rude that would not be a Roman? (III.ii.33)

If that thou be'st a Roman, take it forth. (IV.iii.103)

Brutus. Now, as you are a Roman, tell me true,
Messenger. Then like a Roman bear the truth I tell. (IV.iii.187-188)

There is a contrast between the Roman ideal and Romans in action, as is seen in the behaviour of the conspirators and the plebeians, similar to that between the ideal and the living person represented in Caesar and Brutus. However, it is in the Roman tradition ("this is a Roman's part," V.iii.89) that Brutus and Cassius commit suicide rather than be taken prisoner, and it is significant that after the end of Act III the words "Rome" and "Roman" occur only in the mouths of the rebels until the final tribute of Antony to Brutus

This was the noblest Roman of them all. (V.v.68)

The conspirators, especially Brutus and Cassius, associate themselves with Rome as the home of truth, honor, liberty, and manliness;¹⁸ it is by suggesting that Romans are slaves that Cassius incites Brutus to rebel (I.ii.150 ff.; I.iii.103 ff.), it is for Rome, "O Rome, I make thee promise" (II.i.56), that Brutus joins the conspiracy, and he is conscious of the duties of being a Roman,

I had rather be a dog, and bay the moon,
Than such a Roman. (IV.iii.27-28)

Romans are free-men, to whom Pompey and Caesar bring slaves, and whose servants are bond-men,

What tributaries follow him to Rome
To grace in captive bonds his chariot-wheels? (I.i.38-39)
He hath brought many captives home to Rome (III.ii.93)
Who is here so base that would be a bondman? (III.ii.31)
Go show your slaves how choleric you are,
And make your bondmen tremble. (IV.iii.43-44)

¹⁸ The concept of manliness is enhanced by contrast with women as characters and in imagery. So Calphurnia fears for Caesar, and Portia, in spite of her boast that she is "Cato's daughter," and stronger than her sex (II.i.292 ff.), has to confess later

How weak a thing

The heart of woman is! (II.iv.39-40)

Among the sights seen on the eve of Caesar's murder are women "transformed with their fear" (I.iii.22-24); for other references to the weakness, rashness or "melting spirits" of women, cf. I.iii.83-84; II.i.120-122; IV.iii.120-121.

It is in the name of freedom that Brutus is persuaded to join the conspiracy against Caesar; Cassius speaks of "groaning underneath this age's yoke" (I.ii.61), but he will deliver himself from bondage, even by that last resort, suicide (I.iii.90-95); the Romans are slaves, and Caesar would be no tyrant, "no lion, were not Romans hinds" (I.iii.106.) So after the murder of Caesar the conspirators proclaim "Liberty, freedom and enfranchisement" (III.i.78, 81, 110) and in future ages they shall be called "the men that gave our country liberty" (III.i.118). In his speech from the pulpit Brutus pleads that the death of Caesar has brought liberty,

Had you rather Caesar were living, and die all slaves, than that Caesar were dead, to live all free men? (III.ii.24-26)

Yet just before they stab Caesar, the conspirators who so eagerly stand up for freedom fawn upon him with "low-crooked court'sies" (III.i.43), and as Antony later says, "bow'd like bondmen, kissing Caesar's feet" (V.i.42). Instead of greater liberty, there are proscriptions and "bills of outlawry" (IV.i; IV.iii.173 ff.) in Rome, and Brutus and his friends are forced to chance "upon one battle all our liberties" (V.i.76). Finally Cassius is driven to seek freedom in suicide; Brutus too, who had said he would never "go bound to Rome" (V.i.112), kills himself, and Strato can reply to Messala's question "Where is thy master?"

Free from the bondage you are in, Messala. (V.v.54)

Through this emphasis on names and ideals a continual contrast is drawn between belief and action. Caesar feels he must act in accordance with his name, his royalty, the public ideal, and goes to his death. Brutus believes it is in accordance with his name of honor, and the reputation of his great ancestor who drove Tarquin from Rome (II.i.51 ff.) that he should try to kill the name of Caesar, Caesar's royalty, although he knows that

the quarrel
Will bear no colour for the thing he is. (II.i.28-29)

He acts in the name of one ideal to destroy another, but the action is dishonorable, and the ideal of liberty, an illusion. Cassius too acts and incites Brutus in the name of liberty, but in destroying Caesar the conspirators are not destroying tyranny, for Caesar is no tyrant, but rather the force of order in Rome. The murder is preceded by bodings of disorder in the portents, and followed by still greater disorder, embodied dramatically in the mob that shouts and clamors equally for Pompey, Caesar, Brutus, and Antony, and tears Cinna to pieces simply because of his name; his death is the first of many,

These many, then, shall die; their names are prick'd. (IV.i.1)

The conspirators also believe in the name of Rome and Roman as indicating qualities of manliness, and the ability to control passion; and again, though they act in the name of Rome, action and ideal fail to correspond, as we see in the bickering of the quarrel scene, and as the behaviour of the mob continually shows.

This study of the dramatic purposes for which language and imagery are used in *Julius Caesar* suggests solutions for the problems both of style and dic-

tion and of the nature and unity of the play. The imagery of words and action points to the imaginative and dramatic unity of the play as consisting in the completion of the circle of events beginning and ending the rebellion. The action of the play turns on the distance between the ideals and public symbols for which the names of Caesar, Brutus, and Cassius, stand, and their true nature and actions. The three main figures are all noble and yet weak; none has the stature of hero or villain. Brutus and Cassius kill the man Caesar and not his spirit, not what he stands for, what they aim to destroy; it is a treacherous and dishonorable act which brings disorder, loss of the liberty they had sought, and finally civil war. All they had hoped to gain they lose, until they have nothing left but their names, and the opportunity to die bravely, to find freedom in suicide;

I will proclaim my name about the field. (V.iv.3)

Only by their deaths do they set at rest the spirit, the name of Caesar which they had sought to destroy. Their personal action is completed in this way, a tale of frustration and disorder which spreads outwards to involve the mob, the whole nation in civil destruction. All is the result of a self-deception, an obsession with names and an ignorance of reality, that could lead Brutus to think he was acting honorably in slaying his "best lover" (III.ii.49), and Cassius to think the death of one man would bring freedom.

Shakespeare Institute

Nicolò Secchi as a Source of *Twelfth Night*

HELEN ANDREWS KAUFMAN



THE early Italian comedy *Gl'Ingannati*¹ has long been considered an ultimate source of *Twelfth Night*. Whether Shakespeare knew this anonymous play in its original form or in some later version it is difficult to say. It is not unlikely that he was familiar with more than one account of the story.² It is also possible, as John Manningham³ suggested in 1601/2, that Shakespeare made use of another Italian play, *Gl'Inganni*,⁴ the 1547 comedy by Nicolò Secchi.⁵

Recent investigation by the writer has led to the conclusion that Shakespeare borrowed not only from *Gl'Ingannati* and one or more of its derivatives, and

¹ *Gl'Ingannati/ Commedia/ Degli/ Accademici/ Intronati/ Di Siena/ In Siena/ Per Matteo Florimi/ Con. lic. de. Sup. (Siena, 1611)*. According to the Prologue the play is the original work of the members of the Academy. Acted in 1531, published in 1537 and frequently reprinted, it has been partially translated into English by Thomas Love Peacock (London, 1862) and included in *The Works of Thomas Love Peacock* (London, MCMXXVI), X, 231-319. All citations are from the 1611 edition.

² The following, in chronological order, are plays and tales which are believed to have been influenced by *Gl'Ingannati*: *Le Sacrifice* by Charles Estienne (1543), republished as *Les Abuses* (1549), a free translation of *Gl'Ingannati*; *Laelia*, Latin play produced at Cambridge, possibly as early as 1546/7 and again in 1594/5, ed. by G. C. Moore Smith (Cambridge, 1910), a translation of Estienne's version; *Nicula*, a tale by Matteo Bandello (Lucca, 1554); *Buggbears* (c. 1560) utilizes a number of episodes from *Gl'Ingannati*; *Hecatommithi*, Part I, Novella 8, by Giraldo Cinthio (Monte Regal, 1565), possibly dependent on *Gl'Ingannati* but closer to *Gl'Inganni*; *Los Engañados* by Lope de Rueda (1567); a translation of *Gl'Ingannati*; *Las Burlas veras*, another play of approximately the same period, date and author uncertain; *Histoires Tragiques*, Vol. IV, no. 59, by François de Belleforest (Paris, 1570); *Apolonius and Silla*, "historic" 2, *Riche his Farewell to the Militarie Profession*, by Barnabe Riche (London, 1581). Riche's tale is generally said to have been Shakespeare's chief source.

³ In his diary of Feb. 2, 1601/2, John Manningham, a student of the Middle Temple writes, "At our feast we had a play called Twelve Night, or What you Will, much like the Comedy of Errors, or Menecmi in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni. . . ."

⁴ *Gl'Inganni/ Comedia/ del Signor N. S./ Recitata in Milano l'anno 1547. dinanzi alla/ Maesta del Re Filippo/ Nuovamente posta in luce./ Con Licenza, et Privilegio./ In Fiorenza appresso i Giunti MDLXII*. There were eleven editions of *Gl'Inganni*, the first in 1562 and the last in 1629. A close imitation, with the same title, by Curzio Gonzaga, was published in Venice in 1592, and a French translation, *Les Tromperies*, by Pierre Larivey in 1611. Peacock, pp. 239-241, gives a translation of the "argomento" of Secchi's play. All references are to the 1562 edition.

⁵ Nicolò Secchi, c. 1500-1560, spent most of his life in Milan where he won fame as statesman, diplomat, poet and dramatist. In addition to military treatises, diplomatic reports, letters and poems, Secchi wrote four comedies: *La Cameriera*, *Il Bessa*, *Gl'Inganni* and *L'Interesse*. With the exception of *La Cameriera*, printed in 1523, there are no editions of Secchi's plays prior to his death.

from Secchi's *Gl'Inganni*, but that he was also specifically indebted to another of Nicolò Secchi's comedies, *L'Interesse*.⁶

The purpose of this study will be to indicate certain resemblances among the four plays: *Gl'Ingannati*, *Gl'Inganni*, *L'Interesse*, and *Twelfth Night*; to point out likenesses between *Gl'Inganni* and *Twelfth Night* which have been overlooked; to show the points common to *L'Interesse* and *Twelfth Night* alone; and finally to call attention to the similarity of the treatment of women and romantic love by Secchi and Shakespeare.

Since *Gl'Ingannati* is the earliest of the four comedies a brief review of its plot may well be our first concern.

The story revolves about a youth, Fabrizio, presumably lost in the sack of Rome, and his sister Lelia who, in order to be near her erstwhile sweetheart Flaminio, has disguised herself as a page and obtained employment in the household of her beloved. But Flaminio has forgotten his first love and is now enamoured of Isabella, the daughter of Lelia's aged suitor. Flaminio sends his page to woo in his behalf whereupon Isabella falls in love with the disguised maiden. At this point Lelia's supposedly lost brother returns, is mistaken for his masquerading sister and locked in the same room with Isabella whom he eventually marries, thus leaving Flaminio free to marry Lelia.

As the resumé indicates there is enough similarity between the plots of *Gl'Ingannati* and *Twelfth Night* to suggest some sort of relationship.⁷ But if Shakespeare did depend upon this Italian comedy there are a good many elements in the Lelia-Flaminio affair of which he, unlike the other imitators of the *Ingannati* story, made no use. He dispenses with both the heroine's aged suitor and her earlier love affair with Flaminio.⁸ Viola dresses as a boy not in order to gain access to a man she already loves and who has once loved her, but to earn her living in strange Illyria. There is, moreover, but little resemblance between the characters of the two girls. Clever though she is, Lelia speaks and acts more bluntly and shows much less disinterested devotion than does Viola.⁹ In her dialogues with Flaminio there is none of the innuendo and skillful fencing which make Viola's speeches so memorable. Our admiration may be aroused

⁶ *L'Interesse/ Comedia/ del Signor/ Nicolo Secchi/ Nuovamente posta in luce/ Con Privilegio/ In Venetia/ Appresso Fabio & Agostino Zoppini Fratelli/ MDLXXXVII*. There were two other Venetian editions, one in 1581, the other in 1628, as well as one by M. Louis Moland in *Oeuvres Complètes de Molière* (Paris, 1880), III, 53 ff. The play was produced sometime before 1547, for, in the Prologue of the 1547 comedy *Gl'Inganni*, Secchi says he remembers how pleased the ladies had been by an earlier play about Lelio [the heroine of *L'Interesse*] and has therefore decided to present another comedy to amuse and delight them.

⁷ In addition to similarities in plot and character there is a reference in the Induction to Maleuolti whose name may have suggested Malvolio, and there is another reference in the Prologue to *la notte di Befana* which may well have suggested the title of *Twelfth Night*. See Joseph Hunter, *New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare* (London, 1845), I, 396; and Hardin Craig, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1951), p. 617.

⁸ All other imitators of the story make use of the earlier affair and all but Riche include the elderly suitor and miserly father.

⁹ In relating her encounter with the amorous Isabella Lelia says, "Isabella . . . has fallen madly in love with me and makes the most passionate advances. I pretend I will not love her, unless she can manage to bring Flaminio's pursuit of her to an end" (I.iii.p.39). In contrast, Viola, faced with Olivia's avowal of love, asks from her, "Nothing but this, your true love for my master" (III.iv.233). Of the masquerading girls in the other accounts, only Silla resembles Viola in the faithful manner in which she presses her master's suit.

by the single-mindedness of Lelia's pursuit—not by its subtlety. In short, although Shakespeare could have borrowed from *Gl'Ingannati* most of the Orsino-Viola-Olivia-Sebastian plot he would have found in this Italian heroine but few hints for his witty and charming Viola.

While Shakespeare was, of course, quite capable of transforming the rather calculating Lelia into the equally clever but much more appealing Viola, it is interesting to discover in the heroines of Secchi's two comedies—Ruberto of *Gl'Inganni* and Lelio of *L'Interesse*—possible models for the heroine of *Twelfth Night*. These two girls show the same combination of wit, vivacity and warm-heartedness which characterizes Viola. In addition to the similarities among their three leading ladies, there are, however, other and more tangible points common to *Twelfth Night*, *Gl'Inganni* and *L'Interesse*, points which are not to be found in *Gl'Ingannati* or any of its derivatives.

Gl'Inganni, the best known of Secchi's plays, has never been translated into English. Indeed the only translation of this comedy is the one made by Pierre Larivey in 1611. Like the other comedies under discussion, *Gl'Inganni*, as the following account will indicate, is concerned with love, intrigue, and mistaken identity.

A Genoese merchant, accompanied by his wife and twin children, Fortunato and Geneva, is seized by pirates and sold into slavery. The twins are also captured and brought to Naples. Fortunato is employed by the courtesan Dorotea; and Geneva, whom her mother has dressed as a boy and called Ruberto, has become the page of young Gostanzo. Geneva-Ruberto falls in love with her master but Gostanzo, ignorant of her sex, is enamoured of the courtesan Dorotea, to whom he sends his page Ruberto with messages of love. Meanwhile Portia, Gostanzo's sister, has become infatuated with the page Ruberto and arranges a nocturnal meeting. At this rendezvous, under cover of darkness, Fortunato takes his sister's place. As a result Portia is pregnant, and Ruberto, her supposed lover, is threatened with death by the girl's angry father. Fortunately the twin's father arrives in the nick of time and resolves all the difficulties. Gostanzo marries Geneva-Ruberto, and Fortunato makes Portia his wife.

As the summary shows, *Gl'Inganni* resembles both *Twelfth Night* and *Gl'Ingannati*.¹⁰ Although its plot does not correspond as closely to *Twelfth Night* as does that of *Gl'Ingannati*, it is, nevertheless, easy to see why scholars have been struck by the similarities between Secchi's and Shakespeare's plays.¹¹

In addition to the resemblances between the two plots, John Payne Collier discovered certain lines which "distantly" reminded him of a Viola-Orsino scene in *Twelfth Night*.¹² The following are, respectively, the passages from *Gl'Inganni* and *Twelfth Night* to which Collier referred:

(*Gl'Inganni*, I. ix, p. 21)

Gostanzo. [In reply to Ruberto who has just told him that some

¹⁰ *Gl'Inganni* also resembles Secchi's *Interesse* and has some points in common with the *Truculentus* and *Asinaria* of Plautus.

¹¹ Among those who believe that Shakespeare knew *Gl'Inganni* are: Hunter, pp. 391-392; Morton Luce, Arden Edition of *Twelfth Night* (London, 1921), Introd. p. x ff.; Moore Smith, p. xxiv; and Hardin Craig, p. 616.

¹² See Furness, Variorum Edition of *Twelfth Night*, 1901, Introd., p. xix, and Appendix pp. 339-341.

young girl is in love with him]

Do I know her?

Ruberto. As well as you do me.

Gostanzo. Is she young?

Ruberto. Of my age.

Gostanzo. And loves me?

Ruberto. Adores you.

Gostanzo. Have I ever seen her?

Ruberto. As often as you have seen me.

(*Twelfth Night*, II.iv.22-29)

Duke. . . My life upon't, young though thou art, thine eye
Hath stay'd upon some favor that it loves.

Hath it not, boy?

Vio. A little, by your favor.

Duke. What kind of woman is't?

Vio. Of your complexion.

Duke. She is not worth thee, then. What years i'faith?

Vio. About your years, my lord.

It is little wonder that subsequent critics have not been impressed by the similarity between these two dialogues or that Collier himself saw only a distant relationship. Aside from the one query about the girl's age there is no real resemblance. As a matter of fact the situations are very different. In the passage from *Twelfth Night* the page himself (Viola-Cesario) is supposed to be in love with the unnamed girl; in the lines quoted from *Gl'Inganni* the reference is to an unidentified maiden who adores Gostanzo. Moreover, the unknown girl in *Gl'Inganni* is of the same age as the page Ruberto, while in *Twelfth Night* the girl whom Viola pretends to love is of the same age as the Duke. I stress these discrepancies because it seems to me that Collier was unfortunate in choosing these particular dialogues for comparison. Had he looked further he would have discovered another dialogue in *Twelfth Night* which does have a good deal in common with the passage quoted from *Gl'Inganni*. Similarly, he would have found another passage in *Gl'Inganni* which clearly resembles the Orsino-Viola conversation which he cited from *Twelfth Night*.

Since these corresponding passages can be understood correctly only in their proper contexts, let us turn back to the comparable dilemmas confronting Orsino and Viola in *Twelfth Night*, and Gostanzo and Ruberto in *Gl'Inganni*. Both men are in love with indifferent ladies, Orsino with Olivia and Gostanzo with Dorotea; in both cases the devoted pages try in vain to make their masters see the folly of their hopeless infatuations; and in both cases they use the same device—imaginary ladies who suffer for Orsino or Gostanzo, as the case may be, the pangs of unrequited love. In *Twelfth Night* Viola suggests to Orsino that there may be some lady who has for his love "as great a pang of heart" as he has for Olivia, and then proceeds to paint the pathetic picture of her father's daughter who loved a man and never told her love but sat "like Patience on a monument, / Smiling at grief" (II.iv.92-118). In the parallel situation in *Gl'Inganni*, Gostanzo refuses to give up Dorotea despite the advice of his page, Genevra-Ruberto. It is only when Ruberto says that she knows one more lost in his love than he is "in that of this jade" (I.ix, p. 21), that Gostanzo becomes

interested, eagerly questioning her about the girl's age and her affection for him. (See passage above quoted by Collier.)

Clearly there is one point of resemblance between the two scenes. In both cases the man, Orsino in *Twelfth Night* and Gostanzo in *Gl'Inganni*, is told of a woman who suffers the pangs of unrequited love. The only difference is that Shakespeare touches very lightly and obliquely a situation which is developed at some length in *Gl'Inganni*. Whereas Viola merely hints that there may be some lady who loves Orsino as hopelessly as he does Olivia, Ruberto definitely states that there is a poor creature who secretly adores Gostanzo; and whereas Shakespeare contents himself with this one reference to Orsino's admirer, Secchi continues and expands the subject in another scene.

In this later scene (I.x, pp. 23-24) Ruberto and Gostanzo resume their discussion of the anonymous lovelorn maiden. Gostanzo, whose sympathy is aroused and vanity touched by this poor girl's misery, begs Ruberto to take him to her, suggesting that such a visit might cure him of his infatuation for Dorotea. Ruberto, however, will agree to such a visit only if Gostanzo will, for a period of eight days, neither see the courtesan nor mention her name. To Gostanzo's refusal to follow so difficult a program and to his plea that they deceive his unknown admirer by simply letting her believe that he has given up Dorotea, Ruberto reacts violently. Puzzled by his page's concern over the girl's suffering, Gostanzo asks why she is so upset, and Ruberto replies that it is because she loves this nameless girl as much as she does herself.

Obviously this is the scene which should be compared to the Orsino-Viola dialogue which Collier cited. For Ruberto's confession that she herself loves the unnamed maiden who adores Gostanzo has much in common with Viola-Cesario's admission that she is in love with some nameless girl.

It is worth noting that these imaginary ladies, whose identity the young pages so easily hide from their love-sick masters, appear in both *Twelfth Night* and *Gl'Inganni* but not in *Gl'Ingannati*. In addition to this resemblance, and to the possible adoption of the name Cesario from a later version of *Gl'Inganni*,¹⁸ there is another reason for believing Shakespeare may have read the play, that is, the similarity between the characters of Ruberto and Viola.

Ruberto resembles Viola in many ways. Like Viola's her cleverness is tempered by her tenderness and love of fun. She may outwit Gostanzo but her love for him is both ardent and artless. There is indeed about the whole Gostanzo-Ruberto love affair a warm emotional quality which, in its avoidance of too much sophistication on the one hand and of any touch of sentimentality on the other, reminds one of Shakespeare.

But if Ruberto resembles Viola she is also very like the girl disguised as a boy in *L'Interesse*. For Lelio, the heroine of *L'Interesse*, has the same self-reliance, the same whole-hearted devotion for her lover, and the same charming combination of teasing and tenderness which characterizes the heroines of *Gl'Inganni* and *Twelfth Night*.

Although there are marked differences between the plot of *L'Interesse* and those of the other plays we have been discussing, there are, in addition to the resemblance of its heroine to both Ruberto and Viola, some specific and signifi-

¹⁸ Gonzaga called the page Cesare. See note 4 above.

cant similarities between this comedy of Secchi and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.

Unfortunately *L'Interesse* is even less familiar to English readers than is *Gl'Inganni*. Aside from a little known seventeenth-century manuscript translation there has been no translation of this play into English or, for that matter, into any language.¹⁴ For this reason a rather long summary may be in order here.

Some eighteen years before the opening scene, Pandolfo and Ricciardo, two Italian merchants, have made a wager on the sex of Pandolfo's expected child, Ricciardo betting that it would be a girl and Pandolfo that it would be a boy. A girl was born but Pandolfo, in order to win the wager, has disguised her as a boy and named her Lelio. Meanwhile, Virginia, Pandolfo's older daughter, has been wooed by two youths, Fabio, the son of Ricciardo, and Flaminio whose affection she returns. Lelio, on her part, has fallen in love with Fabio and has managed, by borrowing her sister's clothes and by arranging a series of nocturnal meetings, to pass herself off as Virginia on the unsuspecting Fabio. As a result Lelio is pregnant and turns to Tebaldo, her father's friend for advice. The situation is further complicated by the rivalry between Fabio and Flaminio. The latter, confident of Virginia's love, is puzzled by Fabio's insistence that Virginia is his, Fabio's, wife. To add to the muddle Fabio's servant has confided the secret marriage of Fabio and Virginia to Ricciardo. Ricciardo, feeling that his son, Fabio, has taken unfair advantage of the girl, agrees to a very small dowry. At this juncture Tebaldo steps in and solves the difficulties. Ricciardo is persuaded by the promise of a larger dowry to forgive the deceit of Pandolfo and accept Lelio instead of Virginia as his daughter.

As the resumé indicates there is one point common to *L'Interesse* and the other comedies under discussion—the device of a girl disguised as a boy and in love with a man who already loves another woman.¹⁵ Unlike Lelia of *Gl'Ingannati*, however, Lelio has not adopted masculine dress in order to be near a forgetful sweetheart; nor has she, like Ruberto and Viola, because of financial necessity, hired herself out as a page to any handsome young gentleman. In fact her disguise was not of her own choosing but arranged by her father in order to win a bet. But if Lelio is not responsible for her masculine disguise, she is responsible for the feminine role she secretly adopts. Wearing her sister's clothes and meeting her beloved only under cover of darkness, she has so successfully

¹⁴ The MS translation, made c. 1660 by one William Reymes, is in the Folger Shakespeare Library. I have compared this English translation, entitled *Selfe Interest or the Belly Wager*, with the 1587 edition of *L'Interesse* and find that Reymes has followed the original as closely as a transition from prose to blank verse would permit. All references will be to the MS translation, which has been edited by the writer and published by the University of Washington Press (1953). Molière, in 1658, incorporated part of *L'Interesse* in his *Dépit Amoureux*.

¹⁵ The similarity among the three Italian plays suggests some lineal relationship. Both the name and plot of *Gl'Inganni* may have been derived from *Gl'Ingannati*; while the character of Ruberto, the imaginary ladies invented by this page, and the very wording of some of the Gostanzo-Ruberto dialogues seem to be dependent upon Secchi's earlier *L'Interesse*. *L'Interesse* may also have been influenced by *Gl'Ingannati*. The names Flaminio and Fabio occur in both plays, and the name Lelio in *L'Interesse* is very similar to that of Lelia in *Gl'Ingannati*. Moreover, the phrase, "Love bore me up," is found in both plays. Thus *Gl'Ingannati* may have furnished material for Secchi's two comedies. On the other hand, since *La Cameriera* was printed in 1523 there is a temptation to believe that Secchi's other comedies may have been composed much earlier than is generally supposed, perhaps earlier than *Gl'Ingannati*.

impersonated Virginia that Fabio boasts openly to his rival, Flaminio, of his marriage to Virginia.

It is Fabio's supposed marriage to Virginia which leads to most of the complications in the latter part of the play. Since Virginia denies Fabio's claims, Flaminio accuses his rival of slander and prepares to fight him. At this point, it will be remembered, Tebaldo, apprised of the real state of affairs, resolves the difficulties. The fathers are reconciled; Flaminio is promised Virginia, and Ricciardo is overjoyed at the prospect of so clever a daughter-in-law as Lelio. Only Fabio is kept in ignorance of the truth. For the rest of the group, led by his own father, decide to play a trick upon him. Fabio is told that instead of fighting Flaminio he must fight a duel with Virginia's outraged "brother" Lelio. Warned of his opponent's hidden strength he is told of the peculiar nature of the combat which must be fought "in their shirts" and without attendants. Fabio, of course, soon discovers that the belligerent brother Lelio is none other than his own wife.

This proposed duel, at once a jest at the expense of Fabio and an effective way of ending the play, is of special interest as a possible link between *L'Interesse* and *Twelfth Night*. The idea of a disguised girl who wins the man she loves in the face of overwhelming difficulties is common to all of the plays we have been discussing, but a duel between a man and a girl disguised as a man occurs in only two—*Twelfth Night* and *L'Interesse*. In *Twelfth Night*, it is true, both participants, Sir Andrew Aguecheek and Viola, are the dupes of the pranksters and are both visibly frightened by the tall tales which Sir Toby and Fabian tell of their opponent's prowess. In *L'Interesse*, on the other hand, the farcical duel is arranged by the fun-loving elders at the expense of only one of the contestants, Fabio. (Lelio is, of course, in on the secret.) To offset this discrepancy, however, there is another point common to the two duels: neither one comes off. In *L'Interesse*, Fabio arriving at the appointed place discovers a wife instead of a brother-in-law; in *Twelfth Night*, just as Viola and Aguecheek draw, Antonio, the sea captain, arrives and, mistaking Viola for Sebastian, intervenes. Certainly the similarities are great enough to make one wonder if the Viola-Aguecheek incident may not have grown out of the episode in *L'Interesse*.

There are other resemblances. The complex situation of an unknown lady supposedly in love with the leading male character, and of an unnamed maiden whom the girl in masculine disguise pretends to love, common to *Twelfth Night* and *G'Inganni*, is also found in *L'Interesse*. Since *L'Interesse* antedates the other two plays it may well be the ultimate source of the imaginary ladies invented by Ruberto in *G'Inganni* and by Viola in *Twelfth Night*.¹⁶

To turn to the situation as developed in *L'Interesse*: Shortly after Lelio has told Tebaldo of her marriage to Fabio and of his ignorance of her identity, she meets her husband on the street and roguishly inquires about his beloved. He, in turn, asks about "hers." Some of the more significant lines of their conversation follow:

Lelio. How long is't Fabio—since you saw your Mistris? . . .

And what's the matter with you that you blush?

Fabio. I am asham'd I am not that brave Lover

W.^{ch} you conceit, and paint me forth to be.

But tell me Lelio how fare you with your Love?

¹⁶ See note 6 above.

Lelio. With my love I have this advantage—that
I see my Love at all tymes when I will. . . .
But I will tell you more; I say lykewise
That I am often with hir all alone.

Fabio. Oho—this must be some Curtezan.

Lelio. I say it is a noble person, rich;
And borne of as good parents, as we are.

Fabio. Is she young?

Lelio. About your age.

Fabio. Is she beautiful?

Lelio. A sweet face, and comely lyke yours. (III.ii.1-48)¹⁷

Not only is the overall situation here—that of a girl in male attire purportedly in love with a lady who resembles her real sweetheart in both age and appearance—identical with that scene in *Twelfth Night* where Viola-Cesario tells Orsino that she loves a girl who resembles him in age and appearance, but the italicized four lines are almost exactly like those from *Twelfth Night* quoted above and repeated here in part:

Duke. What kind of woman is't?

Vio. Of your complexion.

Duke. . . . What years i' faith?

Vio. About your years, my lord.

Another link between *L'Interesse* and *Twelfth Night* is the reference to an unknown girl who is wasting away for hopeless love of Fabio, just as did Viola's fictitious sister for some unnamed lover and as some lady may, perhaps, for Orsino. The following dialogue relating to Fabio's unidentified admirer will illustrate the similarities between the two scenes:

Lelio. But what say you to this (Friend Fabio)?
There is where I do go—a faire young Lady
Who deeply is in love, and sighs for you. . . .

Fabio. Show Hir to me, and I will adore hir.
But sure she can not love me as you say. . . .
Alas poore Soule—convulsion fitts may kill hir. . . .
What does she tell you then—concerning me?

Lelio. That you are handsome, gentle, and curteous;
She onely blames you for your loving one
Who loves not you, and knowes not hir who adores you.

Fabio. . . . Go and persuade hir for to trust to me
For I will alwaies be hir humble Servant.

Lelio. I will do so. . . .
[Aside] Oh thou Traitor! (III.ii.127-191)

In addition to its resemblance to comparable scenes in *Gl'Inganni* and *Twelfth Night*, the dialogue is significant in its revelation of Lelio's character. Fabio's eagerness to know just what the love-sick girl thinks of him, and his suggestion that it is only his courteous interest that moves him, are not lost on Lelio. With remarkable restraint, however, she contents herself with the amused aside, "Oh thou Traitor!" For, devoted though she is to her Fabio, Lelio, like

¹⁷ The italics are mine.

Ruberto and Viola, takes a very human delight in flattering and teasing her lover. Indeed Lelio resembles Ruberto and Viola in many ways. Like them she proceeds with consummate skill to win the affection of a bemused and bewildered beloved; and like them she is the pivot on which most of the action turns.

Of vital importance to the plot, Lelio is also the most convincingly drawn character in the play. Of the many persons who discuss this masquerading heroine perhaps none evaluates her more appreciatively than does Ricciardo. Genuinely delighted with this "witty, pretty rogue," his daughter-in-law, who has "so cunningly deceived the world," he says:

..... I, for my part
 Could never have lit upon a better fortune
 Than in my house to have so rare a spirit.
 She is well learned, yea merchants' books can keep,
 And hath a comely geare in all her actions.
 My solace she will be, my pleasant garden. (V.ii.19-24)

However, our knowledge of Lelio is not confined to the comments of other characters. Contrary to the procedure in most contemporary Italian comedy, this leading lady appears on the stage again and again. Not only is she talked about, she talks.¹⁸ Indeed Lelio has more significant and more entertaining lines than any other person in Secchi's play. In her long conversations with Tebaldo she shows an intelligent grasp of her dilemma, while in her even longer dialogues with Hermogine she outwits this wordy tutor at every turn. It is in her talks with Fabio, however, that Lelio most fully reveals herself. These dialogues show that Lelio's love for Fabio, like Ruberto's for Gostanzo, and Viola's for Orsino, is a nice mixture of wit, gayety and honest emotion. Her love, like theirs, avoids, on the one hand, any suggestion of sentimentality and, on the other, the callous worldliness so common to the school of Plautine comedy.

L'Interesse indeed, like *G'Inganni*, admirably illustrates Secchi's chief deviations from Latin comedy and the Italian imitators thereof—the importance given to respectable women and the romantic treatment of love. For, imbedded though it is in a good deal of realistic humor, there is in both of these plays the essence of romantic comedy as Shakespeare understood it. As for the heroines, they are all akin—Lelio, Ruberto, Viola—those three warm-hearted girls who love and tease their less quick-witted lovers.

If, as is generally held, Shakespeare's habit was to consult not one but many sources, harmoniously combining whatever material suited his purpose, it is not unreasonable to believe that he depended not only upon the anonymous *G'Ingannati*, but also upon Secchi's two plays, *G'Inganni* and *L'Interesse*. From *G'Ingannati* or some of the later versions of that comedy he could well have

¹⁸ Although other early Italian dramatists sometimes substituted young women of good family for the courtezans of Latin comedy, none of them showed Secchi's skill in the portrayal of women and love. As a rule their heroines, though the centers of the love intrigues, had little or nothing to say. Polynesta, for example, the heroine of Ariosto's *I Supposti*, appears only once in the entire play. On this occasion she discusses her affairs with her nurse; she is never heard talking to her lover. Perhaps the enviable position held by women in Renaissance Italy and the importance given them in the popular neo-Platonic treatises of the day may have influenced Secchi's treatment of his heroines. That he was aware of the importance of the feminine members of his audience is evidenced by the Prologue of *G'Inganni* in which he says the play was written solely for the benefit of the ladies.

taken the idea of Olivia's love for the page sent to woo her; from *Gl'Inganni* and *L'Interesse*, the models for the two ladies whom Viola invented; and from *L'Interesse*, the Viola-Aguecheek duel and the dialogue in which Viola tells Orsino that the woman she loves resembles the Duke in both age and appearance. Possibly Shakespeare was also influenced by Secchi's portrayal of witty, self-reliant and ardent young girls of good family, and by his humorous but sensitive treatment of romantic love. In short, Nicolò Secchi, one of the earliest and best of the Italian dramatists, may have contributed not a little to the development of Shakespeare's romantic comedies.

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The Clothing Motif in *King Lear*

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RANVILLE-BARKER advised that a production of *King Lear* should represent the character Oswald as an overdressed nonentity.¹ The 1950 production given by the Stratford Memorial Theatre, following in the main Granville-Barker's suggestions, did effectively present Oswald in an elegant and foppish costume of brilliant green. His garments gave fine visual emphasis to Kent's contemptuous, "nature disclaims in thee; a tailor made thee" (II.ii.59-60), and provided a physical example for Edgar's "serving-man, proud in heart and mind; that curl'd my hair; wore gloves in my cap" (III.iv.87-88).² Even more striking was Regan in a resplendent scarlet gown which underlined all the savagery and sensuality of her character and illustrated to the eye Lear's punning description of Regan's inner and outer being:

Why, nature needs not what thou gorgeous wear'st,
Which scarcely keeps thee warm. (II.iv.272-273)

This costuming of Regan, Oswald, and others of their ilk made effective stage contrast with the quiet simplicity of Cordelia's gowns, the rough garments worn by Kent, the rags of poor Tom and finally the disarray of Lear himself. But concurrently it provided also a meaningful interplay between visual and verbal images, the ultimate contrast being between gorgeousness of garments and the image of nakedness used by Lear to express his realization of man's essential state: "a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art" (III.iv.112-113).

Caroline Spurgeon identified the tortured human body as the dominant image in *Lear* and Robert Heilman has studied the "clothes pattern" as important to the meaning and structure of the play.³ Heilman's interpretation of the imagery of clothes and nakedness insofar as its meaning accrues in terms of the play itself is full and explicit. I shall not attempt any further contribution in that direction, but I should like to point out the enrichment of the "clothes pattern" which comes through familiar traditional associations and through Shakespeare's consciousness of the relation of those associations to our human scheme of values.

In contrasting gorgeousness and nakedness, Shakespeare used a motif of

¹ Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, first series (London, 1927), pp. 218, 219.

² Citations from *King Lear* are to *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. George Lyman Kittredge (Boston, New York, etc., 1936).

³ Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* (New York, 1935), pp. 338 ff.; Robert B. Heilman, *This Great Stage: Image and Structure in Lear* (Baton Rouge, La., 1948), Chap. III.

ancient and highly respectable lineage. It was a familiar symbol on the early stage in miracle and morality plays. It is in fact the dramatic center of the early part of the morality *Nature*. Off the stage, common in pictorial representation, were juxtaposed clothed and nude figures which carried symbolic meanings of a dramatic nature. Through a long and popular tradition the motif possessed various meanings that attach to its use in *Lear* and enrich the individual application there.

Erwin Panofsky has devoted part of his *Studies in Iconology* to a consideration of the use of contrasting draped and undraped figures in Medieval and Renaissance art.⁴ He points out that in both periods the representation of these two figures together indicated conflicting principles, a *débat* in which one of the contestants was meant to be superior. However, the symbolic value of nudity was ambivalent. Especially in the Middle Ages, nudity could symbolize either the superior or the inferior quality.

This ambivalence, Panofsky shows, already existed in the Biblical and Roman traditions. In general, nakedness there represented something bad, such as poverty or shamelessness. However, it was also associated with truth—i.e., "the naked truth"—and so had favorable symbolic meaning, too. Medieval theological tradition likewise gave both favorable and unfavorable interpretations. Summarizing from P. Berchorius,⁵ Panofsky lists four theological meanings: ". . . *nuditas naturalis*, the natural state of man conducive to humility; *nuditas temporalis*, the lack of earthly goods which can be voluntary (as in the Apostles or monks) or necessitated by poverty; *nuditas virtualis*, a symbol of innocence (preferably innocence acquired through confession); and *nuditas criminalis*, a sign of lust, vanity and the absence of all virtues."⁶ Along this line, nakedness was used to represent the lack of virtue in devils and vices, pagan divinities, and erring humans. But it also depicted our first parents, martyrs, and souls departing from the body.

However, in Medieval pictorial art, when the draped and undraped figures were set in deliberate contrast, the former symbolized a superior idea. For example, in one picture, a nude personification of Worldly Happiness appears inferior to the draped figure of Heavenly Life; in others Nature is nude in contrast to clothed Grace or clothed Reason.⁷

Renaissance iconography reversed the symbolic values of these contrasting figures. In the Proto-Renaissance, nudity became the conventional representation of ecclesiastical virtues: temperance, fortitude, truth, chastity, etc. Clothing was used for personifications of vain, worldly, passing things. In the fifteenth century this symbolism was brought to a secular level. Botticelli's "Truth *vs.* Calumny" is one of numerous examples which depict, on a secular level, the superior quality as nude; and Titian's "Sacred and Profane Love" also shows something of the same reversal.⁸ Profane Love, instead of being a naked Venus, is richly dressed and holds a vessel of jewels; Sacred Love, undraped, bears a vessel of fire. Shakespeare, with his fine eye for double meanings and ironic

⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York, 1939), pp. 154-157.

⁵ Petrus Berchorius, *Dictionarii seu repertorii moralis . . . pars prima-tertia* (Venice, 1583).

⁶ Panofsky, p. 156.

⁷ *Ibid.*, figs. 109, 110, 111.

⁸ *Ibid.*, figs. 115, 108.

contrasts, exploited these complexities and contradictions of meaning in employing the motif in *King Lear*.

As I have said, the clothes pattern was used in the drama long before Shakespeare wrote. The transference of the symbolic clothed and unclothed figures to the early stage is demonstrated very explicitly in Henry Medwall's morality *Nature*.⁹ This purely allegorical use of the motif is worth consideration here. For one thing, it shows, through a competent craftsman, the adaptability of the symbols to stage allegory. Further, it points up the extent to which Shakespeare's use of the motif was in the allegorical tradition. And finally, a look at Medwall's method clarifies the ways in which Shakespeare went beyond simple allegory to accommodate the symbols to his own realistic and critical sense.

In *Nature*, the *débat* element of the conflict between the draped and nude figures is verbalized: the wearing of garments becomes the subject of actual argument. In applying the motif to his allegorical drama, the playwright did not give us pure abstractions contrasting symbolical clothed or unclothed states. The issue, in dialogue and in physical action, is whether or not the figure Man shall appear clothed.

Man is placed between the abstractions Mundus and Innocency; and the clothing, "a gown and cap and a gyrdyll," brought on stage by Worldly Affecyon, is offered to Man to accept or reject by a free act of his will. The freedom of his choice is the main theme of the long speeches which precede this first bit of real action and is carefully acknowledged by Man himself.

In his initial appearance, Man is in a state of innocence, although not the "innocence acquired through confession" which Panofsky cites from Berchorius but probably closer to the "*nuditas naturalis*, the natural state of man," since he has not yet gone into the world. He and Innocency present the case for nakedness as follows:

Man. I thanke you/ but I nede none other vesture
Nature hath clothed me/ as yet suffysantly
Gyltles of syn/ and as a mayden pure
I were on me/ the garment of innocency
Inno. ye hardely were that garment contynually
It shall thy body/ suffysantly saveguard
From stormy weder my lyfe to ieopard.

(First Part, ll. 435-441)

The World's arguments in favor of the garments are eminently practical and specious: the world is harsh and intemperate; in the world one must do as the world does or be subject to scorn; and God, by placing man in the world, indicated that he should adopt worldly things. With the gift of garments, which Man without further ado accepts, come "auctoryte," "power," and "worldly dygnitey," and his acceptance is, of course, the first step in the typical long series of evil practices and companions which he affects throughout the play.

Another symbolic use of clothing in *Nature* occurs with the appearance of "Pryde." Pryde is the first of the deadly sins with whom Man fraternizes and, significantly, his introductory speech boasts of his gorgeousness. Indeed, he expounds the subject for fifty-five lines (First Part, ll. 740-795). Medwall intro-

⁹ The play appears in *Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*, ed. Alois Brandl (Strassburg, 1898).

duced comic details here in connection with the motif. Pryde has quarreled with his merchant. He "knits up" his hair each night. His doublet keeps him too hot on the coldest days. The sleeves of his gown contain enough material for a doublet and cloak. His "sword or two" are so heavy that they must be carried by a page, the page himself being his master's bastard son.

Pryde then launches on a lengthy project of getting fine clothes for Man; and these, too, are described in detail (First Part, ll. 1059-82). At the end of the play, when Man is being instructed for his final salvation, clothing is condemned. Mekenes forbids and Man abjures "aray/ that staryng ys to syght" (Second Part, l. 1155) as an attribute of pride.

In *Nature*, then, there is a *débat* over the wearing of garments and the clothed, especially the richly dressed, figure represents the inferior principle and is the subject of both serious and comic attack. The motif is expressed through very explicit dialogue and through detailed physical representation on the stage. Clothing first denotes worldly interests and dignity. Then gorgeousness in dress becomes the primary attribute of pride personified. The motif is adapted to the central dramatic conflict of the play. Human conflict is directly introduced into the convention of conflicting draped and undraped figures when Man appears on the stage among the pure abstractions and begins his progression from nakedness to simple wearing apparel to "staring array." His decisions regarding the garments signify man's freedom of choice. In first abjuring clothing Man is in a state of innocence which precedes the advent of worldly temptations. His final adjuration of clothing represents a spiritual movement. He has, after a long defection, prepared himself for salvation.

In *King Lear* the motif retains important traditional implications. The individuality, artistry, and power with which the playwright applied the motif unite it organically with other elements of the play and prevent the conventional from calling attention to itself as conventional. It is wholly fused with the structure, the poetic language, and the physical representation of the play. Nevertheless, its familiarity in other contexts brings it rich and quickly recognizable meanings.

Of the traditional aspects of the motif, the *débat* elements appear in various ways. Visually, there are opposed figures on the stage, represented in the extreme by the elegant Regan on the one hand and by the "looped and windowed" garments of "the naked fellow" poor Tom, on the other, and represented by Lear himself in his progressive dishevelment. Morally, the motif is used, as in a *débat*, to contrast inferior and superior values. And verbally, Lear "debates" with Regan and finally with himself on the matter of the meaning of garments.

The traditional associations evoked are not simple equations. "Gorgeousness," for example, represents as in *Nature*, office, degree, and power. Lear's loss of kingly power is accompanied by physical divestiture. "Alack, bareheaded?" Kent mourns (III.ii.60), and Lear, finally recognizing the extent of his loss, begins to tear off his clothing. Regan is reminded that her dress is a part of her station (II.iv.270). But there are other symbolic meanings, some rather directly associated with office: temporality, misuse of power, political falseness; and others, such as hard-heartedness, error, unnaturalness, and concealment of essential qualities, more indirectly associated with it. Tom of Bedlam, fictionally describing his former state as a serving man, associates foppish dress with lust. The conventional oppositions between the garbed and ungarbed, Shakespeare

heightened by the storm, during which the wicked and well-dressed remain in power and comfort in Gloucester's castle while bareheaded Lear, ragged Tom, and the sodden Fool find only exposure and the meanest shelter.

Like gorgeousness, nakedness has various implications. Regan is finely dressed but at the same time partially unclothed, wearing what "scarce keeps her warm." Regan's partial nudity reminds us that one of the meanings of nakedness, symbolically, is "lust, vanity and absence of all virtues." It prepares us for her savagery and her quick sensual passion for Edmund. Tom's nudity is a mark of his individual poverty and wretchedness, and it is his special mark of identification. He proclaims nakedness as his disguise (II.iii.11). The image of "poor naked wretches" exposed to the storm suggests to Lear a whole world of pitiful suffering of which he heretofore had taken too little heed. This image, soon to be manifested on the stage in the figure of Tom, inspires Lear, through pity, to dissociate himself from the "lendings" of royalty, "Take physic, pomp;/ Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel," (III.iv.33-34). Finally, Tom's physical appearance leads Lear to consider the essence of man and to seek for self-knowledge through identification with the "thing itself"; with man stripped of the attributes which accrue to him through external trappings of worm's silk and cat's perfume. (I am here considering Tom not as Edgar in disguise but as Tom of Bedlam, which he is to Lear and to the audience, also, except for the duration of a few small asides.)

Lear at the depths of his disillusionment and wretchedness and with the first onset of madness deliberately assumes the symbolic state of the nude figure: "Off, off, you lendings! Come, unbutton here" (III.iv.113-114). He achieves wisdom by pitying, understanding and sharing this extremity of physical affliction. First bareheaded, now plucking off his garments, he achieves the symbolic condition which brings him self-recognition and the way to his salvation. The Christian analogy to Lear's psychological state and its relation to the use of the clothing motif provides familiar overtones. Man, in *Nature*, prepared for his heavenly salvation by casting off his garments. In fact, three of the theological meanings of the symbols of nudity are paralleled at this point in *King Lear*: "the natural state of man conducive to humility; . . . the lack of earthly goods . . . ; innocence (preferably innocence acquired through confession)." Lear's "innocence" becomes the exaggerated innocence of madness, a state which continues until Cordelia heals the sore spirit that has borne the shock of severance from its familiar condition in the world of human affairs.

The involvement of Lear with the motif of the garbed and ungarbed figures, used so emphatically in poetry and in action at this structural high point, reappears later. His preoccupation with clothing continues through his madness. He frets over Tom's garb (III.vi.84-86). In Act IV, he assumes a pathetic caricature of high office with his crown of weeds:

rank fumiter and furrow weeds,
With hardocks, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flow'rs,
Darnel, and all the idle weeds that grow
In our sustaining corn. (IV.iv.3-6)

When Lear is restored to his senses and to his friends, his new status is accompanied by new garments: "In the heaviness of sleep/ We put fresh garments on him" (IV.vii.21-22); and he notices these clothes very quickly upon his

awakening. At his death he reiterates on a quieter note but again physically and verbally the act of divesture: "Pray you, undo this button" (V.iii.308).

The complexity of Shakespeare's handling of the clothing motif becomes especially evident when contrasted with Medwall's allegorical use of it in *Nature*. The earlier playwright translated man's spiritual and psychological states into precisely formulated equivalents among the traditional symbolic meanings of the draped and undraped figures. He adroitly employed the motif in the language and in the physical staging of his play. He utilized its dramatic conflict, its *débat* elements. He used it specifically at structurally significant moments: at the beginning, with the appearance of Pryde, and at the end.

Shakespeare, too, used the *débat* elements and he, too, employed the motif at structurally important places. Like Medwall, he presented the image physically on the stage as well as in the language. And he drew upon traditional allegorical meanings, although these meanings in *Lear* become much more complicated than the specific equations in *Nature*. Shakespeare exploited the ambivalence of the symbols, whereas Medwall worked out a simple and consistent pattern of meanings.

Beyond these uses, Shakespeare fitted the motif realistically into character and plot patterns. Where choice of garments is a matter of freedom of the will in *Nature*, it is a manifestation of character or an indication of point of view in *Lear*. It is psychologically natural that Oswald should be a fop and Regan given to fine dress and that Lear, mad, should wear a crown of weeds. Further, circumstances realistically provide that Lear's royal garments disintegrate as his place and power dissolve, and that poor Tom appear in rags.

However, the greatest difference in treatment is that Shakespeare, with that exuberant interest in the processes of art and of the human mind so characteristic of the high Renaissance, was commenting on how his motif works even while he was using it. On the one hand he drew upon the meanings of the clothes pattern to provide enrichment by familiar allegorical overtones in character and incident; but on the other, he examined the obverse side of the picture, as it were, to meditate the effect on ourselves of our very consciousness of these symbolic meanings.¹⁰ When the imagery of the motif enters the language of the play it is largely to consider our acceptance of the motif into our modes of thinking and of living. Worm's silk, sheep's wool, and cat's perfume are so firmly associated with rank, and physical accoutrements and rank both so identified with human worth, that Lear must literally divest himself of both to find himself. "Robes and furr'd gowns hide all" (IV.vi.168). Thus where Medwall was concerned with man's acceptance of the false world, Shakespeare studied acceptance of a false conventional mode, the artificial symbols of the clothes pattern.

It was rather common for the Elizabethan dramatists to discuss the drama in their plays. They liked to talk about their art even while practicing it. In *King Lear* Shakespeare applied this procedure in a subtler way to anatomize the values of a pattern of symbols even while he utilized those symbols visually, poetically, and structurally.

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¹⁰ Shakespeare drew upon the clothing motif in several of his plays, and rather often to distinguish between the true nature of the wearer and the quality of his garments. See *Cymbeline*, IV.ii.82-84; *All's Well*, II.v.48; *Measure for Measure*, V.i.263; one could continue. Nakedness Shakespeare elsewhere used in reference to uncovered virtue, uncovered vice, and essential humanity; cf. *Henry V*, IV.i.109-110: "His ceremonies laid by, in his nakedness he appears but a man."

Much Ado About *Nothing*

PAUL A. JORGENSEN

IT IS generally agreed that certain words must have given Shakespeare considerably more pleasure than they give us today. The *honesty* game in *Othello*, for example, may now impress us as a cleverness unworthy of the tragic stature of the play. I have elsewhere suggested, however, that Shakespeare was attempting in *Othello* a serious dramatic use of a popular literary situation in which knaves, with scarcely more disguise than the label *honest* endlessly repeated, pose successfully as honest men.¹ The word *nothing* presents an interesting parallel, for not only did its iteration stem from popular genres, but serious writers were using it for purposes other than verbal ingenuity. And there were further similarities. Like *honesty*, it had developed shadings just closely enough related to one another to prevent easy distinction. In its combination of one covert meaning with several respectable meanings—enough to make its use permissible, but never securely so—Shakespeare must have recognized one of his favorite opportunities. The fate of both words in modern exegesis also promises to be comparable. So enlightening, one fears, has been professorial clarification of the occasional pun on *honesty*, that many students have left the classroom believing that whenever Shakespeare said “honest” he meant “chaste.” Less likely to emanate from classrooms, but not for that reason the less persuasive, are the results of Thomas Pyles’ scholarly study of “Ophelia’s ‘Nothing,’” wherein he rescues the word (if not Ophelia) from a moderately respectable oblivion for a distinguished place in the “venereal vernacular of the day.”² Without meaning to sully what Professor Pyles rightly considers the “beautiful clarity” of his findings, I should like to restore some of the larger web of meaning which lay behind Shakespeare’s remarkable insistence on the word.

“Can you make no use of nothing, nuncle?” asks Lear’s Fool.³ The query strikes deeper into the King’s impending tragedy than we at first realize. Certainly Lear’s confident reply—“Why, no, boy, nothing can be made out of nothing”—would have struck original audiences as seriously, even ironically wrong. In its pagan doctrine it opposed a vital Christian tenet; it contradicted, in several other senses, the highly potential nature of the word and idea as demonstrated elsewhere by Shakespeare and his contemporaries; it had been

¹ “*Honesty in Othello*,” *SP*, XLVII (1950), 557-567.

² *MLN*, XLIV (1949), 322-323.

³ *King Lear* I.iv.143. Throughout I have used *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. Kittredge (Boston, 1936).

underlined by a previous dialogue (I.i.89-92) in which, after Lear and Cordelia exchange emphatic *nothing's*, the King warns her, "Nothing can come of nothing"; and it is ironically echoed by the Fool's later pronouncement upon Lear himself: "Now thou art an O without a figure. I am better than thou art now: I am a fool, thou art nothing" (I.iv.211).

The audience which thus witnessed, in one sense, much growing tragically from nothing, and, in another, kings becoming things of nothing, had been familiarized with the pattern not only by De Contemptu philosophy but by two other well-known bodies of writing. The first consisted of theological treatises affirming the original nothingness surrounding creation and the essential nothingness of all temporal things. The second was part of the literary tradition which produced mock encomia like Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*. Both shared the purpose of defending the importance of nothingness.

Indeed, out of context it is sometimes hard to distinguish one type from the other. The theological treatises were of course marked by solemnity of purpose, for they were attempting to refute the doctrine which the Church could not allow to stand unrefuted: creation out of matter, with its implicit dualism.⁴ But as the discussion thus far has inadvertently demonstrated, no solemnity of idea could control so treacherous a vocabulary as the subject was fated to contend with. Witness Sir Philip Sidney's attempt to translate with dignity De Mornay's proof from creation *ex nihilo* that God exists:

It followeth therefore that it is a power from without us which hath brought us out of Not beeing into beeing. . . . For otherwise, from out of that nothing which we were (If I may so tearme it,) we shoulde never have come to any thing at all. Now betweene nothing and something, (how little so ever that something can bee) there is an infinite space.⁵

And this was the fate of philosophical poets like Sir John Davies, John Davies of Hereford, and Fulke Greville who concentrated upon the second half of the paradox: that temporal life and matter are essentially nothing. Davies of Hereford, for example, in proving the insubstantiality of life, creates little more than jingle of *thing's* and *nothing's*:

What! in the World, where all things are so rife,
Is naught but Nothing to the same agreeing?
Which not appeares, nor scarce suppos'd by Seeing!
And, beeing scarce suppos'd: then it is
To Nothing next, or Nothing's like to this.⁶

⁴ For the theological significance of creation *ex nihilo*, see C. M. Walsh, *The Doctrine of Creation* (London, 1910).

⁵ *A Worke Concerning the Trewnesse of Christian Religion* (1592), p. 4. See Henry Cuffe's ingenious attempt to explain "A making something of nothing" in *The Differences of the Ages of Mans Life* (1607), pp. 26-29. Christian works on creation typically devote an early section to this vexing matter, as does Sylvester's *Bartas. His Devine Weekes* (1605) in "The First Day of the First Week."

⁶ *Wittes Pilgrimage*, in *The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, ed. Grosart (Edinburgh, 1878), II, 44. For an attempt to refute the idea that since "god created all things of nothing, therefore shall all things returne againe unto nothing," see Godfrey Goodman, *The Fall of Man* (1616), p. 19; also the discussion of this subject in Victor Harris, *All Coherence Gone* (Chicago, 1949).

The nonreligious writers gladly availed themselves of the theological argumentation, since it gave valuable support to their encomia; but their special contribution is usually revealed in verbal mazes just a little worse than accidental; for, despite a superficial concern with the ideas involved, their real interest was to make verbally as much as possible out of nothing.

Although there were Italian and Latin antecedents,⁷ the first English tract of this trifling sort was *The Prayse of Nothing* (1585), doubtfully attributed to Sir Edward Dyer.⁸ This prose treatise not only claims for Nothing the distinction of being the origin and end of everything, but speculates upon how much better most things would be if Nothing had caused or influenced them. This exploitation of the word's ambiguity, especially when it is used as the subject of a sentence, is better illustrated in an anonymous ballad, apparently inspired by the tract and bearing the same title:

Nothing was first, and shall be last,
for nothing holds for ever,
And nothing ever yet scap't death,
so can't the longest liver:
Nothing's so Immortall, nothing can,
From crosses ever keepe a man,
Nothing can live, when the world is gone,
for all shall come to nothing.⁹

William Lisle's poem *Nothing for a New-Yeaes gift* (1603) likewise uses the word, as in its title, in both a positive and negative sense. And in a manner reminiscent of the Queen's premonition in *Richard II*, Lisle pays tribute to the creative pains that come from meditating the subject:

Excesse of studie in a traunce denies
My ravisht soule her Angel-winged flight:
Strugling with *Nothing* thus my bodie lies
Panting for breath, depriv'd of sences might.
At length recovered by this pleasant slumber,
The straunge effects from *Nothing*, thus I wonder.¹⁰

Obviously the only limitation upon this type of writing is the patience of the reader, for it is an easy matter to dilute sense with so large a portion of nonsense that the mind refuses to follow. Trusting indeed would be the "Courteous and gentle Reader" who, having survived Nicholas Breton's prefatory address to him, attempts a serious reading of the ensuing discourse upon the various kinds of nothing. Breton's address begins as follows:

Reade no further than you like: . . . If there be nothing that likes you, my luck is nought: in nothing there can be no great thing, yet something may

⁷ See Jean Passerat's *Nihil* (1567), and Francisco Copetta's *Capitolo nel quale si lodano le Noncovelte* (c. 1548). The genre, still not extinct, persevered only meagerly during the Augustan period. Fielding, in *An Essay on Nothing* (*Complete Works*, ed. Henley, London, 1903, XIV, 309), could cite as one who "dared to write on this subject" only "a hardy wit in the reign of Charles II" (doubtless referring to Rochester's "Upon Nothing").

⁸ In "The Authorship of *The Prayse of Nothing*," *The Library*, 4th Ser., XII (1932), 322-331, R. M. Sargent proposes Edward Daunce instead of Dyer.

⁹ *The Praise of Nothing* (n. d.), STC 20185, second stanza. I have used a microfilm of the British Museum copy.

¹⁰ Second stanza, reprinted *Fugitive Tracts, Second Series* (1875), no pagination.

bee founde, though nothing to any great purpose. Well, there are divers Nothings, which you shall reade further off. . . . Now, though I will wish you looke for no mervailous, or worthy thing, yet shall you finde something; though in effect (as it were) nothing, yet in conceit a pretie thing to passe away the time withal. Well, if you stande content with this Nothing, it may be ere long, I will send you something, more to your liking: till when, I wish you nothing but well.¹¹

Here, indeed, is much ado about nothing. The achievement of such writing is well expressed in two concluding lines from the anonymous "A Song made of Nothing":

Here you see something of nothing is made,
For of the word "nothing" something is said.¹²

To some extent, and especially in his early works, Shakespeare's interest in the word lay in this type of rhetorical chicanery. But just as the nondramatic encomiasts often combined a modicum of sense with the more obvious intent of bewildering iteration, so Shakespeare frequently has an idea within his earliest Nothing jingles. When, in Sonnet 136, he says:

For nothing hold me, so it please thee hold
That nothing me, a something, sweet, to thee,

he is making the challenge equivalent, in terms of love, to the other types of creativity from nothing. A similar challenge is basic to a virtuoso passage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (V.i.77-89). To Philostrate's deprecation of the artisans' play as "nothing, nothing in the world," and Hippolyta's insistence, "He says they can do nothing in this kind," Theseus replies, "The kinder we, to give them thanks for nothing." Again, in *Much Ado* (IV.i.269), both Beatrice and Benedick, in their exchange of *thing's* and *nothing's*, resort to the screen of nonsense for a tentative advancement of a serious meaning:

Bene. I do love nothing in the world so well as you. Is not that strange?
Beat. As strange as the thing I know not. It were as possible for me to say I loved nothing so well as you. But believe me not; and yet I lie not. I confess nothing, nor I deny nothing.

At the same time, they manage a deft indirectness by putting *nothing* into a syntax where the other person may choose either its negative or its positive meaning. And in still another sense, inaudible let us hope to the speakers if not to the audience, the passage might reward the combined insights of Professors Partridge and Pyles.¹³

Shakespeare, in fact, almost always surpasses other performers in this word game in the number—nearing proportions Empsonian—of satisfactory readings he supplies. It is seldom that one of the word's appearances in a Nothing cluster is without two or more possible interpretations. No fewer than two older mean-

¹¹ "The Scholler and the Souldiour," in *The Wil of Wit* (1597), sig. F4. I have used the unique copy of this edition in the Huntington Library.

¹² Roxburghe Collection, 372, 373. Printed in *The Roxburghe Ballads* (Hertford, 1874), II, 484.

¹³ Editors have apparently overlooked the parallel between this dialogue and the broadside ballad beginning: "Fain would I have a prettie thing,/ to give unto my Ladie:/ I name no thing, nor I meane no thing,/ but as pretie a thing as may bee" (in Clement Robinson's *A Handefull of Pleasant Delities*, 1584, ed. Kershaw, London, 1926, pp. 95-97).

ings, for example, enrich the second *nothing* in Falstaff's remark about Pistol: "Nay, an 'a do nothing but speak nothing, 'a shall be nothing here" (2 *Henry IV*, II.iv.207). One meaning was negation in the sense of idleness or lack of import. With this denotation in mind, Alonso reproves Gonzalo who has been talking about his ideal commonwealth (*Tempest*, II.i.171): "Prithee no more. Thou dost talk nothing to me"—which remark, of course, gets Gonzalo really started on the subject. He had talked of nothing, he declares, to entertain the others, whose lungs are so nimble "that they always use to laugh at nothing," in which usage *nothing* may connote not only empty talk but the word itself, as it appeared in the idle entertainment of the popular encomia. In its second meaning, Falstaff's *nothing* has the same force as *naughtiness* in its original sense.¹⁴ Christian monism encouraged the explanation of evil as mere negation. So Sir John Davies explains it in *Nosce Teipsum*:

And then the Soule, being first from nothing brought,
When Gods grace failes her, doth to nothing fall;
And this declining pronenesse unto nought,
Is even that sinne that we are borne withall.¹⁵

To these denotations and contexts, with their shadings too numerous to describe here, must be added the unrelated meanings made possible by an unusual vulnerability to the pun. Affording a passable rhyme with *doting*, as in the twentieth sonnet, *nothing* invited confusion with another fertile word, *note*. "A Song Made of Nothing" might not suggest a quibble if there were not other examples to prove that the play upon "musical noting" was far from infrequent. Shakespeare's Autolycus uses the word to describe both the vacuity and the technique of a song: "No hearing, no feeling, but my sir's song, and admiring the nothing of it!" (*Winter's Tale*, IV.iv.623). Stephano looks forward to having his "music for nothing" (*Tempest*, III.ii.154). More doubtful, and with a primary meaning closer to "absence of sense," is Laertes' description of Ophelia's singing: "This nothing's more than matter" (*Hamlet*, IV.v.174)—and here one rules out only with reluctance a punning allusion to the obscenity of the mad ditties.¹⁶ More clearly in a musical context is the climactic appearance of the word in the involved passage on noting from *Much Ado* (II.iii.55):

Pedro. Or if thou wilt hold longer argument,
Do it in notes.
Balth. Note this before my notes:
There's not a note of mine that's worth the noting.
Pedro. Why, these are very crotchets that he speaks!
Note notes, forsooth, and nothing!

¹⁴ For other examples of this privative usage of *nothing*, see *Othello*, III.iii.432 and IV.i.9.

¹⁵ *The Poems of Sir John Davies, Reproduced in Facsimile* (N.Y., 1941), p. 148. More elaborately De Mornay cites as the cause of evil "the verie nothing it self; that is to wit, that God almightie, to shew us that he hath made all of nothing, hath left a certeine inclination in his Creatures, whereby they tend naturally to nothing, that is to saye, to change and corruption" (p. 23).

¹⁶ Nevertheless, a good case for suspecting puns even in situations of tension is made by M. H. Mahood, "The Fatal Cleopatra: Shakespeare and the Pun," *Essays in Criticism*, I (1951), 198. And compare Laertes' verbal cleverness on a still more trying occasion (IV.vii.187):

Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia,
And therefore I forbid my tears.

Shakespeare's more thoughtful concern with the traditional Nothing forms may best be approached through the special slant that these apparently gave to his expression of De Contemptu philosophy. Treatises on Nothing commonly divide the subject into such categories as life, time, beauty, and honor. Thus Breton's discourse contains a long monologue proving, by logical steps, that military honor belongs to the type of Nothing called "the nothing durable" (sig. G 2^v):

An other Honour is gotten by valiancie, and that is in the Warre, whereby the Captaine winneth the Armes, that [he and] his posteritie . . . do honourably beare: yet for all this, well considered, it is nothing, for that it is not certaine: for that in Warres to day is got, that to morrow is lost: to day he gets an Ensigne, that to morrow looseth his owne Armes. . . . Hee may be accused and attainted, that never did amisse. . . . Then this Honour, I see likewise is the nothing, that is the nothing durable.

Written, if not printed, well before the penning of Falstaff's disquisition, this monologue may have come to Shakespeare's attention, especially if the "W. S." who wrote the commendatory verses can be, as Grosart thinks possible, the dramatist.¹⁷ Again, Macbeth's "signifying nothing," with which he closes his discourse on time and life, may have had a specific ring, now lost, to audiences accustomed to the many formal disquisitions whose equations ended with *nothing*.

Although in these instances Shakespeare does not, any more than several other writers in the genre, depend upon the emphasis of iteration, there are many serious passages in which he does. Thus, Leontes' protest against believing his jealousy insubstantial is clamorous with the word:

Is this nothing?
Why, then the world and all that's in't is nothing;
The covering sky is nothing; Bohemia nothing;
My wife is nothing; nor nothing have these nothings,
If this be nothing. (*Winter's Tale*, I.ii.292)

But here, since Leontes is distraught, Shakespeare uses for valid purposes of characterization the pointless cleverness of the non-dramatic writers. Furthermore, Leontes' distraction is not only expressed but aggravated by his meditating the idea of nothingness. In like manner the "inward soul" of the rhetorically frantic Queen Isabella trembles with "nothing":

As, though in thinking on no thought I think,
Makes me with heavy nothing faint and shrink. (*Richard II*, II.ii.31)

The Queen's fearful thought of non-being contrasts effectively with her husband's eager acceptance of it. Richard finds a pleasure, typically verbal, in dramatizing the ritual of a king becoming a thing of nothing. He prefaces this aspect of his deposition with "for I must nothing be," and concludes it: "Make me, that nothing have, with nothing griev'd" (IV.i.201-216). And he privately re-enacts the scene—with the same verbal play—in the episode before his death, where after being "unking'd," he straightway becomes "nothing." "But whate'er I be," he concludes,

¹⁷ See Grosart's edition of Breton's *Works* (Edinburgh, 1879), I, liv.

Nor I, nor any man that but man is,
 With nothing shall be pleas'd till he be eas'd
 With being nothing. (V.v.38)

The solacing power of Nothing, as Richard ingeniously interprets it, was a staple of the mock encomia, which likewise rely upon ambiguity by comparing Nothing's harmlessness with the misery occasioned by things. The prose *Prayse of Nothing* is written so that "we may more apparently perceive the good effects which come of nothing, as of the least, or no enimie of life, by whose societie many evils depart."¹⁸ It is appropriate that the dying Timon should find no more positive words for the hereafter than the formula of the mock encomia:

My long sickness
 Of health and living now begins to mend,
 And nothing brings me all things. (*Timon of Athens*, V.i.189)

Timon's statement, of course, had its obverse side. Nothing, in a positive sense, did produce all things; and its formidableness in the genesis of man's affairs and dreams became for Shakespeare, as for his contemporaries, a fertile obsession. Shakespeare's meditation on this orthodox theme runs through such variations as Romeo's oxymoronic "O anything, of nothing first create" (I.i.184); Mercutio's rhapsody on the origin of dreams; and even, perhaps, whole plays in which the dramatist's virtuosity was demonstrated by the extent to which he could make something of nothing. But possibly the aspect of the subject that most fascinated Shakespeare, judging from his references to it, was its metaphorical application to the poet's craft. According to the psychological authority Laurentius, "the understanding part of the minde receiveth from the imaginative the formes of things naked and voide of substance."¹⁹ This, the creative shaping of what was trifling, insubstantial, or unknown, seems to have impressed Shakespeare as the real challenge facing the imagination. In his most famous lines on the subject (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, V.i.14-17), he speaks of imagination bodying forth the forms of things unknown, while the poet's pen

Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
 A local habitation and a name.

Nor is the task of shaping "airy nothing" peculiar to the poet. It is shared by all who imagine. Ophelia's "speech is nothing,"

Yet the unshaped use of it doth move
 The hearers to collection. (*Hamlet*, IV.v.7-9)

Here it is the hearers who turn the nothing, the nonsense, into shapes. And Shakespeare demanded that his audience generally do the like. The audience's obligation to give the actors thanks for nothing, as proposed by Theseus, is best explained by the playful demands of the mock encomia. But in *Henry V* Shakespeare challenges the audience more seriously. Let us actors, he asks,

¹⁸ *The Prayse of Nothing* (1585; reprinted 1862), p. 17.

¹⁹ M. Andreas Laurentius, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight* (1599); Shakespeare Assoc. Fac. No. 15, p. 16. For the relationship between the understanding and the imagination, see Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde* (1601), pp. 91-96.

ciphers to this great accompt,
On your imaginary forces work.²⁰

Nothing is the material of human dreams. Mercutio, like Gonzalo accused of talking of "nothing," likewise shapes the word to his own ends:

True, I talk of dreams;
Which are the children of an idle brain,
Begot of nothing but vain fantasy;
Which is as thin of substance as the air.²¹

Imogen describes her supposed dream as "but a bolt of nothing, shot at nothing, Which the brain makes of fumes" (*Cymbeline*, IV.ii.300-301). Distempered fantasies are similarly begot. Queen Isabella, fainting from "heavy nothing" (or could it be heavy noting?), is told by Bushy, "'Tis nothing but conceit, my gracious lady." Her reply, though hysterical and equivocal, is in one of its senses consistent with Shakespeare's other statments:

'Tis nothing less. Conceit is still deriv'd
From some forefather grief. Mine is not so,
For nothing hath begot my something grief,
Or something hath the nothing that I grieve.²²

One must not, of course try to build Shakespeare's concept of imaginative creation upon the fanciful, and at best figurative, references to Nothing in these passages. At the same time, analogy with the doctrine of divine creation, which was neither fanciful nor figurative, helps explain the remarkable persistence with which the concept of nothingness, and usually the word itself, appears in his statements on poetry and dreams. And it is interesting that Puttenham should use, "reverently" he is careful to add, analogy with the Christian God to justify the Greek notion of the poet as maker (rather than simply imitator). Did not God, "without any travell to his divine imagination," make "all the world of nought?"²³

But perhaps enough has now been said about Nothing to give point to the title of this paper. Did Shakespeare intend the *Nothing* in *Much Ado* to have what was for him a characteristic richness and emphasis? Almost a century ago, Richard Grant White employed his knowledge of Elizabethan English in a bold proposal that the original audience both pronounced and interpreted the title as "Much Ado about Noting"; for noting, or observing and eavesdropping, is found in almost every scene and is indispensable to all the plots.²⁴ Though no successful refutation of White's argument has appeared, its rejection is implicit in an almost perfect editorial silence. Not only do most editors fail even to men-

²⁰ *Henry V* Prologue, 17. See Alwin Thaler, "Shakespeare on Style, Imagination, and Poetry," *PMLA*, LIII (1938), 1031.

²¹ *Romeo and Juliet*, Liv.96. "Affection," states Leontes in a wild speech, communicates with dreams and fellows nothing, but may "co-join with something" (*Winter's Tale*, Lii.138-143).

²² *Richard II*, II.ii.32-37.

²³ George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. Smith (Oxford, 1950), II, 3. This analogy, potentially more serious in poetics than can be shown here, is absent from even so sound a study as M. W. Bundy's "'Invention' and 'Imagination' in the Renaissance," *JEGP*, XXIX (1930), 535-545.

²⁴ *The Works of William Shakespeare* (Boston, 1857), III, 226-227.

tion the theory (Hardin Craig is apparently unique in giving it a footnote), but there has been only the most casual of commentary on the title at all.²⁵

Possibly some of the additional evidence needed by White is now before us. He proved that *noting* yielded a good reading of the play; he could not prove that Shakespeare intended so slight a title to carry weight. With our awareness of the various Nothing discourses, of their challenge to make as much as possible of nothing, of Shakespeare's concept of nothing as the material of imaginings, and of his tendency to underline the word, we can add support to White's theory—though only by correcting his exclusive emphasis on the meaning of "noting." Writers who ingeniously shaped Nothing into many significances did employ the pun, but their medium demanded the use of other kinds of manipulation. In attempting a *dramatic*, rather than expository, elaboration, Shakespeare would give the playwright's equivalent of the poet's imaginative shaping. Out of a trifle, a misunderstanding, a fantasy, a mistaken over-hearing, a "naughtiness," might come the materials for a drama—as happened, less deliberately perhaps, in *King Lear*.

Besides paying deserved respect to an important word, this theory has the merit of removing from the most troublesome of Shakespeare's happy comedies many of the supposed imperfections in character and motivation. At worst, perhaps, it will move the hearers to collection.

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²⁵ Of the twelve pages devoted by T. M. Parrott to the play in *Shakespearean Comedy* (N.Y., 1949), none is given to the title. Most editors who do allude to it (Neilson and Hill, O. J. Campbell, and G. B. Harrison) refer to it either as a symptom of genial carelessness or as a clue that all will turn out happily.



JAMES,

By the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, & Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and their Clericals: Pastors, Vicars, Curates, and to all spiritual persons: And also to all Justices of Peace, Justices of the Peace, Justices, Constables, Churchwardens, & Weddowesmen: And to all Officers of Cities, Burroughes, and Townes corporate: And to all other our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects whosoever they be, as well within Liberties, as without, to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

WE BE CERTAINELY well & credibly certified by a Certificate under the hands of our truly & faithfully our Subjects Sir Folke Grevill Knight, Chancellor of our Exchequer, Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir Edward Devereux, and Sir Thomas Holt Knights; Barons, Sir Edward Greuell, Sir Clement Fisher, Sir Clement Throgmorton, Sir Richard Verney, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Henry Dymocke, Sir William Somerville, Sir Thomas Beauford, and Sir Henry Rainsford Knights, Thomas Spencer, Edward Boughton, Bartholomew Hales, John Repington, William Combe, and William Barnes Esquires, Justices of the Peace within our Counties of Warwick & Gloucester: That upon Saturday the fifth day of July in the year of our Lord God, One thousand five hundred and fourtyone, there happened a famine and terrible fire within our Towne of Stratford upon Avon within our County of Warwick, which within the space of less then two houres consumed & burnt fifty & fower dwelling houses, many of them being very faire houses, withes houses, stables, & other houses of mine, together also with great stores of Corne, Hay, Wheat, &c. & Timber therein, amounting in all to the value of Eight thousand Pounds & upwards. The force of which fire was so great (the wind stirring full upon the Towne) that it dispersed into so many places thereof, whereby the whole Towne was in very great danger to have bene utterly consumed and burnt, by reason whereof, and of two severall fires happening in the said Towne within their Twenty years, to the loss of Twenty thousand Pounds more, not to say our said houses & houses to be consumed in this great fire, as within the space of less then two houres, but also the rest of the Towne is in great hazard to be overthrown & consumed, the inhabitants therein being not able to relieve their distressed neighbors in this their great need & misery. And whereas the said Towne hath bene great & much Towne whereunto great recourse of people was made by reason of the woollens Market, fairs, and other frequent meetings, which were there holden and appointed, and now being thus ruined & decayed, it is in great hazard to bee utterly overthrown, if either the relief thereof be neglected, or course of traffickers diverted, which so; want of speedy reparation may bee occasioned. And inasmuch as our said distressed Subjects the Inhabitants of the said Towne are very ready & willing to the uttermost of their powers to redresse & new build the sayd Towne againe, yet finding the performance thereof beyond their ability, they have made their humble suite unto us, that we should be pleased to provide some convenient means that the said Towne may be againe repaired & repaired allwell for the relief of the distressed people within the same, as also for the restoring and continuing of the sayd Market, and have humbly besought us to commend the same unto a laudable use and the charitable assistance thereof, to the benevolence of all our loving Subjects, not doubting but that all good and well-disposed Christians will for common charity and love to their Country, and the rather for our Commendation hereof, be ready with all willingness to extend their charitable relief to the comfort of so many distressed people, and the speedy performing of so good and charitable a work.

WE BE CERTAINELY well & credibly certified, that we (considering the lamentable estate and losses of our sayd distressed Inhabitants, together with the humble suit of all our foresaid Justices made unto us on their behalfes) of our especial Grace and princely compassion, have given a grant, and by these our Letters Patents doe give and grant unto our foresaid truly & faithfully our Subjects, Sir Richard Verney, Sir Henry Rainsford Knights, Bartholomew Hales Esquire, and the Bayliffe & Burgesses of the sayd Towne of Stratford upon Avon, and to their Deputies & Deputies, the better & beaers hereof, full power, licence and authority, to aske, gather, receive, & take the Almes & charitable benevolence of all our loving Subjects whatsoever Inhabitants within our Counties of York, Lancashire, and the County Palatine of Westchire of Durham, Cheshire, Denbigh, Flint, Montgomery, Pembroke, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Hereford, within our Cities of York, Cheller, & Hereford, within our Townes and County of Kingston upon Hull: Within all other Cities, Townes Corporate, Burroughes, places, Parishes, Villages, and in all other places whatsoever within our said Counties, and not else where, for & to build the new building, repairing and repairing of the said Towne of Stratford upon Avon, & the repairing of all such other houses & buildings, their Wines & Cellars, as have been consumed & being by the misfortune of the said fire.

WE BE CERTAINELY well & credibly certified, that we will & command you, and every of you, that at such time and times as the sayd Sir Richard Verney, Sir Henry Rainsford, Bartholomew Hales, the Bayliffe & Burgesses aforesaid; or any of them, or their Deputies & Deputies, the better & beaers hereof, shall come & repair to any your Churches, Chapells, or other places, to aske, and receive the gratuities & charitable benevolence of our said Subjects, quietly to permit & suffer them to do, without any manner your lets, or contrivances. And you the said Pastors, Vicars, and Curates, for the better fixing up of a charitable devotion, wherewith to publish and declare the Tenor of their our Letters Patents unto our said Subjects, Exhorting and persuading them to extend their liberal contributions into good & charitable a use. And you the Churchwardens of every Parish where such Collection is to be made (as aforesaid) to collect and gather the Almes and charitable benevolence of all our loving Subjects, And what shall be by you gathered, to enroll on the Books of the Burroughes hereof, the same to the better & beaers hereof, when as thereunto you shall be required. As we have said, Let us. Wherewith, as provision heretofore made to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

WE BE CERTAINELY well & credibly certified, that we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents for the space of One whole year next after the date hereof to endure. Witness our selfe at Westminster the Clearness day of May, in the fourteenth year of our said Majestie of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the seven and fiftieth.

God save the King.

Printed by Thomas Purfoot.

Proclamation, 11 May 1616, by King James for the relief of Stratford-upon-Avon after the disastrous fire of July 1614. S.T.C. 8541. Reproduced from the original in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Cynthia's Revels, Poetaster, and Troilus and Cressida

ABBIE FINDLAY POTTS



ROFESSOR Campbell's study of *Troilus and Cressida* as related to a group of "comicall satyres" written by Ben Jonson and John Marston¹ opens the way for additional illustration and comment. The following echoes of Jonsonian devices in the Shakespeare play not only suggest that Shakespeare carefully studied *Cynthia's Revels*, 1600, and the *Poetaster*, 1601;² they assist readers of *Troilus and Cressida* to interpret passages otherwise puzzling or out of key with the traditional story of Troy.

For instance, in the first conversation between Cressida and Pandarus, about Troilus' love for her, there are several allusions easily recognizable by those who had heard in *Cynthia's Revels* the debate of Mercurie and Cupid and the fantastic courtship of Amorphus and Philautia. When Cressida joked with her uncle about the wards at which she lay to defend her honesty and beauty, she was echoing Jonson's Cupid, who thought it his "safest ward to close" (I.i.86); and was his opponent not a pandar, too, "uncle Jove's pandar" (I.i.23)? Because Jonson's auditors knew that the "peculiar vertue" of the pandar Mercurie was "in lifting" (I.i.37-38), when Cressida's Uncle Pandarus boasted of Troilus' ability to lift "within three pound . . . as much as her brother Hector," they would enjoy her teasing reply: "Is he so young a man and so old a lifter?" The remarks about Troilus giving nods to Pandarus—

Pandarus. If he see me, you shall see him nod at me.

Cressida. Will he give you the nod?

Pandarus. You shall see.

Cressida. If he do, the rich shall have more.—

have little meaning now except for readers familiar with Crites' description of the courtier (III.iv.35-41)

giving nods

To his repenting creditors. . . .

. . . [He] takes the comming gold

Of insolent, and base ambition,

That hourelly rubs his dry, and itchie palmes:

¹ Oscar James Campbell, *Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida."* San Marino, California, 1938.

² Passages from *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster* are quoted from Ben Jonson, ed. by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, Vol. IV (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1932). Passages from Shakespeare's text are quoted from the edition by George Lyman Kittredge (Ginn and Company, 1936).

Which grip't, like burning coales, he hurles away
 Into the laps of bawdes, and buffons mouthes.³

In our day we find tasteless rather than ridiculous the discussion of Troilus' "brown favour . . . —not brown neither — . . . no, but brown . . . to say truth, brown and not brown," the estimate of Paris' "colour enough" and Troilus' "too much . . . colour," the discovery by Helen of "a white hair" on Troilus' chin, and Cressida's jests at Troilus' hypothetical "copper nose" over the supposititious "green hair" on his chin. But those who had laughed at the game of colors played by Jonson's courtiers, the rules of green, yellow, and blueness taught by Amorphus to Asotus, and the commendations by Philautia of the "several colours" of her lover, might conceivably infer that Shakespeare in his turn was slyly poking fun at certain scenes in *Cynthia's Revels*. Otherwise such banter as emerges in the dialogue between Cressida and Pandarus is scarcely an improvement on the sharp preliminary exchanges of Jonson's Cupid and Mercurie.

Shakespeare, however, will further help himself to delineate his lovers by more fundamental images of Jonson. When Jonson's Crites speaks of the "vanitie" whose "painted beauties [are] doted on" by "light and emptie ideots" (I.v.24 ff.)—

How they doe sweate, and run themselves from breath,
Rais'd on their toes, to catch thy ayrie formes,
 Still turning giddie, till they reele like drunkards;
 That buy the merrie madnesse of one houre,
 With the long irkesomenesse of following time!—

he has prepared us to augur ill of Troilus and Diomedes. For Troilus, drunk with love, wishing for Cupid's "painted wings," impatiently awaiting his mad hour with Cressida, the "ayrie formes" have become an "imaginary relish" (III.ii.14-23):

I am giddy; expectation whirles me round.
Th' imaginary relish is so sweet
 That it enchants my sense. *What will it be*
When that the wat'ry palates taste indeed
Love's thrice-repured nectar?

Diomedes, leading Cressida from one mad hour to another, is recognized by Ulysses in Crites' very words (IV.v.14-16):

'T is he, I ken the manner of his gait;
He rises on the toe. That spirit of his
In aspiration lifts him from the earth.

Troilus' accusation against "injurious Time," who (IV.iv.49-50)

scants us with a single famish'd kiss,
 Distasted with the salt of broken tears,

justifies the strictures of Crites; and his very salt tears flow from Eccho's song in *Cynthia's Revels*: "Slow, slow, fresh fount, keepe time with my salt teares." In terms thus easily recognizable by audiences of Jonson, Shakespeare's hero goes

³ "Nodding" with a different connotation is an important part of the banquet of Ovid and Julia in *Poetaster*.

from Jonsonian "merrie madness" to Shakespearian "madness of discourse" (V.ii.142).

The orchard scene which introduces Troilus' merry hour may owe its chief figurative reference—the "fountain of our love"—to the "Fountayne of Selfe-Love" of Jonson's play (I.ii.89). Jonson's Crites, who says of man's understanding part that it (I.v.35-39)

Floates like a dead drown'd bodie, on the streame
Of vulgar humour, mixt with commonst dregs,

inclines Cressida to spy within the fountain of Troilus' love "more dregs than water" (III.ii.71-72). And when she reproaches herself—"Why have I blabb'd?" (III.ii.132)—her words recall Mercurie's rebuke to Eccho at the Fountayne of Selfe-Love—"Stint thy babbling tongue" (I.ii.92).

Structurally throughout, Shakespeare has availed himself, and most effectively, of Jonson's various parades and pageants. The running commentary of Pandarus and Cressida on the Trojan warriors as these actually pass by them is not only more vivid than Portia's comment to Nerissa about her suitors in *The Merchant of Venice*; it recalls the first scene of the fourth act of *Cynthia's Revels*, where also ladies comment on their courtiers. The "imitation," reported by Ulysses to Agamemnon, in which the young renegades Achilles and Patrocles "pageant" the Greek leaders, is related to similarly irreverent travesties of dignified courtiers and administrators and poets in Jonson's satires; but even more than do they it bears directly on the action. The procession of the Greek leaders past the tent of Achilles, under the direction of a Ulysses who resembles Jonson's Crites, Thersites' "pageant of Ajax," and the scene where Cressida is "kiss'd in general" profit as stage pictures by devices used by Jonson in *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster* to exhibit the absurdities of group behavior.⁴

⁴ Jonson's Amorphus, "one so made out of the mixture and shreds of formes, that himselfe is truly deform'd" (II.iii.85-87), is similar to the "Deformed" of Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*, the "deformed thief . . . fashion," "sometimes fashioning [young courtiers] like Pharaoh's soldiers . . . , sometime like god Bel's priests . . . , sometime like the shaven Hercules" (III.iii.131-133, 139-145, 182, 185; V.i.317). Again, when Amorphus boasts of having kissed the great hands of the Emperor in the company of the Kings of France, Florence, Orleans, Bourbon, Brunswick, the Landgrave, Count Palatine, and "infinite more of inferiour persons, as Counts and others" (IV.iii.267-272), we better understand the scorn of Beatrice for such "Princes and Counties!" for Claudio as a Count Comfect, even for Benedick himself. Benedick is related to Amorphus by his "fancy . . . to strange disguises": "as to be a Dutchman to-day, a Frenchman to-morrow; or in the shape of two countries at once as a German from the waist downward, all slops, and a Spaniard from the hip upward, no doublet" (III.ii.32-37).

And if Benedick be satirized by his friends as a kind of Amorphus, Beatrice, who "cannot love, . . . she is so self-endear'd," as she is represented by her cousin Hero (III.i.54-56), is a more credible Philautia, self-lover. Indeed, all the ladies of *Much Ado* seem to be familiar with the diction, fashions, and situations of *Cynthia's Revels*. More kindly, if not less teasingly, they discuss their lovers and their own fortunes. And the remarks of Hero, Margaret, and Ursula about the "other rebato" and the "new tire" and Hero's wedding-gown worth ten of "the Duchess of Milan's gown that they praise so" (III.iv) would be speedily recognized by an audience who had heard Moria, Philautia, Phantaste, and Argurion talk of a "head-tire" after "the italian print" (II.iv.65,70) and of "that rebatu" and "this tire" (IV.i.22,32) in Jonsonian scenes as vivid as those of Shakespeare, but less dramatically significant. Had Shakespeare seen Jonson's script before 1600?

Chiefly, we may ask what is the relation between Jonson's Asinius Lupus of *Poetaster* (1601) with his high regard for the law—"Why, the law makes a man happy, without respecting any other merit: a simple scholar, or none at all may be a lawyer" (I.ii.120-123)—and Shakespeare's Dogberry (1599-1600). The service of Asinius Lupus in discovering what he thinks to be a con-

Yet Shakespeare soon writes himself free of these superficial associations with the amenities which like Jonson he is subjecting to ridicule; and he does it, I suggest, with the help of the more vertebrate action of the *Poetaster*. Especially in those scenes of *Troilus and Cressida* where Paris and Helen are represented at the center of a group jesting about love when their city is under siege, are we reminded of Jonson's Ovid and Julia, the reprobate courtiers who in Professor Campbell's words (p. 113) "set the tone of the dissolute courtly society whose influence permeates every portion of the drama." Except that Rome faces no immediate peril, the likeness is in many particulars striking. At Chloe's supper-party there is silly joking about the hair of poets (II.ii.80-85); and in the Trojan gathering reported by Pandarus to Cressida the jests are made about the hairs on Troilus' chin. The songs of Crispinus and Hermogenes should be compared with the song Pandarus sings for Helen. In the first scene of Shakespeare's third act chiefly, the operation of love is discovered to be analogous to that in the banquet of the mock Gods and Goddesses of *Poetaster* (IV.v), who are inspired by the "heate of . . . bloud" and "the spirit of nectar." Says Albius, who shares some opinions with Pandarus: "Wine, and good livers, make true lovers" (IV.v.134). Says Paris to Helen about Pandarus: "He eats nothing but doves, love, and that breeds hot blood, and hot blood begets hot thoughts, and hot thoughts beget hot deeds, and hot deeds is love" (III.i.139-142). Moreover, the mock-quarrel between Ovid and Julia as Jupiter and Juno should be compared with the less obvious tensions in the scene where Helen disregards Paris to play for the affection of Pandarus. Julia's joke on Ovid's nose and the "starre in [his] forehead" soon to be "a horne" may be one source of Helen's remark to Pandarus "By my troth, sweet lord, thou hast a fine forehead" (III.i.116-117). The "broken tunes" which Hermogenes will "repaire" in the earlier play (IV.v.189) and the "good broken music" to be made "whole again" in the later play (III.i.52-56) are comparable; songs crown both scenes to indicate the prevailing philosophy of love; and the Pandarus of *Troilus and Cressida* is at first as disinclined to song as the Hermogenes of *Poetaster* and the Tigellius of Horace, suggested by Professor Campbell as the ancestor of Hermogenes (p. 119).

Professor Campbell emphasizes "Ovid's . . . complete surrender of his intellect and his emotions to love and to the art which it dictates." The behavior of Paris and Troilus, neither of whom is on the battlefield when Antenor is captured, proves to be an equally calamitous surrender. Allowing the loss of Antenor, it allows also the exchange of Cressida, and thus the resulting woes of Troilus. Nor should we forget that the control of Julia's destiny by her father is an earlier dramatic instance of the control of Cressida's destiny by her father, Calchas. And, as if Shakespeare recalled Julia's promise to be true to Ovid in spite of her father's decree (IV.ix.12-23)—

spiracy and in alleging the treason, and his noisy insistence on the emblem of the Ass—"An Asse? Good still: that's I, too. I am the Asse. You mean me by the Asse"—has more than a slight resemblance to the part played by Dogberry. Asinius Lupus is sentenced in a mock trial and fitted "with a paire of larger cares" (V.iii.130). Dogberry takes a more fruitful part in the legal proceedings of *Much Ado*; nevertheless he also leaves the stage insisting on his own asininity (IV.ii). Is Jonson beholden to Shakespeare for his Asse?

For the Spenserian constituent in *Much Ado* see my articles in *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, XVII (April and July, 1942), 103-111, 126-133.

No height of birth,
 Of place, of dutie, or of cruell power,
 Shall keepe mee from thee: . . .
 The soules of parents rule not children's soules,
 When death sets both in their dissolv'd estates;
 Then is no child, nor father—

he writes analogous words for the rebellious speech of Cressida (IV.ii.102-111):

I have forgot my father;
 I know no touch of consanguinity,
 No kin, no love, no blood, no soul so near me
 As the sweet Troilus. . . .
 . . . Time, force, and death,
 Do to this body what extremes you can,
 But the strong base and building of my love
 Is as the very centre of the earth,
 Drawing all things to it.

We must point out, however, that, whereas Ovid is ingloriously banished from the action of *Poetaster*, Troilus is restored to the battlefield from which his love for Cressida has seduced him. The slavery of the poet is ended but not cured; but the warrior, "engaging and redeeming of himself," is put in the way of a fruitful discovery and a dependable reversal.

Once the lovers Julia and Ovid are separated, Augustus Caesar goes back to his task of curing poetasters. Once the intemperate passion of Troilus for Cressida has been made "patient," and once Cressida has been prized "to her own worth" by a clearer-sighted lover than Troilus, Shakespeare sends his renegade warriors back to the Trojan war. It will be acknowledged that this amalgamation of love and war, the romantic and the heroic, has been more successful than Jonson's attempt to amalgamate lovers and poets. Where Jonson affords only comical satire, Shakespeare gives us irony in the highest style. Moreover, we are rewarded for our comparative study by a plausible assumption that, as he watched Jonson's "comical satyre," Shakespeare was lining up his own persons and situations. For Tucça, Ajax; for Albius and Crispinus, Pandarus; for Crispinus and Hermogenes, Achilles and Patrocles; for Julia, Helen; for Chloë, a more intelligent and fastidious Cressida; for the renegade poet Ovid, the renegade warriors Paris and Troilus; for Horace and Virgil, Ulysses, Hector, and Aeneas. The plot of Augustus and Horace to restore the rightful energies of Crispinus and Tucça would in Shakespeare's dramatic art become a plot by Nestor and Ulysses, with the permission of Agamemnon, to restore Achilles and Ajax. Jonson's antimasque of the purge of the poetasters would suggest an ironic and fruitless council of warriors in the Palace of Priam to be followed by a more successful purge of the Greek malcontents, with a Thersites to administer it. All would be done in the mixed style of prose and verse, as in Jonson's play.

Finally, where Jonson depended on the story of the *Aeneid* to cap Virgil's poetic triumph and set Fama free to tell her tales, he gave the strongest of hints to William Shakespeare: a Homeric action instead of a Virgilian, Ovidian, and Horatian situation:

Homer will live, whil'st Tenedos stands, and Ide,
 Or, to the sea, fleet Simois doth slide.

These words (I.i.51-52) of Jonson's translation of Ovid's verse as they made their way through Shakespeare's ears might well have determined the design for his next play. Witness the Prologue of *Troilus and Cressida*. That excellent bit of stage direction by an armed prologue akin to Jonson's "armed Prologue" after the third sounding would introduce a play not quite so schematic as Jonsonian "comicall satyrye," not quite so ruthless as the Juvenalian satire which Professor Andrew Bongiorno determines it to be,⁵ but surely belonging to the kind dubbed by Captain Tucca (I.ii.51-52) "One of their wormewood comedies."

Troy, New York

⁵ In a paper delivered at the English Institute, September, 1952.

Shakespeare and the Catholic Burial Services

MAURICE J. QUINLAN



THE recent discovery of a specific source for Horatio's line, "And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest" (*SQ*, III, 279; V, 209), appears significant for several reasons. In the first place the ascription of these words to the *In Paradisum* of the Catholic burial service clears up an old dispute. In the eighteenth century Edmund Malone believed that Shakespeare's source must have been the prayer which Lord Essex is reported to have uttered on the scaffold, "and when my life and body shall part, send thy blessed angels which may receive my soul, and convey it to the joys of heaven." George Steevens, on the other hand, attributed Horatio's speech to the benediction which the Cardinal in Marston's *Insatiate Countess* pronounces over the dead body of the repentant countess: "An host of angels sing thee to thy rest."¹

Obviously there is a close similarity between Shakespeare's line and those of Essex and the Cardinal, but we can now be virtually certain that all three speeches derive from the *In Paradisum*:

In paradisum deducant te Angeli; in tuo adventu suscipiant
te Martyres, et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Jerusalem.
Chorus Angelorum te suscipiat, et cum Lazaro quondam paupere
aeternam habeas requiem.

The ascription of Horatio's line to the *In Paradisum* is perhaps chiefly significant in that it proves Shakespeare's familiarity with the Catholic funeral services. This new evidence may have a bearing on various passages in the plays.² It seems especially pertinent to an interpretation of what Shakespeare intended in such a scene as the burial of Ophelia. In this scene, one will recall, Hamlet has been talking with Horatio and the grave-diggers when he suddenly observes a funeral procession enter. He does not know that the corpse is that of Ophelia. All he sees is the shrouded body of the dead being borne along, followed by a

¹ *Plays of William Shakespeare*, ed. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, 4th edition (London, 1793), XV, 353; *The Plays of John Marston*, ed. H. Hervey Wood (Edinburgh, 1939), III, 74.

² The Catholic funeral liturgy may be the source of a reference in *Henry V*. In speaking of the recently deceased Falstaff, the Hostess says, "Nay, sure he's not in Hell. He's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom." Most critics agree that by "Arthur's bosom" the illiterate Hostess means "Abraham's bosom." The primary source for this reference is of course the Bible (Luke 16.22). But Shakespeare might just as well have had in mind the Response which is sung at Catholic funerals at the point when the procession arrives at the church. The pertinent words of this Response are, "Suscipiat te Christus, qui vocavit te, et in sinum Abrahae Angeli deducant te."

clergyman (or clergymen), the King, the Queen, Laertes, and other courtiers. Nevertheless, Hamlet immediately detects something unusual about this burial service, for he asks,

Who is that they follow?
And with such maimed rites?

What caused Hamlet to observe so quickly that something was missing? There was the usual group of friends and relatives, and there was at least one clergyman. If the services were to be conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer, one would expect the customary prayers at the graveside, but there would be nothing noticeably lacking in the procession itself. On the other hand, if a Catholic burial was intended—a presumption confirmed by the identification of the clergyman as a priest—what was missing? We do not know how the scene was staged in the Elizabethan theater, but we do know that the dramatist and director try constantly to appeal to both the eyes and the ears of the audience. It would seem therefore that whatever omissions Hamlet detected the audience must have observed too. Perhaps the priest appeared without the usual vestments, a surplice, stole, and cope. Perhaps he was unattended by altar boys. Or, if they were present, possibly they failed to carry the usual adjuncts to the burial service—lighted candles, a censer, and the sprinkler and container for holy water. Those familiar with the Catholic rites, as many of the audience were, would have noticed these omissions. But the audience and Hamlet himself must have been even more forcibly struck by the silence of the funeral procession. In the typical Catholic service the priest and his attendants, and perhaps the mourners as well, would have approached the grave singing the *In Paradisum*. But no voice is raised in an antiphon for poor Ophelia, and the little cortege is as silent as death itself. No wonder that Hamlet immediately perceives that something is amiss. No wonder he whispers, for amidst this appalling silence a whisper is eloquent, “and with such maimed rites.”

The first utterance of anyone in the funeral procession comes from Laertes, who inquires: “What ceremony else?” The priest, as if embarrassed, makes no reply until Laertes repeats the question. Then there is the explanation that since Ophelia’s death was “doubtful,” there can be no further obsequies. The priest continues his speech, saying that because “great command o’ersways the order,” Ophelia is being buried in sanctified ground. This was a great concession, for she had escaped the crossroads burial given to many suicides. As a result she will not have “shards, flints, and pebbles” thrown on her grave. Instead there will be “charitable prayers,” not the prayers usually repeated by a priest at the grave presumably, for this priest offers none, but rather the prayers said by parishioners for the deceased in their community. As if trying to put the best face on things, the priest adds that Ophelia is also allowed her “virgin crants,” generally taken to be the garlands hung up in church or borne before the bier of an unmarried woman. She is also permitted her “maiden strewnments,” the flowers cast into the grave after the body has been lowered into it. (Undoubtedly referred to a little later in the Queen’s speech, “Sweets to the sweet.”) The final concession mentioned by the priest is “the bringing home of bell and burial.” This statement has been variously interpreted. J. Q. Adams, for instance, sees in it a reference to “bringing a bride from the church to her future home.”³ No

³ *Hamlet*, ed. Joseph Q. Adams (Boston, 1929), p. 149.

doubt this oblique meaning was intended by Shakespeare to emphasize the irony of Ophelia's disappointment in love. But the priest is talking about what has been permitted in addition to the virgin crants and maiden strewments, and, in my opinion, "the bringing home of bell and burial" means specifically that Ophelia is allowed to be buried in sanctified ground with a priest present.

There is no glossing over the fact that these are indeed maimed rites. Except for burial in sanctified ground and the presence of the priest, there is little resemblance to the normal ceremonies, for the virgin crants and maiden strewments were but superficial observances, possibly inherited from pagan burial customs. As the chief mourner, Laertes is shocked by the omissions, and again he demands, "Must there no more be done?" This time the priest, echoing Laertes' words, replies,

No more be done:
We would profane the service of the dead,
To sing a requiem and such rest to her
As to peace-parted souls.

In his earlier speech the priest has explained which parts of the burial service had been preserved. In the second speech, it would appear, he is alluding to what has been omitted. "To sing a requiem" has often been construed to mean singing a Requiem Mass, that is a Mass for the dead. The term itself is derived from the Introit or opening prayer which begins, "Requiem aeternam dona ei, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat ei." But is the priest at Ophelia's grave referring to a Requiem Mass? It seems strange that he should be in view of the sequence of the Catholic burial services. In the complete burial ceremony there are really five distinct rites that follow upon each other. Church law does not require the inclusion of all of them, but in a complete ceremony the sequence is as follows: 1 the bringing of the body to church; 2 Matins and Lauds; 3 the Requiem Mass; 4 the absolution at the end of the Mass; and 5 the burial.⁴ As the sequence indicates, all but the last of these rites are performed before the body of the deceased is brought to the grave. Since Ophelia's death was "doubtful," the first four rites were probably simplified or, even more likely, omitted altogether. In any event the time for performing them has passed when the procession reaches the grave, and Laertes must be well aware of what has been omitted up to this point. Consequently when he asks, "Must there no more be done?" he is presumably inquiring about the fifth rite, the actual burial service. And when the priest replies that it would be a profanation to sing a requiem, he is not referring to a Requiem Mass. Everyone in the procession knows that if a Mass had been permitted it would have been celebrated in church. It would not be sung at the grave.

What, then, does the priest mean when he says it would profane the service to sing a requiem for Ophelia? Obviously he is talking about what has been left out of the fifth rite. Among the omissions in the actual burial service, it would appear, are the sprinkling of the grave and the body, the blessing of the grave, the singing of the *In Paradisum*, and the recitation of prayers and responses. Under the circumstances the priest does not mention all the omissions, but by "a requiem" he probably means specifically the antiphon normally sung

⁴ Rev. Adrian Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (London, 1937), pp. 444 ff.

by members of the funeral procession. Because of its initial words this antiphon is generally referred to as the *In Paradisum*, but it might be called a requiem, for, like the Introit of the Requiem Mass, it implores that the departed soul may have eternal life. Furthermore, it ends with the words, "Aeternam habebas requiem." It will be observed, however, that the priest does not say simply that it would be a profanation "to sing a requiem." What he actually says is, "To sing a requiem and such rest to her as to peace-parted souls." Since "requiem" means "rest," is Shakespeare being prolix? Probably not. "Such rest" is, very likely, a reference to the other responses and prayers said or chanted at the burial, all of which implore rest, that is eternal life, for the deceased.

One more point is raised by the evidence that Shakespeare was familiar with the Catholic burial service. Critics have long puzzled over Hamlet's final words, "The rest is silence." Some have thought it a cynical utterance, implying that there is no after life. Yet this speech immediately precedes the one in which Horatio says, "flights of angels sing thee to thy rest." We cannot be sure whether Shakespeare was aware of the source of his phrase, but if he did have the *In Paradisum* consciously in mind, then it seems strange that he should have echoed the words of this antiphon in benediction over one who has just died with a sceptical utterance on his lips. Much depends upon the interpretation of "rest" in Hamlet's speech. We know what the word means in the speech of Horatio which immediately follows; here "rest" is a literal translation of "requiem," meaning "eternal life." That meaning cannot so clearly be attached to the word as spoken by Hamlet, yet it may be one of the implied meanings, and the ambiguity in the speech may be purposeful. In earlier plays Shakespeare has John of Gaunt and Mercutio pun in their dying utterances. Perhaps Shakespeare intended Hamlet to do the same thing. One recalls the multiple interpretations which George Herbert gave to "rest" in his poem "The Pulley." Was Shakespeare anticipating him in punning on this word in the last speech of Hamlet? If so, then many meanings may be attached to the term—for instance, "rest" in the sense of the remainder of what Hamlet wished to say, "rest" in the musical sense of a silence between tones, "rest" in the sense of sleep (a meaning that gains some support from Horatio's "Good-night, sweet prince"), "rest" in the sense of absence of motion, and "rest" in the sense of eternal life. Certainly the very indefiniteness of the meaning contributes just the right touch of mystery to the last utterance of the hero as he is about to cross to the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns.

College of St. Thomas

Three Festivals at the Mermaid Theatre

BERNARD MILES AND JOSEPHINE WILSON



HE Mermaid Theatre is a practical attempt to recreate the working conditions of an Elizabethan playhouse, and to test them out in the sphere of commercial entertainment, where academic theories are so unwelcome and so often inclined to wither.

It was planned during the Spring and Summer of 1951, built in a large schoolroom (50' long x 30' wide x 24' to roof-ridge x 15' to eaves) in St. John's Wood, a northern suburb of London, and opened on September 9th with a performance of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, in which Kirsten Flagstad, one of its founders and its very practical Godmother, sang the leading role. (This production was later recorded by H.M.V.-Victor on a single long-playing disc A.L.P. 1026.)

Accompanying photographs show its general arrangement and style of decoration, the work of C. Walter Hodges, author of *The Globe Restored* (1953), *Shakespeare and the Players* (1949) and numerous articles on the Elizabethan stage, and Michael Stringer, a brilliant young art director in British films (American cinema-goers may recently have seen his work in *Genevieve*, that delightful comedy of horseless carriages racing from London to Brighton).

As we said on our programmes, the Mermaid "is not intended to be a reproduction of any particular Elizabethan theater. All we claim is that, both in style and general arrangement, it is representative of the 'gorgeous playing places' in which Shakespeare's plays were first performed, and that it is certainly a stage on which Elizabethan actors would have felt at home."

We used four sets of running curtains, first of all a kind of trade-mark set, with mermaids painted on them, then what we called our verduras (tapestry-like and full of woods and streams), then a set of rich red ones decorated with gold, for palaces and court scenes, and lastly a set of blacks diapered with blood spots, to be used in tragedy. All were interchangeable.

As the hall was only 15' to the eaves and 24' to the ridge, our platform could only be 2' high or the tiring house would have pushed through the roof. But a 2' stage meant that we had to tunnel 4' in order to work the down-stage trap. This tunnel was approached from one of the back-stage dressing rooms which had formerly been part of the First Master's cottage attached to the end of the Hall.

The general effect of the Mermaid was one of brilliant green and red and gold, with the ceiling of the hall itself painted blue and studded with 40 gold and

silver stars set amongst plump cumulus clouds and saucy Zodiac signs. Thus, from the very start we broke with the long-accepted theory that the Elizabethan stage was an affair of beams and plaster and plain curtains, a make-shift rigged up by the "rude mechanicals" of a less enlightened age, and went all out for "a gorgeous painted playing place" and an atmosphere of warmth and gaiety and dazzling colour, the mirror to an age of pageantry and jeweled splendor.

The platform and its simple equipment served admirably for unfolding *Dido and Aeneas* and also *The Tempest*, which was our second production. For example, Venus (in the *Dido* prologue) and the Attendant Spirit (in the Second and Third Scenes) were lowered from a flying platform in the heavens and pulled back into them again by block and tackle ($\frac{3}{8}$ " nylon cord), both sitting in a specially constructed chair. The Attendant Spirit actually sang his dread warning to Aeneas at the end of the Grove Scene swinging in mid-air.

The Sorceress and her two witches crawled out of a large hole in the stage (primitive drop trap 2' square) while two electric kettles belched steam around them. When we later produced *Dido and Aeneas* in Oslo, the stage director plunged red-hot stones into a bucket of ice-cold water just before each witch made her entrance! This was even better than the kettles.

The orchestra, consisting of harpsichord and thirteen strings, conducted by Geraint Jones, who had made an entirely new working version of the opera, were placed in the gallery above the so-called "inner stage," i.e., behind the singers, who took their cues in a long mirror hung at the back of the auditorium.

In *The Tempest*, Ariel also made his first entrance from the heavens, swinging lightly down in a nylon parachute harness, worn under his blue fleshings and fitted with a rapid-release clip which was easily snapped open by Prospero (Clifford Evans, the Horatio of Leslie Howard's American *Hamlet* in 1936).

But the real revelation was the shipwreck. For this Julius Gellner, the producer (a Czech emigré with many fine continental productions to his credit, besides a brilliant *Othello* for the Old Vic in 1943), imagined the open platform to be the deck of the ship and the two doors L. and R. the entrances to the state apartments. From the small flying platform fixed just below the ridge of the roof and masked by a cloud cut-out, hung a long rope ladder swinging violently with the imaginary rolling of the ship, the characters on deck lurching to the swing of the ladder. Thunder rolled, lightning flashed and rain pelted down (effects department!).

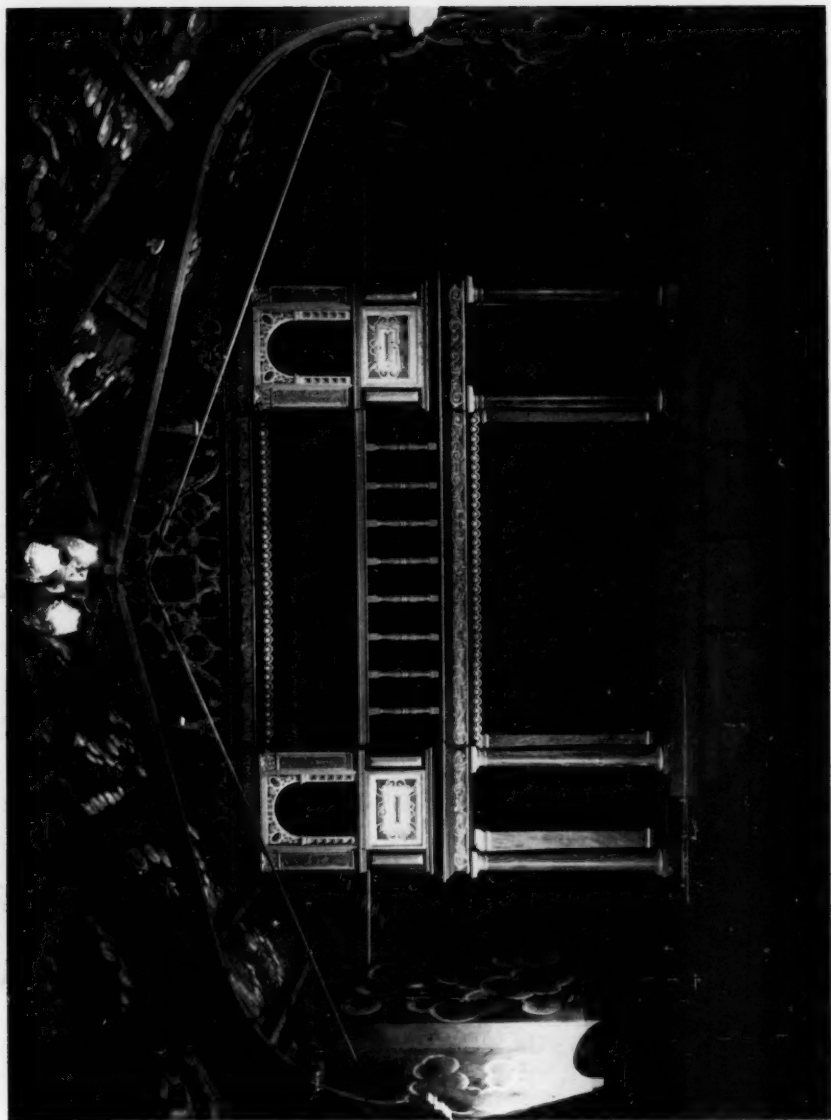
A mighty off-stage rending was the cue for "We split! We split!", a dreadful cry was raised (off-stage), then the rope ladder was cut free from above and fell with a crash into the open trap. As the trap closed, all the characters, bearing pieces of rope and tackle, and other nautical props (in other words clearing the stage) disappeared into the doorways upstage while a tiny consort of spinet, recorders, fiddles and serpent, hiding behind muslin clouds in the gallery above the tiring house, began to play soft music. Meanwhile cords were unfastened to allow loops and garlands of exotic flowers to fall into position for the enchanted island.

Thus the whole scene-change from the stricken ship to the tropical calm of Prospero's Island was achieved in twenty magical seconds and drew a long burst of applause from a first-night audience composed almost entirely of critics.

We also did a series of afternoon recitals, one of which was a reconstruction



Mermaid Theater on the Royal Exchange. May-August, 1953. The stage set for *Macbeth*. Photo by John R. Pantlin.



The Mermaid Theater in St. John's Wood, North London. The stage set for *Macbeth*. Photo by Angus McBean.

of *Hamlet*, Act 1, Scene 1, in Elizabethan pronunciation, supervised by A. C. Gimson, Lecturer in Phonetics at University College, London, to which were added Elizabethan acting gestures as described by Dr. Bertram Joseph in his book *Elizabethan Acting* (1950). This made such a strong impression both on those who saw it and those who took part, that we were determined, as soon as possible, to attempt a complete production in the same manner.

This plan was carried out at our Second Festival in September 1952. Mr. Gimson and colleagues at University College prepared a phonetic transcript of *Macbeth*, then H.M.V. Gramophone Company recorded their rendering of it on 22 x 12" discs and presented us with a dozen sets of the pressings so that we could learn our parts by ear. (A copy of the transcript and also a set of the records are lodged in Harvard University Library and a second set of records at Hofstra College, Long Island. A third set went to Columbia University.)

We found it hard work learning these subtle and unaccustomed sounds (skilled dialect actors found it hardest of all), but after four weeks of dogged rehearsal under Joan Swinstead, with Mr. Gimson and Dr. Joseph both taking tutorial classes in odd corners of the theater and dressing rooms, we think we succeeded in giving a rough approximation of the sounds and gestures attempted.

Critics were loud in their disapproval of such nonsense, but we received hundreds of friendly letters from members of the audience, many of whom (particularly visitors from the Continent) said it was the first time they had ever understood the English language properly or had been able to think of it as "beautiful." When the time comes we shall certainly try the experiment again.

At this Second Festival Joan Swinstead also produced Middleton's delightful comedy *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, which proved a great hit with critics and public alike, and Geraint Jones conducted a group of magnificent Bach Cantatas as well as a reproduction of our first year's *Dido and Aeneas*.

So far our audience had been a limited private one with a maximum of 200 at each performance and no possibility of wrapping them round three and a half sides of the stage in the authentic manner, though we did fill the stage gallery with spectators for our reconstruction of the *Hamlet* scene, which was also performed in broad daylight with all windows wide open. So we still had no idea whether such staging would prove attractive to the mass of popular theatergoers, the hard core of aspiring humanity upon whom the living theater depends for its financial sinews.

In Coronation Year, therefore, we took the plunge into the rough waters of commercial entertainment. The Joint Grand Gresham Committee, the august body who hold the City of London's Royal Exchange in trust under the terms of Sir Thomas Gresham's will (1579), generously permitted us to set up our stage and tiring house in that magnificent quadrangle. There we were able to surround it with a thousand seats built on a framework of tubular scaffolding something after the manner of a boxing ring; and there, between May 4th and August 1st, at a time when processions, street decorations and other outdoor attractions had half emptied most of London's theaters, we gave 118 performances. During these thirteen weeks (which included three weeks of rehearsal) 75,000 people found their way to an unfamiliar part of London to see *As You Like It*, *Dido and Aeneas*, *Eastward Ho!* and *Macbeth* produced as far as pos-

sible in the Elizabethan manner. Working without a subsidy, we easily paid off production and running costs for the whole season from box-office takings, and we are now searching for a more or less permanent home in which to carry on the good work.

We are also contemplating the construction of a portable stage and tiring house for erection on open spaces or in halls in small towns where the drama has never before penetrated. There should be wide scope throughout the English-speaking world for productions of Shakespeare's plays by strolling players carrying their own theater with them.

The quadrangle at the Royal Exchange is 110' long x 52' wide. Our stage was placed in the middle of one of the long sides, was 12' wider than at St. John's Wood and 3' deeper (42' from side to side x 20' from back to front). As we could not tunnel under the historic cobblestones which were laid in 1568 as a foundation for the first Royal Exchange, we made our stage 4' 6" high so that traps and their attendant steam and lighting could be worked by crawling under it.

We have learned that it is impossible to play scenes on the so-called "inner stage," or even far upstage at all. When the expanse of platform is there to be used, you have to use it. Not to do so feels false and artificial and indeed lands us back where we are in the picture-frame theater, with distant and purely two-dimensional acting.

The feeling that the audience is participating in the drama, that they are *involved* with you, is irresistible. Macbeth's "And be these juggling fiends no more believed" spoken to human beings sitting only a few feet away, has a fearful personal force. Spoken to an imaginary Fate somewhere up in the flies, as it must be in a conventional theater, it loses immeasurably.

The true marvel of "I will to-morrow and betimes I will" and speeches of the same kind, only appears when they are spoken in confidence to a thousand human beings sitting almost within hand-clasping distance. Such contact adds a tremendous strength to the performance, especially when the actor is aware of its dangers (vide Stanislavsky's strictures on audience as "mob"!) and can work against them.

At the end of the performance we found it impossible to retire behind the curtains, and as the only alternative was to advance towards the audience, that is what we did, sitting on the edge of the stage and talking to them quite naturally, smeared with the Max Factor blood of the final battle.

The possibilities for speed are also irresistible. The play presses on remorselessly. Our *Macbeth* almost uncut played for just under two hours, and many people wrote asking us to play it straight through without an interval after they had experienced it under these fresh conditions.

Lastly, and perhaps most important, we have proved that the general theater-going public are only waiting for the chance to see Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists on the kind of stage for which they wrote. They will undoubtedly give a heavy box office verdict in its favour.

London

Shakespeare on the New York Stage 1953-1954

ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE



NEW chapter in the history of Shakespeare's plays on the American stage began with the production of *Richard II* at the St. James Theatre early in 1937. Almost none of those who saw the play at that time had seen it before. Indeed, save for a few performances by the Stratford Festival Company, several years earlier, *Richard II* had remained almost unacted in America since Edwin Booth's day. Now it was given with Maurice Evans, an English actor of splendid promise, as Richard, and under the direction of a little-known Margaret Webster. And it was to Miss Webster that we were to owe most, though not all, of our more ambitious Shakespearian productions for the next years. *The First Part of King Henry IV*, which opened in Philadelphia and was then put aside for a time in favor of an exciting "entirety" production of *Hamlet*, followed *Richard II*; and these were succeeded by *Twelfth Night*, with Helen Hayes, *Macbeth*, with Evans once more and Judith Anderson, and by a deeply moving *Othello*, with Paul Robeson. In 1945 came *The Tempest*, and in 1946 *Henry VIII*, this last produced by the American Repertory Theatre with Eva Le Gallienne as Katherine and Walter Hampden as Wolsey. More recently still, a touring company organized by Miss Webster gave several of the plays in university theaters, and elsewhere, but for reasons of economy staged them very austere.

Margaret Webster's enthusiasm and her sure sense of theatrical effectiveness are incontestable. If she has not been above shifting the text about, as notoriously in *The Tempest*, which in her version ended with Prospero's "cloud-capped towers" speech, she has usually given her audiences more of it than the traditionalists gave. Under her direction, furthermore, the minor roles, even the smallest of them, have not been neglected. What has not received its due is the poetry. Shakespeare's plays have suffered a leveling process, as if to make them as much as possible like the realistic plays to which modern audiences are accustomed. Too frequently the heroic has departed from Shakespearian tragedy, the romantic from Shakespearian comedy.

A production of Miss Webster's is best seen very early, before it has had time to accumulate detail. We have become so used, indeed, to the addition of realistic business at the beginning and ending of scenes as to accept it nowadays almost as a matter of course. Only an occasional purist is likely to take exception to such simple inventions as the King's being discovered washing his

hands after a meal, in Act I, scene iv, of *Richard II*, or John of Gaunt's drinking a medicinal draught, in the next scene, or the bringing ashore of Richard's luggage upon his return to England (luggage has had a strange fascination for Shakespearean directors in recent years). When, however, Claudius was handed a playbill, just before the performance arranged by his nephew, I was left wondering why he should have had to inquire what the play was called. And when Macbeth elaborately burned the incriminating letter he had sent his wife, it seemed to me that the play had sunk to the level of a detective melodrama. To cite further instances might be tedious.

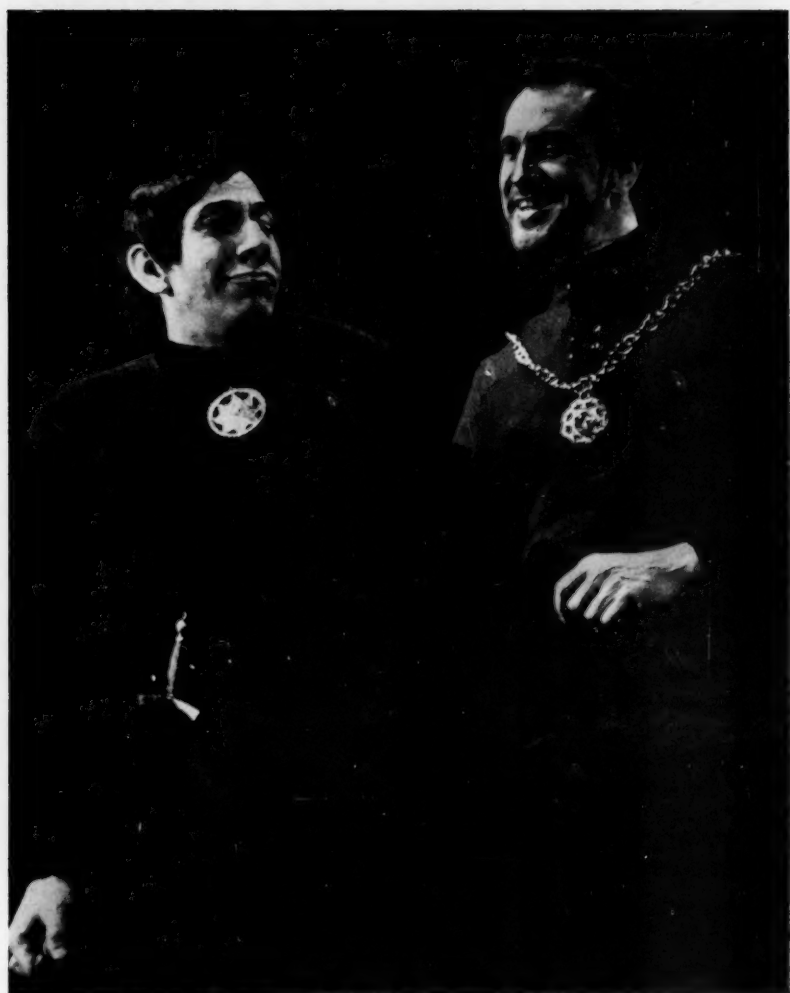
Richard III, as Miss Webster staged it at the City Center for a fortnight beginning December 9, followed the manner of her earlier productions. There was a fuller text than that used by George Coulouris in 1943 or Richard Whorf in 1949. Some rearrangement of episodes was permitted, as in the case of the Scrivener's Scene (III.vi) and Richard's passages with the Queen, the Messengers, and his mother in IV.iv. A regrettable cut was that of the choral lamentation of the women—central, it might be urged, to the thought of the play—which the actresses in this production should have been able to make impressive. Shakespeare's anxious Citizens (II.iii) were given their say, only to be interrupted by followers of Richard—or his secret police—whose threatening appearance led to a novel interpretation of the concluding lines, now spoken deprecatingly for these ruffians to hear:

3. *Cit.* But leave it all to God. Whither away?
2. *Cit.* Marry, we were sent for to the justices.
3. *Cit.* And so was I. I'll bear you company.

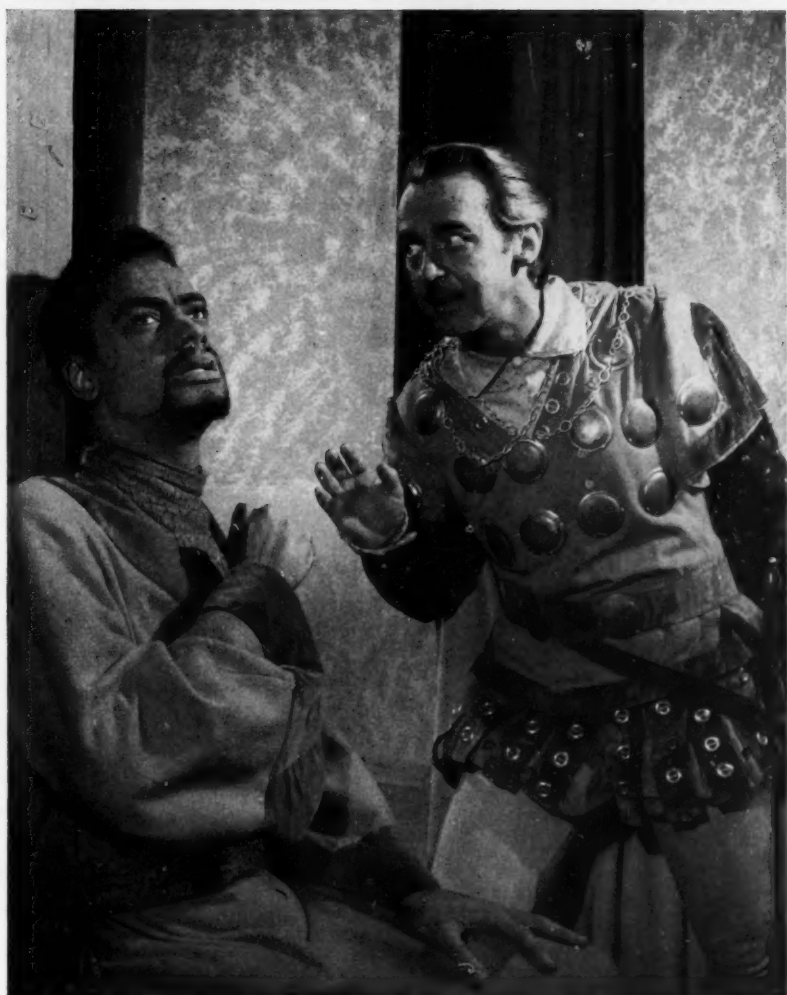
As if to bring out the idea that Shakespeare's Richard might be compared profitably with the totalitarian dictators of our own time, political symbols were successively projected, in the course of the first scene, on a stylized Tower of London: the Roman fasces (I believe), then a swastika, then dramatically a hammer and sickle. Two or three of the later settings were frankly representational, and in themselves quite pleasant to the eye, whereas the tents between which the ghosts clustered were suggested merely by a banner and great shield on each side of the stage. Somewhere between these extremes of old and new was the Throne Scene, where much was accomplished through a blaze of banners at the front and the sound of pealing bells in the distance.

Richard is a part very easy to play badly, very difficult to play well, which is one reason, it may be, why the play he so nearly dominates is often disappointing when it reaches the stage. José Ferrer, for whom some allowance should be made since he was deeply involved in the production and acting of a number of plays hastily got up, failed to make much of moments in which less competent actors are accustomed to score, most notably that of Richard's awakening in the Tent Scene. He condescended, too, to introduce bits of low comedy and chased the Mayor from the scene, shaking in the poor man's face the sack which held the severed head of Hastings. Vincent Price, as Buckingham, spoke the verse as prose and gave little appearance of taking his part seriously. He smiled knowingly when Richard, in the scene of the young King's arrival in London, strangely addressed the aside, "So wise so young, they say do never live long," to Buckingham, who of course should not hear it.

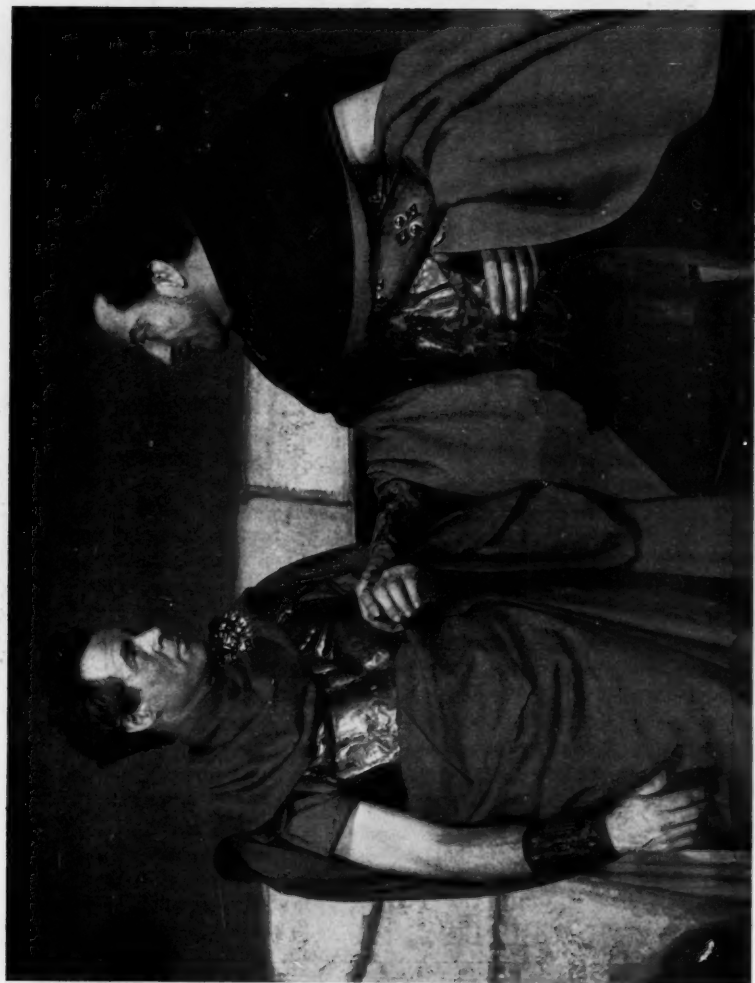




José Ferrer as Richard and Vincent Price as Buckingham. (Photograph by Ottomar Studio.)



Earl Hyman as Othello and William Thornton as Iago. (Photograph by Ottomar Studio.)



Robert Ryan as Coriolanus and John Emery as Aufidius. (Photograph by Fred Fehl.)

When Richard came to die, Mr. Ferrer attempted to out-Kean Kean. Disarmed by Richmond, he seized him, flinging his body over his shoulder and slowly mounting a flight of steps with the purpose, I take it, of flinging his enemy down. Meanwhile, Richmond was stabbing him viciously in the back and at each stab he paused, then mounted another step, to die at last just as they reached the top. Excusably, perhaps, many in the audience laughed.

When a Shakespearian play is staged by Margaret Webster the minor roles, as I suggested, are likely to receive due attention and the minor actors may prove worth watching. So, in the present *Richard III*, Jack Bittner brought out beautifully the contrasted reality and unreality, humor and entire seriousness, of the Second Murderer. The whole scene of Clarence's death was well performed. That of the cursing of Richard by his mother was even better. Here Margaret Wycherly's intensity and the excellence of her speaking were set off by the anger and dismay of Richard and by the bursts of discordant music and the rolling of drums, perfectly timed, with which he interrupted her.

So much for a generally depressing *Richard III*. On an altogether higher level was John Houseman's production of *Coriolanus*, given for six weeks beginning January 19, at the Phoenix Theatre. *Coriolanus* had last been produced in New York by Charles Hopkins as a Federal Theatre project sixteen years ago. There was already at that time a growing perception of the inadequacy of our picture-frame stage to meet Shakespeare's requirements, and I recall, for instance, how effectively the aisles of the theater were used for processions, especially that of Volumnia and her mourning train in the great scene outside Rome. At the Phoenix Theatre, freedom from confinement was sought by other means. Steps and platforms had been built in the orchestra well, which became in effect a sort of apron stage. Thus Menenius, telling the unruly plebeians his fable of the good belly, found them grouped both above and beneath him as he stood at the top of these stairs; and while Coriolanus spoke of the strange importance of the "voices" for whom he had watched and fought, we saw, ominously for him, a long row of listening heads appear against the footlights. Towards the back of the stage stood a very adaptable, bridge-like, low arch, sometimes hung with curtains, and there were more steps and small platforms, arranged at various angles. Altogether, an interesting, serviceable setting which lent itself to the effective grouping of the characters.

The acting text was a moderately full one. The complicated fighting in and about Corioli was, it is true, reduced to little more than the single combat between Marcius and Aufidius. Marcius was then honored for his deeds but the naturalistic episode of his pleading for his poor Volscian host and growing faint as he spoke was deleted, just as it had been at Stratford two years ago. Two expository passages, the exchange of news between the Volscian Scout and Roman informer (IV.iii) and, with greater loss, the thoughtful comments of the Officers at the beginning of II.ii, were also cut, pardonably enough. But it is hard to imagine what prompted the excision of IV.i, the parting of the hero with his family and friends, for this scene is not only moving in itself but of consequence, as well, for our knowledge of both Coriolanus and Volumnia. In such a stern play as this, one greatly missed:

... Though I go alone,
Like to a lonely dragon, that his fen
Makes fear'd and talk'd of more than seen,

as later, in IV.v, the speeches,

3. *Serv.* Where dwell'st thou?
Cor. Under the canopy. . . .
3. *Serv.* Where's that?
Cor. I' th' city of kites and crows.

The choice of Robert Ryan for the chief role was understandable despite his manifest limitations as an actor of poetic drama. The flatness of his voice—a voice of little range or expressiveness—was indeed lamentable. Marcius as he was now played, became a simple soldier, unskilled in the ways of political life, scornful of the mere cowardice of the plebeians and reluctant to exploit his very real services to the state. As such, the character, grown curiously modern, evoked a ready sympathy.

Mildred Natwick played Volumnia with intelligence and spirit: the more the pity that the scene in which Volumnia breaks under the strain—

Nay, mother,
Where is your ancient courage? You were us'd
To say extremity was the trier of spirits —

could not be included. The servants of Aufidius were unusually amusing and deserved the applause they received. Alan Napier as Menenius, a much more difficult part than it might appear to be, and John Emery as Aufidius, each had good moments—the latter scoring as he merely listened and waited, in the scene outside Rome. Best of all was the Sicinius of Will Geer, rugged and unyielding and with a sort of dignity which it was surprising to find the part admitted, and a reality which not one of the other players quite achieved. A brilliant production, then, and, better still, one true to the spirit of the play.

Something must be said, finally, about two productions by the Shakespeare Guild Festival Company, a non-profit organization, at the Jan Hus Auditorium. Their *Othello* enjoyed a considerable measure of success, opening on October 29 and continuing, several nights a week, past the Christmas holidays. The performance I saw began better than it ended. Through the first part, that is to say, up to the single intermission, following Act III, scene iii, there was much to praise. Earle Hyman, a handsome young negro with an excellent voice and an ear for verse, was acting Othello with fine restraint. Several, too, of the other roles had been well represented: there was even a Roderigo (James O'Brien) who was a good deal more than the ridiculous fop of stage tradition. The play was going well. Then came cutting and adaptation. The scene of Othello's seeing the handkerchief in Cassio's possession was omitted. That in which Othello treats Desdemona as the inmate of a brothel was clumsily combined with the Willow Scene, and perhaps with equal destructiveness Iago's persuading of Roderigo to attack Cassio was immediately followed by the attack itself. This last scene, always a dangerous one, went badly. Iago, left alone at the close of it with the wounded Cassio, seemed upon the point of completing

what he and Roderigo had left unfinished. "How silent is this town," he said grimly, shifting the words from where they occur in the text, then:

• This is the night
That either makes me or fordoes me quite.

One had supposed that such rewriting of the plays—the lamentable "Dalyizing" of the eighteen-nineties—belonged to a time long past.

Hamlet, which opened on April 19, had the Director of the Festival Guild Company, Mr. William Thornton, as the Prince of Denmark, and Raymond Johnson, who had performed the part with Evans in 1939, as Polonius. A well-designed stage, Elizabethan in general conception, gave opportunity for a much swifter pace than was actually maintained. The cutting of the text was heavy, including the whole of Act II, scene i, and everything between the Closet Scene and the Mad Scene.

There was much curious detail. Each appearance of the Ghost was heralded by a clap of thunder. No attempt was made to simulate cockcrow in the opening scene, but when Horatio spoke of the coming of dawn songbirds became audible, and later the approach of the Gravedigger was marked by the barking of distant dogs. Hamlet spoke

I'll have grounds
More relative than this. The play's the thing
Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the King,

in a whisper, then made his exit without business of any sort. On the other hand, he began the soliloquy on death seated beside a chessboard and idly moving some of the pieces, to sweep them aside as he reached the phrase "with a bare bodkin." Ophelia, reverting to a very early custom, carried and distributed straws in the Mad Scene, and they seemed to me more impressive than either actual flowers or the empty air. A courageous Marcellus took up his stand between the King and Laertes and for a moment crossed swords with the latter in protecting his master.

Except for the cutting, and the want of pace, the play was better produced than it was acted. One part, however, shone brightly. This was the Gravedigger, performed by John Monk who had appeared in the same role a long time ago with Robert B. Mantell. A vehement, rosy old man, with a certain wildness in his manner, this Gravedigger drank repeatedly and having spat upon the skull of Yorick polished it eagerly with his sleeve. He did not remove the waistcoats—as I almost hoped he would—nor gag his lines; but some of them, at least, had to be repeated owing to the extraordinary denseness of his man. As thus:—

Clown. Here lies the water; good.
Other. Where lies the water?
Clown. Here lies the water—

and so on. It was a pity that his entire equipment seemed limited to a spade, a single skull, and one large bone.

Bryn Mawr College

A
QUIP FOR AN UP.
start Courtier:

Or,

**A quaint dispute between Velvet breeches
and Cloth-breeches.**

*Wherein is plainly set downe the disorders
in all Estates and Trades.*



L O N D O N

**Imprinted by John Wolfe, and are to bee sold at his
shop at Poules chayne. 1592.**

London Types and Costumes: A country gentleman and a nouveau
riche. Robert Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592),
STC 12301.



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90th Anniversary Celebration of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft

WOLFGANG STROEDEL



THE German Shakespeare Society was founded in 1864 in Weimar. It is the oldest literary-scientific society in Germany. Its task is the fostering of Shakespeare's works in every possible way within the German speaking borders. For this purpose the society in Weimar owns a library with 12,000 volumes and in addition annually publishes an almanac. Furthermore, each year a meeting of members is held at which scientific lectures on Shakespeare research and first-class performances of Shakespeare's works are given. Since 1951 the well-known, now 76-year-old poet, Rudolf Alexander Schröder, has been president of the society, while Prof. Dr. Hermann Heuer from Freiburg i. Br. held the position of first vice-president and publisher of the almanac. Since 1946 the society has had its residence at Bochum in the midst of the industrial region of North-Rhine Westphalia.

Immediately after an Easter of snow and cold, the weather changed so that at the beginning of the "Shakespeare Days 1954" a blue sky shone over Bochum; suddenly it had become warm and on the lawns in the city park the flowers were in full bloom. The colors of the Federal Republic of Germany, of the country North-Rhine Westphalia, and of the town of Bochum are flying in every main street of the town, on each public building, and on trams and buses. The German Shakespeare Society is celebrating the festival of a 90-years' continuous existence by offering a great variety of events. The festival committee provides for a five-days' program. During these days we saw five productions at the Bochum theater, heard three lectures, one recital, one discussion between members, and took part in the meeting of numerous stage-managers of important German theaters. It started with a meeting of delegates and was followed on the next day by a discussion between professors of English philology from almost every German university, during which internal questions about the German universities were discussed. On Thursday, April 22nd, the actual festivities began with a performance of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the production being that of Gustav Rudolf Sellner, and the music, a new arrangement, by Carl Orff. The next morning the actual opening of the festival proceedings took place. This celebration had originally been planned at the Town Hall; but it had to be changed, as the largest room of this building would not have held the hundreds of people who wished to attend this event. The honorable patron of the society, His Eminence the Archbishop of

Cologne, Dr. Frings, entered the hall at 10 o'clock in the morning. Here he welcomed the aged president Rudolf Alexander Schröder, who, two days previously, had arrived after a thirteen-hours' train journey from his residence in Upper-Bavaria. The president opened the meeting with a word of greeting to all those present, and he referred to the congratulations of all those invited guests who had been prevented from coming. He read out the letter from the President of the Federal Republic and the telegram from Vice-Chancellor Blücher, and he let the audience know that many letters of congratulation had been sent to the society from the rectors of innumerable German universities, Lord Mayors of many towns, stage-managers of important German theaters, from many well-known personalities in German intellectual life as well as from numerous institutions, and friends of the society abroad, especially in England.

Lord Mayor Heinemann welcomed the guests in this hospitable town of Bochum and emphasized the international character of the meeting: in addition to the performances of the Bochum theater, productions would be given by Jean Vilar's French company of actors and by companies from two leading German opera houses, who would stage Shakespearian operas by the Italian composer Giuseppe Verdi. In addition a lecture would be given by Dr. Karl Brunner, an Austrian Professor from Innsbruck. This meeting is exactly, but for the smaller scale, what we long to see on a larger one: the co-operation of all peoples in the great work of humanity. In his welcome Cardinal Frings made clear that the Society would not have exhausted its tasks even if it should grow to be as old as 200 years, for the themes of Shakespeare's dramas are inexhaustible. They are "man" in all his forms, developments, and implications.

The Ministerial-Director Janz from Bonn spoke as personal representative of the Federal Chancellor Adenauer, who very much regretted having to be absent, and Prof. Wachsmuth from West-Berlin delivered the greetings of the younger sister of the Shakespeare Society, the Goethe Society, whose president he is. Dr. James G. McManaway spoke for the numerous present representatives from American, English, French, Swiss, and Austrian universities. Afterwards Prof. Levin L. Schücking delivered his festival speech.

During the next few days further lectures were given by Prof. Brunner from Innsbruck and the president, Rudolf Alexander Schröder.

Prof. Schücking lectured on the prevailing taste in Shakespeare's tragedies. He commenced from the thought that the art of Shakespeare very often meets misunderstanding, as for instance is the case with Dostoevski and T. S. Eliot. He said that the critics often failed to recognize the writer's intention. Thus it is important to grasp the writer's sense of style. The one thing which all writers of the Renaissance have in common is the dynamic quality of their emotional types. Shakespeare belongs to this type of school, but he differs from all others through his unique art in the delineation of character. In conclusion Schücking drew the deduction that Shakespeare's ability in the field of tragedy had not been duly appreciated during his lifetime, because the art of acting of his time had not reached the standard his advanced psychology demanded. Schücking finished his lecture with Goethe's statement that Shakespeare was more a poet than a dramatist.

Prof. Brunner spoke of Shakespeare's stage and its importance for the artistic production of his dramas. By means of numerous beautiful lantern slides he gave a thorough survey of the theaters of Shakespeare's time. His comments culminated in the statement that Shakespeare did not write for a picture stage but for an apron stage, where the emphasis lay on the spoken word.

Rudolf Alexander Schröder delivered a lecture on *Troilus and Cressida*, that late work, much disputed and often misunderstood. Schröder gave an important position to the prologue of the work. He rejected the claim that the prologue is an unimportant addition of posterity. He regarded the whole work as a sermon on penitence, designed to act as a mirror for Shakespeare's own time. His sermon of penitence, though, lacks the transcendent superstructure, but it certainly has its positive aspects since it challenges everyone who listens to or reads "Shakespeare's Iliad" to look into his own heart. "In this world, time and opportunity have shown themselves as demonic seducers and deceivers of a humanity addicted to them. They need not and they shall not play this part. About this subject we shall learn more in the last dramas of our writer, above all in his *A Winter's Tale* and *Tempest*."

Mr. Horst-Bogislav von Smelding in free recitation spoke verses from the epic poem *Venus and Adonis*—altogether about one-third of the poem—and he so acquainted a wide audience with this lesser known work.

The main Annual Meeting reported on the number of members and on the attempts to carry the work of the society into a wider area. We learned with interest that the society numbers about 1000 members, one-eighth of whom, i.e. about 125 members, live abroad. Besides the almanac the society publishes a series of "Essays of the German Shakespeare Society," which are now going to be continued. Dr. Behr from Weimar delivered an invitation to hold a special meeting at the foundation place of the society during Whitsuntide.

The meeting of stage-managers and the executive committee of the society for the purpose of a discussion on problems of present Shakespeare interpretation was a remarkable event. About three dozen members took part in this event, about one-half of whom were representatives of science and the other half those of theater. Here could be seen, among others, Paul Rose, at present stage manager of the Landestheater in Karlsruhe/Baden, the former Director of the Rose-Theater in Berlin; Dr. Falk of the Landestheater of Westphalia, who had recently brought back to the stage Gottfried August Bürger's *Macbeth*; then Hans Meissner from Augsburg, the late general stage-manager of Frankfurt/Main; and Helmut Henrichs, who, since having taken over last year his new position, has endeavoured to build up in Wuppertal a new cultural center. After a rather hesitant beginning, the discussion soon rose to a remarkable height and developed into a dialogue between President Schröder and the brilliant old Ernst Legal, the former stage-manager of the "Preussische Staatstheater" in Berlin. This discussion was only a beginning, but soon it became clear that, by reason for the shortness of time, a continuation of such meetings was desirable for all those present. It was a passionate acclamation to Shakespeare, by Schröder as well as by Legal, both of whom think the fostering of Shakespeare's works the most desirable and important, but also the most difficult, task of the stage. Legal emphasized that it is better to make mistakes and suffer disappointments than avoid Shakespeare altogether.

Now let us turn to the different stage productions. As has already been said, stage-manager Sellner from Darmstadt brought with him *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, set to music by Carl Orff. In Autumn 1952 Sellner had already produced this new version on his own stage in the Orangerie Building in Darmstadt. In that production as well as in this one, the scenery was in the hands of Sellner's colleague Franz Mertz. The première at Darmstadt had been hailed by nearly the whole press as a first-rate event in theatrical history. Not one adverse criticism was found in the papers, either at the Darmstadt or at the Bochum production. Sellner now has transferred his production from the improvised stage in Darmstadt to the huge Bochum theater, newly built in 1953, which is equipped with the latest technical devices. The setting is entirely different from the original one, but the interpretation is still the same. Sellner's view tends towards the conception that the *Midsummer Night's Dream* is not a harmless comedy, a playful little love story, but that it deals with man, confronted by elemental forces, as is represented in the world of fauns and elfins. So Oberon, Titania, and Puck appear horned, not at all lovely and graceful to look at. The curtain is already raised when the audience enters the theater. The stage is filled with a circular disc in slanting position. The orchestra is seated in the orchestra-pit as well as around the edge of the disc. When the play begins, Philostrate, the master of ceremonies, appears. He, like all the other actors—as far as they belong to the human world—is wearing a costume which is a mixture of the Greek classic and the twentieth century. Only the realm of spirits forms an exception, but here the masquerade is driven so far that even Titania is seen with an absolutely bald head, having no hair at all but only a goat's horns. While the orchestra is sounding a flourish, Theseus appears with Hippolyta, the duke, slightly aged and a little ironical, the duchess, Queen of the Amazons, evidently bored and sulky, and continuing in this mood almost to the end. Later on the young lovers appear, the young girls looking like students of our own time. During the next scene, in Peter Quince's house, the decorations are not changed. The clowns enter the scene with their song, which has the enthusiastic swing of a "Gassenhauer" (street-ballad). The appearances of the clowns are not in the least altered, it is they who stay the same in all the different productions, the alterations of the single productions remaining only in the details. Then, however, the next change of scenery comes, and when the scene is transferred to the woods near Athens, a few dancing elves put down on different parts of the stage eight large green leaves, held by wire frames and looking like rhubarb leaves. Later on three more leaves of the same kind are added by being let down from the ceiling; they remain hanging in the air. The lights change; instead of the light-yellow or white light of the first two scenes, a soft green light appears, and only by this changed light and by the leaves set up on the stage, the illusion of a forest is obtained; and the effect seems amazingly real. When during the next few acts the scene switches to different places in the Athenian wood, the effect is achieved merely by the elves, moving the leaves round. Otherwise everything is performed in the manner to which we are accustomed: the dialogue is not in the least affected by the change of style, the lovers speak the same language, just as it was at the time of the romantics, and the clowns perform the same antics, so that some sort of midsummer-night's spell can actually be felt. But



Hans Messmer as Touchstone and Erwin Kleist as Corin in the Schauspielhaus Bochum production of *As You Like It*, directed by Hans Schalla, with settings by Ottowerner Meyer. Photo by Grete Hamer.



Oberon and Puck in the Darmstadt production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the Schauspielhaus Bochum, directed by G. R. Sellner, settings by Franz Mertz. Photo by Grete Hamer.



Figure 1. A person in a light-colored garment, possibly a dress, standing or sitting. The image is very blurry and lacks detail.



Figure 2. A person in a light-colored garment, possibly a dress, standing or sitting. The image is very blurry and lacks detail.

to smother the feeling of a spell at the very beginning, a trumpeter in modern clothes appears on the stage, sounding his trumpet against the large yellow, slowly moving crescent of the rising moon. And when Bottom, after his transformation into an ass, is at night-time left alone by his terrified friends in the dark woods, a double-bass player from the orchestra joins him, accompanying his humming with chords on his instrument, and quietly staying with him even when Titania appears and in her enchantment falls in love with Bottom. Only when Bottom gives him a sign does the musician take his leave. In this style the play goes on to the end. The sunrise in the woods is indicated by a change of light, and the Duke's hunting company consists of Theseus, Philostrate, and two Amazons. The acting is remarkable. Gustav Rothe is an impish and remarkably quick-moving Puck, Peter Probst a rather bouncing but quite good natured Bottom. The lovers show much temperament and flexibility, the clowns give the slight impression of a caricature. The latter, perhaps, does something towards the humor of the audience. The fifth act seems a little bare because there is no "crowd" scene.

The next evening's *As You Like It*—stage-management: Hans Schalla—has, as in the first evening's production the same bareness of the stage. The life of the shepherds in the forest of Arden is spent in equally bare surroundings. Instead of the leaves set up on the stage there are a few tree tops which are lowered from above on to several posts as soon as the scene is transferred to the forest. In comparison to Orff's music that conveyed to us a new *Midsummer Night's Dream*, from which Mendelssohn's music is missing, we were presented on the second evening with the novelty of the translation by Rudolf Alexander Schröder. The new version of the text has altered the names of some of the figures. At the beginning of the play Touchstone, the jester, appears, wearing the costume of harlequin, and he opens the play by knocking thrice with a hammer. Then he shuffles in a tired way along to the side and cowers down in a chair near the edge of the scene. There he stays until he himself has to enter the stage, and between times he acts now and then as announcer. At the end he takes over the verses of Hymen. Here, also, there are no crowd-scenes at all; there is neither the large body of attendants at the court of Duke Frederick nor the hunting-company of his banished brother. But, faced with the charming play, one does not notice it. Rosalind is played by Rosel Schäfer, who has for years now been known to the Shakespeare Society as an excellent actress. In by-gone years she played the parts of Isabella (*Measure for Measure*), Ophelia, and Viola, as well as Nerissa. Among the others Isolde Chlapek as Phoebe stands out as having remarkable artistic talent. The epilogue is shared by Rosalind and Touchstone, the latter being played in a strongly spiritualized manner by Hans Messemer, who, two years ago, was a passionate Hamlet.

The third evening brought a most interesting meeting with the French company: Jean Vilar with the Théâtre National Populaire, Paris, performed *King Richard II* in the translation by Jean Curtis. The evening became an outstanding event, and at the end of the performance the applause rose to bursting enthusiasm. Once more there were no decorations at all, nothing but a mere suggestion of the scene. But the costumes had been chosen with the utmost care so that the mere sight of the colors was an aesthetic delight. The acting

of the whole company was carefully thought-out and admirably performed down to the last movement of the hands. The whole thing was an example of artistic perfection, which, though one had not the feeling of inspiration, conveyed the impression of an extraordinarily cultivated style and an ideal co-operation of all forces.

These three plays were followed by two operas *Otello* and *Macbeth*, both by Verdi, performed by the Cologne and Essen companies. These two were likewise remarkable productions, one of them important because of the wonderful singing of the two main parts: *Otello*, sung by Peter Anders, and *Desdemona*, sung by Trude Eipperle. The production of *Macbeth* did not excel so much in exceptional proficiency, but still was good in the solo performances. Here the excellent choir should be mentioned and in strict consequence the utterly bare stage. All the evening not one requisite of the stage was to be seen, each performer had to appear on the stage only standing or walking, and, even at the banquet, not one chair or table was to be seen on the scene. The sidewalls were full of thorns, which, probably, were meant to symbolize the murderous daggers. The most impressive part of the performance was the repeated slow approaches of the singers up to the footlights through a very deeply-set stage.

But still with the two operas one felt clearly, especially in view of the three proceeding plays, that these musical works, anyhow, were good Verdi opera, but not at all Shakespearian. In spite of the familiarity of the characters and the story, the operas could not convey the feeling of a real meeting with Shakespeare.

On the whole it was a magnificent display—these lavish productions in the various branches of the performing of Shakespeare's works—made even more impressive, firstly by the exhibition in the foyer of the theater of a model of a Shakespearian theater, kindly lent by the British Council, and, secondly, by a book-exhibition of valuable text-editions and commentaries of Shakespearian literature in the rooms of the Anglo-German Centre "Die Brücke." But above everything else offered at the festival, the friendly spirit fostered among those taking part in the meeting, including numerous students of German and Swiss universities, will be of permanent value.

Göttingen

Reviews

Ethical Aspects of Tragedy. By LAURA JEPSON. University of Florida Press, 1953. Pages [x] + 130. \$3.75.

To discuss tragedy is a hazardous undertaking. So many tragedies have been written, and so many critiques—specific or generalized—have been composed. It now seems to us—the mass of inferior Greek plays being veiled from us in oblivion—that for Aristotle the task of generalizing, of playing the professor, with Sophocles as his principal model and Aeschylus and Euripides at one side for supplement and contrast, was relatively simple. Out of observed and approved practice came his schematization or theory. But since Aristotle how many tragic “ideas” have been embodied in what variety of dramatic or non-dramatic vehicles, and have been taken up into the general stream of the representation of or commentary on life. Angry, jealous, lustful Gods, Fates and Furies, Fortuna or Lady Luck, the Divinity that shapes our ends, the Recording Angel and the Devil’s Advocate, on down to Hardy’s President of the Immortals and the impersonal Necessity of the determinists. We have had the so-called romantic sentimentalism of Euripides, the philosophic or gnostic melodrama of Seneca, the modification of classical arrogance in the doctrine of “tickleness” elaborately exhibited in the falls of princes, the modification of Seneca in the Elizabethan blood revenge tragedies, Shakespearian tragedy out of history and out of Renaissance tales of romance and violence, and then the neo-classicists with their rules, their conflicts of love and honor, their rigid moral and emotional categories. And now the neo-Elizabethans on the one hand and the Freudians and the Existentialists on the other.

In the face of all this the academic frame of mind is still driven to deduce order from the apparent chaos. Not to go back of our own time or afield from Shakespeare, it is enough to mention Bradley’s emphasis on character and conflict, Stoll’s reiteration of Aristotle’s assignment of primacy to plot with character ancillary and stage traditions powerful, Wilson Knight’s ecstasies of philosophic symbolism, and the pursuit by his disciples of imagistic, symbolic, and mythic “patterns” as the key to the tragic message. In each of these, as also in the interpretations proposed by critics of a political or sociological or ethical bent, there may be a truth. But to a detached observer *the truth* is another matter.

There are, indeed, some works about which we can be fairly confident. *Mourning Becomes Electra* suggests strongly that the author had a textbook of psychology open before him at the chapter on complexes. The view of man’s predicament held by the author of *No Exit* is unmistakable. But most often certainly the dramatist’s reaction to a critic’s philosophical analysis would be like that of Browning when he was faced with an allegorical interpretation of *Childe Roland*: “I had to write it . . . I did not know then what I meant beyond that, and I’m sure I don’t know now. But I am very fond of it.” The safe generalizations about the assumptions underlying Shakespearian tragedy—and perhaps that of the Greeks—are so simple that to state them would expose one to the comment I have heard on Professor Harbage’s excellent *Shakespeare’s Morality*: “Too obvious.”

Miss Jepson has had the courage to risk safety by venturing into this highly

controversial territory, and to a certain extent to disarm criticism by telling us at the start that she will not debate conflicting opinions, simply expounding her beliefs. She has also undertaken the particularly difficult task of grouping Greek and Shakespearean plays under each of her "aspects" of tragedy. Given a basic assumption regarding the classification of tragedies "ethically," this, I suppose, is correct procedure. It subjects the thesis, however, to a very severe test.

The aspects of tragic *ethos*, with the plays grouped under each, are these: Poetic Justice, illustrated by Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, *The Libation Bearers*, and *The Eumenides*, and by *Macbeth*; Poetic Irony, represented in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, and *Antigone*, paired respectively with *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Hamlet*; Pathos, key to the *Hippolytus* of Euripides and *Romeo and Juliet*; Romantic Irony, as in *The Bacchae* of Euripides and in *Antony and Cleopatra*; Stoicism, the dominant *ethos* of Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus* and of *Julius Caesar*. It would seem that these categories are not selected from a single point of view, such as the author's conception of reality, of man's place in the "divine plan." Poetic justice, pathos, and stoicism are three different *kinds* of things. There is not time, however, to analyze the dialectic by which these categories are defined; the author may be conceded them if they will work. It is necessary to ask, however, whether in attempting to justify the position of each play dealt with the author has over-simplified, has distorted in order to fit the play to a pattern, has in some degree failed to take account of or has not represented the total impression conveyed to reader or audience not interested in categories, has failed to come to grips with problems of central interest, central character, dramatic form. Such distortion is unfortunately common in many thoughtful books. One would not turn to Spencer's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*, for instance, for balanced general criticism of individual plays.

In her chapter on poetic justice Miss Jepson, as I have noted, brackets three Aeschylean plays with *Macbeth*. In her next chapter she attaches one play by Shakespeare to each member of the Oedipus trilogy. Is there logic in this? Do the first three plays mentioned make one tragedy of poetic justice? Is *Agamemnon* a tragedy by itself? I think it is, though the late arrival of Aegisthus is anticlimactic, and there is no poetic justice in the play. *The Libation Bearers* is tragic in tone, but does not conclude a tragedy of Orestes. *The Eumenides* is a play with a happy ending, and not even a defeated villain to be admired if not mourned, like Claudius or Richard III or *Macbeth*. "From the standpoint of Orestes in the Aeschylean trilogy," says Miss Jepson rather oddly, "innocence is rewarded and poetic justice is meted out."

The parallels suggested between the Greek plays and *Macbeth* are pretty tenuous, and the interpretation of *Macbeth's* character is based on a highly debatable reading of the play. Of course justice is done when he is slain, but there is no "just distribution" in the face of the murder among others of Macduff's family and the death of Siward's son. Shakespeare, indeed, lets none of the wicked triumph in his plays. But neither does he spare the good, and even if in one play there were a just distribution, it should be regarded as accidental and not philosophical, in view of his general practice. If the ethic of Aeschylus was based on poetic justice, that of Shakespeare certainly was not.

The following chapter, "Poetic Irony," deals first with *Oedipus the King*, in which the tragedy, we are told, "lies in the contrast between the noble intentions of the hero and his ignoble acts done in ignorance"; and then with *Othello*, in which "there is a similar irony between what Othello is and what he does in ignorance. Like Oedipus Othello acts blindly because he is not able to penetrate

[illegible]

Memorandum of contributions from Avon Dassett after the fire of 1614 in Stratford, Misc. Doc. VII, No. 106. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's Birthplace. See p. 337.

the wiles of the villain, who is the Shakespearian counterpart of the inscrutable fate of Oedipus." This patterning is continued in further proposed parallels: the anger of Oedipus (at the crossroads and in persisting in his search for the cause of the plague) like that of Othello toward Desdemona; both "overcome by a force powerful enough and malignant enough to excite . . . passion to a destructive end"; "in the case of each hero . . . a revelation of character superior to overwhelming circumstances." But if we review each drama in our minds, the differences are far more marked than the resemblances. The acts of Oedipus are unfortunate but not ignoble. The Aeschylean effect may be called ironical by the zealots of irony; but in the meaning of *Othello* I do not find irony at all.

Of the pairing of *Oedipus at Colonus* and *King Lear* it need only be said that though we have in each case an old king, the similarities are superficial. When his play opens, Oedipus has passed through his sufferings and is ready to die in peace; his subsequent anxieties are of less than tragic scope. Lear's sufferings are all before him and he loses his mind before death. It is not accurate, therefore, to say (patternwise) that "The ennobling effect of suffering in which character is superior to circumstances is the essence of the tragedy" in both plays, or that "when Lear realizes Cordelia is dead, he has recovered his manliness and is beyond the need of tears." I see no irony in either case, and would question whether *Oedipus at Colonus* is a tragedy.

In the discussion of *Antigone* and *Hamlet*, tragedies of "two young idealists," accidental and meaningless parallels are again emphasized, and the fundamental differences are not noted. Antigone's "idealism" drives her forward; Hamlet's holds him back. Whether Antigone relinquishes the stage, permitting attention to be focussed on the tragedy of Cleon, is not considered; no such question arises in *Hamlet*. Both characters are said to "die in an effort to uphold what seems to them a higher law than that of the state"; but this point is not at all an issue in *Hamlet*, for in such references as that to the fall of a sparrow (cited by Miss Jepson) the hero is merely leaving his fate in the hands of Providence, not thinking in terms of a "higher law." The real significance of the last scene of *Hamlet* for action and character is obscured by the comment: "The king has taken his final rouse, this time from his nephew's cup, and Hamlet in death achieves an ironic triumph." Waiving the question whether Claudius drinks or not, it is fair to say that there is nothing ironical in the fact that Hamlet lost his life in the scene in which he killed Claudius. No avenger would mind that if he first got his man. Of course the characterization of Hamlet goes straight on to his last words, but it is straight characterization, not ironical.

Of the propriety of the next two groupings, *Hippolytus* with *Romeo and Juliet* under Pathos, and *The Bacchae* with *Antony and Cleopatra* under Romantic Irony, I will not speak except to question if in both of the first pair "disaster results from defiance of superhuman forces—of fate operating through the feud between the Montagues and Capulets and of the equally inexorable Aphrodite. . . ." Was there in either case a conscious "defiance?" Is "fate" for Shakespeare more than a technical device in this play? Is Hippolytus more than a victim? It is more interesting to think of the two Euripidean plays together, as Miss Jepson does not sufficiently do, for their likeness is greater than their differences. To the modern each play has a brilliant opening and each an unsatisfactory conclusion. One wonders if for the original audiences Aphrodite and Dionysus did not seem almost as much plot mechanisms as they seem to us, and the human characters much more sinned against than sinning. In *Hippolytus* the tragic dilemma of the upright Phaedra is developed with sure craftsmanship up to the improbable device of the lying letter. Hippolytus is brought

in and out near the opening, in the interest of unity and contrast, and his character as the naive athlete, the clean-minded extrovert, is set before us in deft strokes. Then the pawn, Theseus, outraged husband and vindictive father, unable to recognize the truth spoken by Hippolytus in the admirable brief scene between them, utters his curse, which brings us to the melodramatic climax of his forgiveness by his mangled and dying son. Theseus is unbelievable; Hippolytus is just a nice young man who prefers sports to girls. Phaedra, a powerful and convincing tragic figure, disappears too soon. In spite of its great merits in detail, the play seems not to contain much "ethical" content. Even more is this true of *The Bacchae*, in which the magnificent opening lyricism is succeeded by what can only be called a monstrous melodrama, with such sympathy as is possible directed to the honest Puritan Pentheus and his wife Agave, the madened Bacchanal, who tears him to pieces.

Romantic Irony, under which *Antony and Cleopatra* is grouped with *The Bacchae*, is defined by Miss Jepson as "the resolution of a drama in ambiguity." Later, in speaking of Shakespeare's play, she says that the irony "arises, in part, from the author's lack of a well-defined attitude toward his characters"; and again, "Cleopatra . . . is a principle which, though it destroys, is yet exalted in the ambiguity of romantic irony." Do we have any doubt of her creator's feeling about Cleopatra, or what he intended us to feel, from her first entrance to the words spoken over her dead body: "Now boast thee, death, in thy possession lies A lass unparallel'd," and "She looks like sleep, As she would catch another Antony In her strong toil of grace"? Dryden's crudely explicit phrase, "the world well lost," will suffice.

As a final illustration of the danger of reasoning from details instead of establishing carefully the total dramatic effect, or at any rate examining impartially the general problem of interpretation, we may consider the treatment of *Julius Caesar* (along with the *Hercules Oetaeus* of Seneca), as an example of Stoicism—not, observe, in this case the author's attitude toward his world, but supposedly that of a character. What is the accepted view of *Julius Caesar*? There is, in fact, no agreement among critics, no accepted view—except that it is dramatically effective. Is Caesar the protagonist, in person at first and then by delegation to his spirit? Is Brutus the protagonist? Is it the Plebeians? Is the play a conventional tragedy or a revenge play or a chronicle play or something in between? Is it Shakespeare's condensation of two plays, one *The Tragedy of Caesar* and one *The Revenge of Caesar*? Is Caesar presented as selfless and "attentive to public service" (Miss Jepson's phrase), or as a victim of arrogance who struts to his confusion? Do the vanity and self-righteousness of Brutus make him a less sympathetic character than the hot-headed and warm-hearted Cassius? If we stop the play at the end of the first scene of Act IV, shall we conclude that up to that point we have what might be staged as a satiric comedy? And if so, what follows?

These are legitimate questions and no "ethical" interpretation will be valid until an answer to them has been found. As for "stoicism," it is certainly not conspicuous in the play as a whole, or even in the portrayal of Brutus. Would it have been thought of at all except for his conversation with Cassius on the morn of Philippi? In that conversation, we should remember, after enunciating the Stoic principle that it was cowardly to commit suicide to escape possible misfortune, he almost at once repudiates it in a sentence touched with self-praise; he "bears too great a mind" to be taken captive. Similarly, it may be proper to observe that in the *Hercules* the dying hero endures stoically the agonies caused by the poisoned shirt, but the previous career of Hercules from his affair with

Iole on—not to go back over his previous labors and pleasures—is hardly marked by stoicism.

The purpose of this discussion has not been to pillory a painstaking though often wrongheaded study, but to defend plays, Shakespeare's in particular, from misleading critical ingenuities.

WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

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Shakespeare in de Twintigste Eeuw, Rede Uitgesproken bij de Overdracht van het Rectoraat der Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen op 15 September 1952. By R. W. ZANDVOORT. Groningen, Diakarta: J. B. Wolters, 1952. Pp. 19.

This pamphlet, which reprints a lecture delivered before an academic audience, surveys the main movements of English and American Shakespearean criticism in the twentieth century. Dr. Zandvoort, the Professor of English at the University of Groningen, sees A. C. Bradley, especially in his *Shakespearean Tragedy* (1904), as the exemplar and prime mover of Shakespearean criticism in the first three decades of the century. From his own standpoint that a Shakespearean drama must be regarded as primarily a play intended to be performed on a stage, Zandvoort criticizes Bradley for an excessive preoccupation with character-analysis and a striving to force consistent motivation upon the characters. He takes L. C. Knights's article "How Many Children Had Lady Macbeth?" (1933) as a kind of landmark for the beginning of the reaction against the Bradleyan technique, but the later developments of that reaction, especially the New Critics' myopic concentration on the imagery and symbolism of Shakespeare's plays, he finds to be as one-sided as anything produced by Bradley or his followers. "Just as Bradley applied [to Shakespeare]," Zandvoort sums it up, "the measuring rod of the ethical-psychological novel, so the investigators of the past twenty years are determined to find in Shakespeare what is characteristic of the symbolic poetry of a T. S. Eliot." In conclusion, Zandvoort laments that almost no investigators have pushed along the paths signposted by Harley Granville-Barker's *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (1927-1948). Granville-Barker's experience, earlier as a student of William Poel and later as a successful dramatist and producer, brought him to the attitude which Zandvoort believes represents the most fruitful approach to Shakespearean criticism: "The text of a play is a score waiting performance." (In passing, this reviewer must express mild surprise that Dr. Zandvoort, who shows himself well abreast of even quite recent developments in Shakespeare-criticism, makes no reference in this connection to the writings of E. E. Stoll, who though not a practising man-of-the-theater like Granville-Barker, has for long doughtily maintained the same thesis.)

Although Dr. Zandvoort's pamphlet contains little that is new to American or English students of Shakespeare, it succeeds admirably in its main purpose: to acquaint a cultivated, intelligent Continental audience with a field of intellectual activity that ordinarily would lie outside their ken. It deserves republishing in a more widely read language like French or German.

HARRY R. HOPPE

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Vergebung und Gnade bei Shakespeare. By ERNST THEODOR SEHRT. Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1952. Pp. 260.

Every admirer of Shakespeare (i.e., every literate and rational man) senses in his author some distinctive quality which for him represents the heart of Shakespeare's mystery, the "essential" Shakespeare. But it is only when he at-

tempts to name the quality and give it local habitation that he realizes the futility of attempting to comprehend under one formula or one point of view the god-like humanity of Shakespeare. Hence the welcome accorded by all True Believers to any honest and informed effort to clarify and synthesize Shakespeare's thought under a new rubric, however (and inevitably) partial. The True Believers will wish to add to their already sagging five-thousand-and-five-foot shelves Ernst Theodor Sehrt's *Vergebung und Gnade bei Shakespeare*.

Sehrt's book, the summing up of his own and numerous other earlier studies, is the fullest treatment yet to appear of the law-justice, justice-equity, punishment-pardon, pity-severity, mercy-forgiveness complex of ideas in Shakespeare's thinking. The thesis of the work, briefly stated and vastly oversimplified, is that early and late Shakespeare was absorbed in the problem of resolving the conflicting claims of strict justice and of a mitigating quality, outside the law and variously known as *aequitas*, *clementia*, *humanitas*, *caritas*, *miseri-cordia* (mercy)—*Gnade*; that in his maturing conception of the functioning of this pity-pardon-mercy quality his traceable progress is from an outward and legalistic emphasis, based upon the proud Humanist-rational assumption of individual *virtù* (though modified by Christian and patristic ethic), to an inward humility and sense of common human frailty which ends virtually in the New-Testament forgiveness—*Vergebung*; and that the pardon-mercy theme, incidental or episodic in the early histories and comedies and largely the concern of a mercy-dispensing ruler (reflecting law and justice), becomes dramatically central in *Measure for Measure*, and remains the dominant element of spiritual harmony—no longer of the state but of all individuals—in the final romances. To the explication of this thesis Sehrt brings an admirable scholarly equipment: a thorough-going knowledge of and enthusiasm for his author; a rigorously discriminating power of analysis; a general awareness of current Shakespearean scholarship, including many American studies; and a special virtue, rare in German studies of English literature. Only once (p. 14) does he refer to a "*nicht mir zugänglichen Arbeit*." For this I present him a personally woven garland of congratulations.

The seven chapters of *Vergebung und Gnade* are, with one exception, arranged in chronological order. The introductory chapter, or *Einleitung*, discusses and defines terms and brings under review the conceptions of pardon-justice prevalent in antiquity, in the middle ages, and in Shakespeare's own time. These, leaning heavily toward the Biblical-legalistic (Puritan position) or toward reason and equity (neo-Humanist position), Sehrt finds often at variance with the gentler Shakespearean conception. Chapter I deals exclusively with *Henry VI*, the record of that mild and saintly ruler whose instincts lean all toward mercy and pardon. The trilogy is hardly typical of the heart of Shakespeare's conception, for the King is too otherworldly to represent the ideal secular ruler; but it does give Shakespeare opportunity for incidental treatment of the mercy-theme, which here already bespeaks its intimate relation to the ultimate Shakespearean idea. What is significant in the depiction of Henry's mercy and forgiveness, says Sehrt (pp. 55-57), is that Shakespeare has enlarged the King's pronouncements from bare hints in Holinshed and Halle—a clear indication of his early preoccupation with the problem. Chapter II deals with *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merchant of Venice*, the emphasis falling, naturally, upon the latter and especially on Portia's noble mercy-speech (IV.i. 184 ff.), in the last lines (199-202) of which we arrive at the crux of Shakespeare's conception of mercy—formally stated, but as yet not rigorously and reciprocally acted upon and as yet only an incidental aspect of the whole drama.

Chapter III returns to the history plays, examining the two parts of *Henry IV* and *Henry V*. In the conduct of the erstwhile scapegrace Hal, now become the ideal strong king, Sehrt sees an exemplification of "humanistisches Staats-ethos," the reasonable Humanist modification of strict law and justice through *aequitas* and *clementia* which preserves order and right but which marks a retreat from the Christian position already *enunciated*—not exemplified—in Portia's speech. The whole idea, says Sehrt, "that in the course of justice none of us/ Should see salvation," is fundamentally alien to the history plays (p. 100). Nevertheless, the presence of the mercy-pardon theme indicates Shakespeare's continued interest.

In Chapter IV Sehrt turns to the plays that follow the *Hamlet* period and are marked by a deepening sense of man's essential instability. The something "rotten in the state of Denmark" is not external only but is also within the spirit of man, no longer conceived of as self-sufficient, no longer in harmony with himself, no longer the lord of creation. Here the attention is fixed upon *Measure for Measure*, where, at last, the mercy-justice conflict becomes not a mere part but the focal point of the whole action. Man—wicked, corrupted, sinning, all-guilty man, frail one and all, a thing of "glassy essence"—for his own salvation has need of the mercy and forgiveness of God. And his need, as well as his command, is not only to receive but to give—and forgive. The point that is reached, the total message of *Measure*, in short, is that of the Christian forgiveness already earlier present in the significant mercy-speech of Portia. *Measure for Measure* is Shakespeare's strongest handling of the problem. What follows in Chapter V (*Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*) is largely restatement of this essential position with a slightly lessened tension and in an atmosphere less theological, more philosophically calm and secular.

The chronological exception noted above comes in the final chapter, "Shakespeare's Idea of Forgiveness and the English Drama Before and Contemporary with Shakespeare." The purpose of the chapter is to show that although various others treat the justice-mercy conflict in dramatic form, and though he may have been influenced by one or another, Shakespeare nevertheless has a deeper conception of and a more pervasive interest in it. A review is perhaps not the proper place—if any ever is—to tell an author how he should have written his book. But it seems to me that Sehrt has here broken the back of his book. Placed as it is, the chapter is completely and unnecessarily anticlimactic. If the present chapter *Zusammenfassung* (pp. 252-256) were detached and allowed to stand as a formal *Schluss* to the whole work, the chapter itself could easily and logically then be made a concluding section of the *Einleitung*; and this would be the more desirable because it would provide the reader with the advance information necessary to the full understanding, in the *Measure for Measure* chapter, of certain pages (195-197) dealing with the English morality plays. All of which is hindsight at second hand.

Since I seem to have fallen into a quibbling vein, I may as well point out some of the obvious deficiencies of the book. One of the most annoying of these is the absence of an index; and only slightly behind that in inconvenience is the omission of a formal bibliography from a volume in which so many different works are cited. A footnote reference, it is true, does identify each of these; but it is troublesome, some pages after the first citation, to find merely an author's name and *a.a.O.* The book also has its quota, or rather more, of the customary misprints, misdatings, faulty transcriptions, and casual misinformation. Miss Welsford's name, for instance, appears on p. 180 (and elsewhere throughout) transmogrified to *Welshford*; Dodsley (pp. 246-247, notes) parades as *Dodley*;

and Damon might reasonably be excused for failing to recognize his Pithias disguised (p. 246) as Phitias. Norton's translation of Calvin's *Institution of Christian Religion* (1561) is, by implication at least, dated 1578 (p. 43); and an inadvertent transposition on the same page (footnote 128) gives the impossible date of 1568 for the first Englishing of Primaudaye's *French Academie*. Later (p. 103 n.), Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) is assigned to 1557. German spellings of Shakespearian proper names sometimes appear in English contexts; e.g., Jessika (p. 103, l. 27) for Jessica. The substitution of "morality" (p. 64, l. 32) for "mortality" makes hash of a serious comment. There is more excuse—but still insufficient—for the confusion (p. 7, note 5) which assigns the publication of Carmody's *Investigation of Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of Dogmatic Theology* to the University of Washington instead of (rightly) to The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. And I strongly suspect that the spelling *foiblesse* (p. 171, l. 7; and footnote) attributed to a text in Montaigne's *Essais*—nicht mir zugänglich at the moment of writing!—should be deprived of its adenoidal nasal.

It is not these, however, nor the two dozen others like them, that constitute the most serious weakness in Sehrt's work. This is, instead, to be seen in the absence of any reference to certain important books touching upon the whole or upon some particular section of his discussion. There is, for example, no mention of W.B.C. Watkins' *Shakespeare and Spenser* (1950), notwithstanding Sehrt's designation (p. 49) of Spenser as the *only* great Elizabethan before Shakespeare not presenting the mercy-concept in a primarily legalistic context. Again, Sehrt unduly neglects illustration from popular literature. Such primary sources as are cited are almost exclusively courtly or aristocratic—which may explain, though hardly justify, the absence of L. B. Wright's *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* from the notes. And, to my way of thinking, Sehrt might profitably have paid more attention to the revived and Christianized Stoicism that was in the air Shakespeare breathed. Here L. Zanta's *La Renaissance du Stoïcisme au XVI^e Siècle*, again missing, would have proved helpful. Other conspicuous absentees are Thomas Wright's *Passions of the Minde* (1601), Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass*, F. R. Bryson's *Sixteenth Century Italian Duel*—relevant to Sehrt's discussion of *Privatrache*—and, basic, S. C. Chew's *The Virtues Reconciled*.

To lengthen the list of such omissions would be to suggest that the author ought to have written a different book, which is not my intention. *Vergebung und Gnade bei Shakespeare*, to see Sehrt "well bestowed," is a good and substantial book as it stands; and such pebble-tossing as occurs in the two preceding paragraphs might well elicit an echo of Hamlet's rejoinder to Polonius, strangely overlooked in Sehrt's discussion: "Use every man after his desert, and who would scape whipping?"

JOHN LEON LIEVSAY

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An Evening with William Shakespeare with an All Star Cast. Direction and Narration by MARGARET WEBSTER. Two Long-Playing 33 1/3 RPM Phonograph Records in album. New York: Theatre Masterworks, 1953.

The two records are based on a performance in Hartford, Conn., on 5 December 1952, in aid of the American Shakespeare Festival Theatre. Profits from the sale of the records go to the same cause. Beginning with the Prologue to *Henry V*, the program offers Hamlet's advice to the players (done in true Bernhardt tradition by Eva le Gallienne), Jacques' seven ages soliloquy from *As*

You Like It, the discussion of the suitors from *Merchant of Venice*, and the wooing scene from *Henry V*. On the second side we have a series from *Richard II*, including the deposition scene and the farewell to the Queen. Side three is largely taken up with Viola's first interview with Olivia from *Twelfth Night*, but also includes I.v from *Macbeth*, the fourth side following with the murder scene, sleepwalking scene, and the Tomorrow soliloquy, with Prospero's epilogue from *The Tempest* as afterpiece.

It is perhaps a mistake for phonograph records to waste time reproducing such matters as the original statement by Margaret Webster, and her connecting narratives. Repetition does not cause these to wear well, and in fact removes the reason for their existence, which may be sufficiently satisfied by printing in an enclosed leaflet. The assisting actors here are a mixed lot. Many have been associated in the past with Webster productions, and seem to have conceived the debatable notion that vocally Shakespeare is reducible to self-contained phrases and rather random or excessive emphasis, not always on truly meaningful words. A few old-timers like Eva le Gallienne and Claude Rains know how to speak, instead, in verse paragraphs, and so do the English members of the cast like Leueen MacGrath. These are able to create illusion, and the pleasure that comes from hearing poetry dramatized as poetry, as does Nina Foch by force of her personality.

For the rest, one moves from Faye Emerson's Portia, doubtless introduced for publicity purposes since there can be no other reason, through Arnold Moss's painfully affected recitation, through the relative inadequacies of Macbeth by Staats Cotsworth, to reasonable competence in Wesley Addy, in the process surveying the naturalistic, the determinedly coy, the ritualistic, and whatever other conventions of acting Broadway and the radio have on hand to mount Shakespeare. There are enough good performances on these records to make for enjoyable selected hearing, and the songs by Richard Dyer-Bennett are appealing. The great difficulty is that the scenes are not divided by blank lands on the records and so one cannot except by trial and error exercise the necessary faculty of choice.

The quality of the recording is very good both for acoustic conditions and for frequency-range, and the record surfaces are made of quiet material.

FREDSON BOWERS

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Lectures on Four of Shakespeare's History Plays. By MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH OF CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1953. Pp. 69.

These lectures on *Richard II*, the two *Parts of Henry IV*, and *Henry V* were delivered by four members of the English Department of Carnegie Institute in the spring of 1953. Their avowed purpose was to stimulate a desire in their students to read more of Shakespeare and to interpret the "histories" for them while the Drama Department of the institution was presenting the two *Henry IV* plays. Care had to be taken to adapt the comments to audiences professionally interested in engineering rather than in English literature. Thus the speakers wisely essayed to expound the plot in each one of the dramas, to supply the necessary background material, and to evaluate the literary excellence.

The lecture by Lewis J. Owen on *Richard II* presents clear exposition, bringing out Richard's claim to the throne by divine right, with Bolingbroke's opposing claim through sheer ability to rule. Both lectures on *Henry IV* tend to stress the serious moral element in the plays rather than the nature of their comedy. So it is doubtful that either speaker does full justice to Falstaff. *Henry V*, meas-

ured by the rules for tragedy laid down by Aristotle, suffers accordingly. One would like to know how Shakespeare fared in the students' minds after this indoctrination.

ROBERT ADGER LAW

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Music for the Classical Tragedy. By LEHMAN ENGEL. Foreword by MARGARET WEBSTER. New York: Harold Flammer, Inc., 1953. Pp. 96. Music, illus. \$10.00.

I hardly think it necessary to remind the readers of this journal that a Shakespearian production requires music. Every student of Shakespeare is well acquainted with the innumerable stage directions calling for music, from an *alarum to trumpets, hautboys, drum beat, all together*, as well as the great many songs requiring musical settings. As has been pointed out by many writers on Shakespearian dramaturgy, the function of music was not only as transitional material in scene changing but as a vital factor in character delineation and dramatic situation. There is no question then that a great many composers have been engaged in supplying music for these productions. The number of Shakespearian performances in all parts of the world since the last decade of the sixteenth century is staggering. And yet, so little is known of the music. Very few printed scores remain. A number of vocal and instrumental fragments are available. For the rest one searches for clues through playbills, diaries, newspapers, and biographies. The results are negligible. Our theatrical historians, meticulous in their detailed scholarship in describing every aspect of a Shakespearian production from the stage designer to the hair dresser, have, with very few exceptions, failed even to mention the composer's or arranger's name. Suffice it to mention only two such chroniclers: A composer's name is a rarity indeed in Genest's monumental ten-volume theatrical history, and *not one* composer appears in Charles Beecher Hogan's recently published *Shakespeare in the Theatre* [London], 1701-1750. Perforce for its rarity alone, the publication of the work under review marks a significant event in Shakespearian history.

Having known Mr. Lehman Engel's work as a composer and choral director for some years, and having heard his highly competent incidental music in a number of productions on Broadway, I discovered his finest qualities as a theater-composer exceedingly well displayed in this work. The volume (with a somewhat confusing and ill-chosen title) consists of the complete scores of *Hamlet* (pp. 13-32), *Julius Caesar* (pp. 36-46), *Macbeth* (pp. 50-73), *Romeo and Juliet* (pp. 79-91), a Classification Index of the themes, and a selected number of photographs and illustrations of famous Shakespearian actors and scene designs. The scores of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* were composed for Margaret Webster's productions, both starring Maurice Evans.

As a practical musician with long experience in the theater, enriched by the techniques of radio and television, Mr. Engel has composed a number of musical themes—introductory, transitional, background, dramatic, as well as song settings where necessary—that give impact and nobility to each scene. These themes, reminiscent in manner, if not in quality, of the Wagnerian *leit-motif*, whether constructed out of a short, tense, two-note figure (*Hamlet*, No. 9), or a long lyrical passage of 64 bars (*Macbeth*, No. 20), never impede the action of the play. We may suspect the guiding hand of Margaret Webster has had some influence. Indeed Miss Webster found in Mr. Engel a very congenial and adaptable co-worker. She describes his chief attributes in the foreword: "He is inventive, resourceful and immensely flexible. He knows that stages can be cramped and budgets even more so. Yet his music never degen-

erates into that indiscriminate brassy braying which so often sounds like a prelude to a radio commercial, nor is it what I once heard described as 'wind and tinkle.' Moreover he has an immense knowledge of Elizabethan musical forms, but he is never 'fake antique.' He interprets Shakespeare for the modern ear and mind."

Although Mr. Engel exploits all the techniques—melodically, harmonically, and contrapuntally—of the modern composer, he never fails to evoke the appropriate historical milieu or quality of the dramatic scene, whether it be the spirited entrance of the players in *Hamlet*, the modal plaintiveness of Ophelia's songs, or the agitated tenseness of the Witches' music in the opening scene of *Macbeth*. These themes, and many others, convey, in the words of one New York critic "Mr. Engel's sense of scenic form and bear witness to his long and valuable experience in the theatre." It is precisely this theatrical experience that prompts Mr. Engel to stress the "functional" aspect of these compositions. He is anxious to make this work available to "the off-Broadway theatre," to the semi-professional and amateur groups as well. To meet these exigencies the music can be performed upon one instrument, a piano or organ, or by an instrumental ensemble of various combinations. I consider these practical hints of sufficient importance to warrant quoting Mr. Engel in full:

The music in this volume may be performed on the organ or the piano. Its effectiveness will, however, be heightened by the addition of other instruments. The smallest *complete* orchestra should consist of (besides organ or piano) drums, 3 trumpets, 1 horn or 1 trombone, plus 2 woodwind instruments (flute and oboe, or flute and clarinet, or clarinet and oboe, or 2 clarinets.) The score has been arranged so that any part of this total of eight instruments may be used if the whole is not available. For example, organ or piano may be supplemented with one trumpet, or drums and trumpet; or drums, trumpet and flute. Or one violin may even be substituted for a single woodwind instrument. *If one trumpet is used:* The organist or pianist should omit the upper notes of all fanfares. *If two trumpets are used:* The organist or pianist should omit the upper two notes in all fanfares. *If three trumpets are used:* The organist or pianist should not play any of the fanfares. *If a string orchestra is used and the four brass instruments indicated are not available:* The piano or organ must play all fanfares as well as all woodwind solos. *The organ or piano must be used except where all instruments indicated are employed. A violin may be used:* To play the flute part if a flute is not available. *A special part for one french horn* may be had from the publisher if a trombone is not available. This music was originally scored for flute and oboe, but parts are available in the following combinations in the event that these instruments are not available: 1. Flute and clarinet. 2. Violin and oboe. 3. Clarinet and oboe. 4. Two Clarinets. Where a larger orchestra is available, a string body may either replace or supplement the organ or piano. In this way, any combination of instruments—large or small—may be employed.

All the above parts can be obtained "On Rental" from the publishers. It may be added also that the rights for public performance of this work are so liberal that it ought to appeal to many producers.

In conclusion, some comment must be made upon the "Classification Index." It consists of the two hundred and three themes occurring in the four plays in the volume, indexed according to musical character and length. It is divided into four major sections: Fanfares, Marches, Bridges, and Incidental Music. The musical themes under each of these headings, by reference to the theme number in the play, are classified military, short and long; mysteriously

or ghostly, short or long; dramatic, short and long; courtly, short and long; agitated, short and long; agitated to ecclesiastical, long; dramatic to ecclesiastical, long; romantic to ecclesiastical, long; ecclesiastical to agitated, long; neutral, long; neutral to romantic, long; pleasant, long; sad, long; sad and lyrical, long. "The best . . . in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene indivisible, or poem unlimited."

The purpose of this list is to "aid the drama or music director in selecting the proper material from all these plays for use in *all other classical tragedy for which this music was not specifically composed*" (italics mine). However, Mr. Engel's enthusiasm for the remarkable adaptability of these themes soon goes beyond the "classical tragedy." He declares, "Indeed, production of not-such-classical tragedies (!): 'Faust', 'Venice Preserved', 'Le Cid', and countless[!] others may well be served by the music of this volume, and in so doing there would be no resultant stylistic violence." I see no real dramatic or esthetic value in doing this sort of thing. The classification, at best, is highly artificial and extremely personal. The themes have meaning only in so far as they are inherently bound to the work which inspired them. Once divorced from the original source, attached to another situation, however close or similar they may appear to be, they create the same irrelevancies and discrepancies that Mr. Engel so strongly opposes. If we are to accept this scheme, I see no reason why thematic material of other composers, of whatever stylistic period, may not be so classified and labeled, and equally "successfully" used. The point, as I see it, is that we must not only avoid the deplorable "stylistic hodge-podge" of tying together "pieces of music" from different composers and different periods for use as incidental music, as has much too often been done, but also stimulate composers to write new works that are expressive, dramatically appropriate, and stylistically homogeneous as Lehman Engel has so successfully done.

CHARLES HAYWOOD

Queens College of the City of New York

Shakespeare and His Critics. By F. E. HALLIDAY. London: Robert Bentley, Inc. 1953 [1949]. Pp. xii + 522, 8 plates. \$6.50.

The Enjoyment of Shakespeare. By F. E. HALLIDAY. London: Gerald Duckworth [England]. 1952. Pp. 116, 5 plates. 7/6d.

Shakespeare and His Critics is in many ways a most useful compilation: it gathers into one volume much information that must otherwise be sought from a shelf of reference works. In the first part Mr. Halliday begins with a chapter on The Life of Shakespeare, reproducing, with a running commentary, much of the material to be found in the second volume of Chambers' *William Shakespeare*. The second chapter, on Players and Playwrights, summarises the history of Elizabethan drama. Thence Mr. Halliday goes on to consider Verse and Poetry, and the Development of Shakespeare's Style, which he illustrates in a collection of about forty passages, arranged in chronological order but without comment. In the fifth chapter Mr. Halliday discusses Character. This, to my mind, is the best chapter in the book, for here the compiler becomes critic and has something to say from his own observation. Mr. Halliday next passes on to a brief chapter on Quartos and Folios, with a few notes on Shakespeare's early editors. In chapter 7 he discusses (briefly) Disintegrators and (at unnecessary length) Baconians; at this date it is surely superfluous to devote ten pages to a summary of Durning Lawrence's *Bacon is Shakespeare* (1910).

The second part of *Shakespeare and His Critics* opens with a survey of

Shakespeare criticism and is followed by a selection of extracts from the more famous "critical pronouncements" of the past, from Greene's *Groatsworth* to Caroline Spurgeon's *Shakespeare's Imagery*. Then follows a chapter on The Plays and their critics, in which for each play the usual facts (source, date, early mentions, editions, etc.) are tabulated, together with a few brief extracts from the more important critical *dicta*. There are advantages—and disadvantages—in such notices. They offer the reader (or lecturer) handy quotations but they do not give the whole argument of the original essay and can therefore be very misleading. Moreover the value of the selections will depend on the scope and the variety of the contrasting views which are thus presented in little. Thus, for *Henry IV*, both parts, Mr. Halliday cites only Leonard Digges, Richard James, Thomas Fuller, Pepys, Dryden, Johnson, Morgann, Hazlitt, and Brandes. For *Hamlet*, the quotations come from Henslowe, Gabriel Harvey, Scoloker, Pepys, Gildon, Downes, Rowe, Johnson, Voltaire, Malone, Goethe, Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt, and Bradley.

At first sight *Shakespeare and His Critics* appears to be just the book for graduate students cramming for their prelims or for young instructors suddenly called upon to give a course on Shakespeare. Unfortunately a closer examination shows that the book is quite out of date. Although first published in England in 1949, internal evidence soon reveals either that it was compiled eighteen or twenty years ago, or that Mr. Halliday, for some reason unexplained, has chosen to disregard every work of significance written since 1935. He ignores completely not only the vast mass of the "new criticism" but also the scholarly work on the text, the stage, and the background. Greg is mentioned only in connection with his work on *Sir Thomas More*; and there is no mention at all of the work of McKerrow, Baldwin, Theodore Spencer, Harbage, J. C. Adams, Hardin Craig, Kitteredge, Wilson Knight, Leavis, Hotson, or Tillyard—among others. In the Select Bibliography the chronological list of "Critical Studies" ends with Stoll's *Art and Artifice in Shakespeare* (1933) and *The Companion to Shakespeare Studies* (1934). The section on Shakespeare's Contemporaries notes Cunningham's edition of Ben Jonson (and omits Simpson's). The Section on Shakespeare's Theatre includes only three titles—Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage* (1923), Thorndike's *Shakespeare's Theater* (1916), and Nicoll's *The Development of the Theatre* (1927). Nor is Furness's New Variorum included in the editions recommended.

The *Enjoyment of Shakespeare* is a little book intended for the beginner; high school teachers may find it useful and stimulating.

G. B. HARRISON

University of Michigan

Hamlet Through the Ages: A Pictorial Record from 1709. Compiled by RAYMOND MANDER and JOE MITCHENSON. Edited with an Introduction by HERBERT MARSHALL. London: Rockliff, [cop.] 1952; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. xvii + 156, frontispiece + 256 plates. 35s. or \$7.00.

It is difficult to see for just whom this book is intended or to assign responsibilities for it. The editor's sensible introduction, which pleads for the proper preservation of the materials of theatrical production, indicates that it is aimed at producer, scene designer, stage historian, and student, and that the "idea and conception" was his, but "practically all the work" was the compilers'. The plan comprises a summary of each scene, a series of notes on the plates rather inconveniently placed, and 257 illustrations extending from the frontispiece of Rowe's edition of 1709 to Alec Guinness' *Hamlet* of 1951,

grouped according to scene. The authorship of the summaries is not indicated, but long resumé inevitably interpret, and these are frequently tendentious or inaccurate: the play begins "on the ramparts of Kronberg [sic] Castle"; "Family bonds are sacred" to Claudius; Laertes breaks into the palace "at the instigation of unknown enemies. . . ." Sentences are also often incoherent and mispunctuated: Hamlet arranges with the First Player "to insert a speech which he will compose himself of from twelve to sixteen lines into the text of a piece that they are to perform . . ."; the Queen "goes, and, after addressing some friendly words to Ophelia which hint that a happy end to all their differences may be brought about by her marriage with the Prince, Polonius proceeds to lay his trap. . . ." Certainly members of the profession and stage historians do not need the summaries, and one would hesitate to recommend them to students and general readers. Appropriate quotations from the play would have been a better solution to the problem of tying text to illustration. The notes are also poorly written, but they are informative and generally accurate in their facts; exceptions occur when historical scholarship is involved, and some proper names are misspelled. Despite these deficiencies, pictorially this is a valuable book. The many illustrations of sets, action, and players from both stage productions and films provide a unique and revealing record of *Hamlet* performances. Though indebtedness is acknowledged to many sources, the pictures are taken largely from the collection of the compilers, and many are inaccessible outside of this volume. If it is not pleasant reading, the book is instructive and pleasant looking.

ROBERT HAMILTON BALL

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Notes and Comments

FRONTISPIECE

The Charter of Incorporation granted by Edward VI to Stratford-upon-Avon on 28 June 1553 is the chief glory of one of the most complete set of municipal records in England. The Charter is written on three membranes of vellum of unusual size and is handsomely decorated. In a succeeding issue, there will be a reproduction of the miniature of the seated monarch.

The borough records and the oaken chest and case in which they were preserved are now on deposit in the Birthplace in the custody of the Birthplace Trust. The records include the minute books of the Council, which detail, among other things, the long record of public service of John Shakespeare and his accounts as Bailiff (Mayor) of the Borough in which his son William spent his youth.

* * * * *

ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations on pages facing 316, 324, 325 relate to the destructive fire in Stratford in 1614. According to Mr. Levi Fox (*The Borough Town of Stratford-upon-Avon*, pp. 116-117), fifty-four houses were burned within two hours at a loss of £8,000. Other serious losses had been incurred in fires in 1594 and 1595. The Corporation sought permission from the Crown to organize collections for the relief of the Borough. This was granted by King James's proclamation of 5 December 1615—see reproduction, page 296. On the verso of one of the two copies of the proclamation preserved among the papers of the Stratford Council (Miscellaneous Documents, VII, no. 106) is recorded the contributions from Avon Dassett, beginning with that of John Woodward, gent., of three shillings. Another memorandum (Miscellaneous Documents, XIII, no. 17) of sums that had been contributed by 7 July 1615 in nearby communities shows a total of £16-17-1—see reproduction, facing page 324. The situation at Stratford must have been very serious, for on 11 May 1616, King James issued another proclamation for the relief of Stratford (S.T.C. 8540), copies of which are recorded at Lambeth Palace, the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the Henry E. Huntington Library.

There was always danger of fire in towns and villages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for despite the care of the local authorities many houses were roofed with thatch. In Stratford, the danger was increased by the quantity of malt-kilns. As a precaution, the householders, and especially the burgesses and the aldermen, were required to keep leather buckets and fire hooks in readiness. The woodcut reproduced on page 258 shows these pieces of equipment in use during a fire in Tiverton, Devonshire.

THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA

In an age of specialization, when the flood of books and articles in every field threatens to overwhelm the serious reader, it is reassuring to see the organization of a Society whose chief purpose is to bring together students of the arts, history, literature, music, philosophy, religion, and science in the Renaissance, that great age when a man might without boasting declare his intention to take all knowledge to be his province. Since the Renaissance, the various humanistic studies have gone their several ever more widely divergent ways, with disastrous results to the Humanities. It can scarcely be hoped that one Society will reverse the trend. But to the thousand members who in January 1954 united their efforts to level the walls that have divided them and explore the fresh fields and pastures new that stretch ever outward to the bounds of human knowledge, and to all the intellectually adventurous spirits who may rush to join them, may come the vision and enjoyment of a new earth and a new heaven.

The Renaissance Society of America was organized in New York early this year, with Professor John Herman Randall, Jr. (Philosophy, Columbia) as President; Professor Josephine Waters Bennett (English, Hunter College), Secretary; and Professor Edwin B. Knowles (English, Pratt Institute), Treasurer. Members of the Executive Board and the Advisory Council come from all parts of the country and represent a dozen disciplines. The first project is to be the publication of a series of Renaissance studies by its members, the University of Texas having agreed to bring out the volume.

An invitation to join is extended to every interested person throughout the world. Professor Josephine W. Bennett, 200 E. 66th Street, New York 21, New York, will receive applications. Annual dues for patron, sustaining, and regular members are twenty-five, ten, and four dollars respectively.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA, INC.

The Annual Meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., was held at the Grolier Club, 47 East 60th Street, New York City, on 5 May 1954 at 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon, with President Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., in the chair, and John F. Fleming, Secretary and Treasurer, recording the minutes. After the Secretary had presented his affidavit to the effect that written notice had been mailed to each member as required by the by-laws, it was determined that one hundred and ninety-eight members were present in person or represented by proxy, and the meeting was called to order.

The report of the Secretary indicated that there are approximately one thousand one hundred and fifty members of the Association. Mr. Fleming then submitted the Treasurer's report, showing that life membership fees and special gifts had made it possible for the Association to end the year with a small cash balance.

The Chairman of the Editorial Board, Dr. James G. McManaway, reported by letter his participation in the festivities at Bochum, Germany, during the week of 23 April, when the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft celebrated

its ninetieth anniversary, and his public delivery of the greetings of the Shakespeare Association of America. He directed attention to the fact that the Association is deeply indebted to the other members of the Editorial Board for their generous services in connection with the publication of *Shakespeare Quarterly* and regretted that Professor Sidney Thomas had found it necessary to discontinue his work as Bibliographer. Especial thanks are due to the scholars in other lands who assist in compiling the Annual Shakespeare Bibliography and the check-list of performances of the plays.

Professor W. T. Hastings, Chairman of the Advisory Committee, reported that his Committee had considered a number of the problems of the Association and had been of assistance to the Editorial Board in solving some of them.

Then, upon motion duly made, seconded, and carried, the report of the Nominating Committee, Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., Chairman, was accepted, and Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., Mr. John F. Fleming, Mr. Donald F. Hyde, and Dr. James G. McManaway were reelected as Directors of the Association to serve until the next annual meeting of members or until their successors should be elected and should qualify.

Numerous questions were asked about the purposes and activities of the Association, and several suggestions were referred to the Directors for consideration. As there was no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 5:15 p.m.

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SHAKESPEARE BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is with great pleasure that we announce the election of Professor Paul A. Jorgensen of the University of California at Los Angeles. Authors and publishers are requested to supply him with copies of 1954 publications for listing in the Annual Bibliography. Professor Jorgensen makes his first appearance in *Shakespeare Quarterly* with an article on pages 287-295 of this issue.

Contributors

DR. ROBERT BALL is Professor of English at Queens College, New York.

PROFESSOR FREDSON T. BOWERS of the University of Virginia edits *Studies in Bibliography*. The first volume of his edition of Thomas Dekker has just come from press. And he has just been elected to membership in the Advisory Committee of *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

PROFESSOR WOLFGANG CLEMEN, recently a Visiting Professor at Columbia University, is Director of the English Seminary at the University of Munich.

After serving for several years as Secretary of *Shakespeare Survey* and as Fellow of the Shakespeare Institute at Stratford-upon-Avon, R. A. FOAKES, Esq., is transferring to Durham University.

Since receiving the Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin, MRS. THELMA NELSON GREENFIELD has been an Instructor in the Extension Division of that University. In the summer of 1950 she held an I. I. E. Scholarship at the Stratford-upon-Avon Summer Session of the University of Birmingham.

PROFESSOR G. B. HARRISON of the University of Michigan is the author and editor of many books of Shakespearean interest. Two volumes of his Penguin Shakespeare have recently come from press in England.

PROFESSOR CHARLES HAYWOOD has been on leave of absence from Queens College, New York, to enjoy a Fellowship at the Henry E. Huntington Library, where he has continued his study of musical settings of Shakespeare's poems and plays.

WILLIAM T. HASTINGS, Professor Emeritus of Brown University, is Chairman of the Advisory Board of *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

PROFESSOR HARRY R. HOPPE of Michigan State College, is the author of *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet*.

PAUL A. JORGENSEN is Assistant Professor of English at the University of California at Los Angeles. He is completing a book on soldiers and warfare but finds time to study some of Shakespeare's words, like *honesty* and *nothing*.

MRS. HELEN ANDREWS KAUFMAN is a member of the Department of English at the University of Washington.

PROFESSOR ROBERT ADGER LAW of the University of Texas is the author of many Shakespearean studies and a member of the Advisory Committee of *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

PROFESSOR J. L. LIEVSAY of the University of Tennessee has spent the past academic year in study on a Fulbright Fellowship in Italy.

MR. BERNARD MILES is a Music Hall comedian who is frequently heard over the English radio and regularly seen at the London Palladium. He wrote, co-directed, and acted in the moving pictures, *Tawny Pipit* and *Chance of a Lifetime* and has acted in a number of other films. He played with the Old Vic Company in 1943 and 1947 and is the author of *The British Theatre*. He was the co-founder of the Mermaid Theatre with his actress wife, JOSEPHINE WILSON, who appeared there in *Macbeth*, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, and *As You Like It*.

At the time of her retirement in 1949, MISS ABBIE FINDLAY POTTS had been for twenty-five years Professor of English at Rockford College. In addition to her articles on Spenser and Shakespeare, she has published articles and two books about William Wordsworth, written two masques, and published two volumes of poetry. In 1952 she directed for The English Institute a conference celebrating the 350th anniversary of *Troilus and Cressida*.

PROFESSOR MAURICE J. QUINLAN of the College of St. Thomas has not previously published anything about Shakespeare. He is author of *Victorian Prelude* and *William Cowper: A Critical Life*.

ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE, Professor of English at Bryn Mawr College, has made the study of stage business in performances of Shakespeare's plays peculiarly his own. His *Shakespeare and the Actors* is a storehouse of information for producers and actors, as well as playgoers.

DR. WOLFGANG STROEDEL of Göttingen, in his capacity of Executive Secretary, has been for several years the presiding genius of the annual festivals of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY



King Edward VI, a miniature enclosed by the initial E of the Charter of Incorporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1553. See p. 429. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Shakespeare's Birthplace.

Lady Macbeth and the Doctor

PAUL H. KOCHER

DRAMATICALLY speaking, the Doctor of Physick who attends Lady Macbeth seems at first quite superfluous. He in no way advances the plot. He prescribes no medicines of any kind, no diet, purgations, or phlebotomy. In fact, during the sleep-walking scene he confesses, "This disease is beyond my practice" (V.i.65), and at its end wishes himself replaced by a clergyman:

Foul whisperings are abroad: unnatural deeds
Do breed unnatural troubles: infected minds
To their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets:
More needs she the divine than the physician.
God, God forgive us all! (79-83)

Her ailment, he thus implies as plainly as he dares, is not physical but spiritual, calling for the guidance of religion and the mercy of God.

This is emphatic enough, but Shakespeare stresses the same idea again in V.iii. There the Doctor reports to Macbeth that his Lady is "not so sick" in body as in a mind troubled by thick-coming fancies (37-38). When Macbeth then demands whether there are not medical remedies to "minister to a mind diseased," the physician's answer once more is that "Therein the patient/ Must minister to himself" (45-46). That is, the treatment can come only from within the sufferer himself, through repentance for sin. Not medicine but religion must furnish the cure.

Here, then, is a scientist whose sole function in the play is to admit the bankruptcy of medical science under the circumstances.¹ All this, in one of Shakespeare's most compressed works, cannot be without some ultimate dramatic point to justify its double emphasis. And when we consult the tensions current in Shakespeare's day between medicine and religion, the point turns out to be indeed of the first importance in the interpretation of Lady Macbeth and, through her, of the entire intellectual and moral meaning of the play.

Only the briefest kind of review of the medico-religious conflict is possible here.² The evil reputation of Elizabethan doctors for atheism may be summed

¹ In IV.iii. 139-145 Shakespeare introduces another Doctor merely to speak five lines admitting that the English King holds from God a miraculous power to cure scrofula when medical science is helpless ("convinces/ The great assay of art"). No doubt this is compliment to King James, as has often been noted. But it also counterpoints the larger theme of the frustration of Lady Macbeth's physician, for the religious reasons about to be indicated.

² Detailed background may be found in Kocher, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (Huntington Library, San Marino, 1953), Chaps. 12 through 14. All books to be cited were published in London unless otherwise specified.

up in the proverb quoted by La Primaudaye, "Of three Physitions one Atheist."³ This ill fame rested in part on the tendency of Elizabethan medicine, Galenic or Paracelsan, to minimize the agency of God as the sender of health and disease, and to concentrate instead on such physical causes as diet, corrupt air, evacuation, exercise, and sleep. Similarly, the medical science of Shakespeare's day paid scant heed to the human soul as an independent factor whose spiritual state of good and evil might affect the body's health. On the contrary, the physician's whole pressure was to accept for all practical purposes the Galenic principle that the manners of the soul follow the temperature of the body, and thus to regard soul as a mere phase or consequence of body. In short, the methodology of medicine tended to be materialistic and deterministic. This did not mean, of course, that most Elizabethan doctors as private men were not good Christians; in truth, most of them were. But as scientists they found it easier to deal with the physical if they left out the spiritual. And their attitude apparently did not fail to infect others outside the medical profession.

How widespread was the alarm of the clergy, and even of the more pious among the doctors themselves, at these dangers to the Christian concept of soul can be seen in the reactions of William Bullein, Henoeh Clapham, R. Bostocke and many others.⁴ As a doctor soon to take holy orders, Timothy Bright, for example, protested throughout *A Treatise of Melancholie* against the materialists who explained spiritual states of soul involving conscience, morals, and faith in purely medical terms:

The dayly experience of phrensies, madnesse, lunasies and melancholy cured by this heavenly gift of God [medicine] . . . hath caused some to iudge more basely of the soule, then agreeth with pietie or nature, & have accompted all maner affection thereof, to be subiect to the physicians hand, not considering herein any thing diuine, and aboue the ordinarie euents, and naturall course of thinges: but haue esteemed the vertues them selues, yea religion, no other thing but as the body hath been tempered, and on the other side, vice, prophanenesse, & neglect of religion and honestie, to haue bene nought else but a fault of humour. For correcting the iudgement of such as so greatly mistake the matter . . . I haue layd open howe the bodie, and corporall things affect the soule, & how the body is affected of it againe: what the difference is betwixt natural melancholie, and that heauy hande of God upon the afflicted conscience, tormented with remorse of sinne & feare of his iudgment.⁵

Bright's whole approach to mental disease rests on this sharp distinction between melancholia and guilt of conscience.⁶ The two produce, he admits, terrors and perturbations which are superficially alike. But they differ radically as to cause and therefore as to treatment. The causes of melancholia are chiefly

³ *The French Academie*, Pt. I (1594), p. 153.

⁴ William Bullein, *A Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence* (1564), sigs. B2^v through L2^r; Henoeh Clapham, *An Epistle upon the Present Pestilence* (1603), sig. A3^r; R. Bostocke, *The Difference betwene the Auncient Phisicke and the Latter Phisicke* (1585), the "Obtestation" and sig. A5^r.

⁵ *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586), fols. iii^r–4^v.

⁶ See especially pp. 187–98. John Yates in *Gods Arraignement of Hypocrites* (Cambridge, 1615), chap. vii, pp. 346ff., plagiarized this material from Bright almost word for word without acknowledgment.

bad diet, bad air, a sedentary life, worry, and other factors affecting the physical humors. Guilt of conscience comes, however, when the rational soul recognizes its sins against the divinely imprinted law of nature. Hence the doctor of physic is powerless to treat the latter and must limit himself to the former:

Here no medicine, no purgation, no cordiall, no tryacle or balme are able to assure the afflicted soule and trembling heart, now panting under the terrors of God: there in melancholy the wayne opened, needing powder or bearefoote ministred, cordialls of pearle, Saphire, and rubies, with such like, recomforte the heart throwne downe, & appaied with fantasticall feare (p. 189).

The intense interest of Elizabethans in pathological melancholy, their predominantly physical approach to it, the resemblance between the self-blame of melancholia and that of a troubled conscience—all these factors made it easy for many people to confuse or identify the two conditions. Yet Christian religion was bound to keep them utterly distinct. Conscience warned of spiritual right and wrong; melancholia was merely a disease springing from the bodily humors. To equate the two, or even to think of the latter as causing the former, would make soul subject to body and undermine the central Christian doctrines of sin and repentance. Numbers of divines, consequently, spoke up against the danger, echoing in their sermons and treatises on conscience Bright's warning that guilt of conscience was emphatically not the same as melancholia but was a spiritual state requiring a spiritual remedy.

Thus according to William Perkins' *A Discourse of Conscience* the passion of sadness coming from an accusing conscience is quite different from melancholy:

The second passion is sadnes & sorrow: commonly thought to be nothing else but melancholie: but betweene them twaine there is great difference. Sorrowe, that comes by melancholy, ariseth only of that humor annoying the bodie: but this other sorrow ariseth of a mans sinnes, for which his conscience accuseth him. Melancholie may be cured by physicke: this sorrow cannot be cured by any thing but by the blood of Christ.⁷

John Abernethy in *A Christian and Heavenly Treatise* stressed the same distinction:

If it proceede of the bodies melancholy, it is curable by Physicke. But if it be a meere and true trouble of conscience, no earthly Physicke can helpe it: but only that, that floweth from the fountaine of light and life, skilfully applyed, and graciously blessed.⁸

So did John Yates in *Gods Arraignment of Hypocrites*:

And therefore those are to be condemned, which make the terrors of conscience nothing but melancholie, and thereby labour to benumme the

⁷ In *Works* (1605), p. 643. See also in the same volume *The Second Treatise of the Ministerie*, p. 36: "Some thinke that all trouble of mind is nothing but melancholy, and therefore thinke nothing needes but Physicke and outward comforts: but . . . the good Phisitian of the soule, must first of all search into the cause of his sicknesse, that is his sins, and must take them away: which if they doe not, then al their labour is lost: for al the company, musick, recreation, wine, diet . . . cannot so much comforte the distressed soule of a sinner, as this voice of a minister spoken from God upon good grounds, thy sinnes are forgien thee."

⁸ From the 3rd edition (1630), p. 122.

sense of that sting which sinne euer carrieth in the tayle, and turne men to their usuall pleasures. . . .⁹

Richard Greenham, Philip Melancthon, Samuel Hieron, Robert Burton, and Alexander Hume may be mentioned among others who thought the issue urgent.¹⁰ Evidently the clergy as a group believed it imperative to delimit properly the spheres of medicine and religion in this problem of conscience.

They were quite willing to concede, however, that the same patient might suffer from both melancholia and true remorse at the same time. Indeed, they themselves often pointed out that a man's properly guilty conscience, by disturbing his passions and humors, might render him genuinely melancholic in the medical sense.¹¹ What they were concerned to deny was that the influence might work the other way, that melancholia might produce real guilt of conscience. Where, for whatever reason, the two conditions, one spiritual, one physical, coexisted in the same sufferer, some divines inclined to agree that the clergyman and the medical man should collaborate, each treating his own side of the case. Richard Greenham is explicit:

For my part, I would neuer haue the Phisitions counsell seuered, nor the Ministers labour neglected; because the soule and body dwelling together, it is conuenient, that as the soule should be cured by the word, by prayer, by fasting, by threatning or by comforting; so the bodie also should be brought into some temperature, by Phisicke . . . providing alwaies that it be done so in the feare of God. . . .¹²

Other divines, however, omitted all mention of medical aid and gave the distinct impression that they believed a case of conscience should be in the hands of a clergyman exclusively. Perkins is a case in point.

This, then, is the intellectual context in which the action or, better, the inaction of Lady Macbeth's physician must be scanned. Listening to her revelations in the sleep-walking scene, he silently (for he dares not speak out) diagnoses the cause as conscience and nothing but conscience. The source of infection being beyond the reach of his medicines, he prescribes none.¹³ He

⁹ P. 351. Yates shows why divines often resented the intrusion of physicians: "But besides these, another sort are iustly taxed, euen by the Physicians themselves, who when their patients come unto them for physicke, and they spie out their disease to be melancholy, aske them under what minister they liue, & if they mention some conscionable man that deals truly with mens soules, giue the parties counsell not to heare them, but get from them as farre as they can: Alas, are not these distinct diseases. . . ."

¹⁰ Richard Greenham, *A Sweet Comfort for an Afflicted Conscience in Workes* (1599), p. 245; Samuel Hieron, *Dauids Penitentiall Psalmes Opened* (Cambridge, 1617), p. 258; Philip Melancthon, *Commentarius de Anima* (Vitebergae, 1542), fols. 134^v-135^r; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1896), ed. A. R. Shilleto, III, 453, 458; Alexander Hume, *Ane Treatise of Conscience* (Edinburgh, 1594), pp. 35-36. Laurence Babb's treatment of the problem in *The Elizabethan Malady* (Lansing, Mich., 1951), pp. 50-53, is excellent. See also Kocher, pp. 300-303.

¹¹ Bright, chaps. 32-35; Perkins, p. 643; Yates, p. 354.

¹² P. 245. Also Abernethy, p. 136: "If this disease be mixed, partly of the body, and partly of the soule, the cure must be also wisely mixed. Help not the body first, and leaue the soul in anguish; neither goe about to finish the cure of the soule first, for then the distempered body shall mightily marre thy proceeding. But either jointly, meddle with them both at once, or else per vices, sometimes helping the one, and sometimes helping the other, till they be both helped."

¹³ None while on the stage, and apparently none while off. Had Shakespeare meant the latter possibility he might easily have had the Doctor say to the Gentewoman in effect, "Come with me and I will prepare such a cordial, etc." Instead the Doctor gives only one direction, and that is not specifically medical, "Remove from her the means of all annoyance." In his report to Macbeth he is

implicitly rules out natural melancholia or madness as contributing causes, and so must we. For through the Doctor Shakespeare is making it as plain as possible to his audience that Lady Macbeth's disastrous plight is due solely to remorse for the sin of her crimes. Hers are those secret terrors bred by conscience, which Yates typically catalogues:

. . . this breeds hurliburlies in men, that when it is day he wisheth for night, when night for day: his meat doth not nourish him, his dreames terrifie him, his sleepe forsakes him . . . the light doth not comfort him, and the darknes doth terrifie him. . . .¹⁴

Lady Macbeth, we remember, kept light by her continually (V.i.26-27). Perkins' description also tallies:

Terrours of conscience, which are more vehement, cause other passions in the body, as exceeding heat, like that which is in the fitte of an ague, the rising of the entrails towards the mouth; and souning; as experience hath often shewed. And the writer of the booke of wisdome saith truely, cap, 17, 10 . . . they that did indure the night that was intollerable etc. sometimes were troubled with monstrous visions, and sometimes they swounded. . . .¹⁵

Her eventual suicide, foreseen by the Doctor ("Remove from her the means of all annoyance," V.i.84) is likewise characteristic of one driven to despair by guilt unrepented.¹⁶

In the light of the admission of the clergy that melancholia and a guilty conscience, though distinct maladies, sometimes afflicted the same person at the same time, Shakespeare's twice repeated emphasis on the complete abdication of the Doctor in favor of the divine seems all the more remarkable. It is not that Shakespeare, of all men, fails to see the interaction of body and soul. But to have allowed the Doctor any competence whatever in the treatment of Lady Macbeth would have been to obscure the dramatic point he wished to make. And this point, it will bear repeating, was that the source of all her ills was neither natural melancholia nor madness but solely conscience.

This would be in itself a sufficiently important fact to warrant the repetition Shakespeare gives it. But it acquires a new and ironic meaning when we look to the early part of the play and find that Lady Macbeth, in keying herself up for the murder of Duncan, invoked melancholy while scorning conscience:

Come, you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
Of direst cruelty! make thick my blood;
Stop up the access and passage to remorse,

quite positive in stating that medicines cannot help the patient, and Macbeth understandably concludes, "Throw physic to the dogs; I'll none of it" (V.iii.47). The Doctor stays on in Dunsinane only because he cannot get away (61-62).

¹⁴ P. 354. Also Bright, pp. 184-87.

¹⁵ P. 643. Consequently, perhaps Lady Macbeth's swoon (II.iii.124) is also an effect of conscience. Cf. Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes* (Cambridge University, 1930), pp. 86, 225. Compare also the torments of conscience suffered by Shakespeare's Richard III.

¹⁶ Perkins, *ibid.*, and Yates, p. 354, give instances of suicides caused by conscience.

That no compunctious visitings of nature
 Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
 The effect and it! Come to my woman's breasts,
 And take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers,
 Wherever in your sightless substances
 You wait on nature's mischief! Come, thick night,
 And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
 That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
 Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
 To cry 'Hold, hold!' (I.v.41-55)

As Laurence Babb has well shown (pp. 56-58, 84), Elizabethans believed that melancholy was especially conducive to crime. Whatever else Lady Macbeth may mean in this difficult soliloquy, where the literal blends subtly with the metaphorical, she certainly is asking that her blood take on the grossness and thickness characteristic of melancholy.¹⁷ The association of crime with melancholy in Shakespeare's mind appears clearly in the quite comparable passage in *King John* where the King broaches to Hubert the project of murdering young Arthur:

Or if that surly spirit, melancholy,
 Had bak'd thy blood, and made it heavy, thick,
 Which else runs tickling up and down the veins. . .
 I would into thy bosom pour my thoughts. (III.iii.42ff.)

What Lady Macbeth adds to this orthodox idea is a somewhat novel physiological explanation of how melancholy aids crime: by so thickening the blood that it shuts off all access to conscience.¹⁸ If this process be pictured literally, it entails a view of the conscience as some kind of physical organ with entrances and exits for the blood. Sufficiently viscous blood would bar these gateways. This, of course, is rank materialism. Usual Christian thought saw conscience as a function of the incorporeal reason, needing no bodily instrument.¹⁹ Such materialism would be perfectly suited to Lady Macbeth's character and situation, and Shakespeare may well have intended this meaning for her here. But if this seems too concrete a rendering of the poetry, then any more metaphorical interpretation must still take account of the contextual fact that Lady Macbeth believes melancholy blood can in some way impede and nullify the operations of conscience. In a word, she believes that a physical substance can veto one of the highest spiritual agents in the soul.

Under either interpretation her soliloquy stresses body at the expense of soul, makes conscience dependent on melancholia. For a woman about to commit a murder no philosophy could be more appropriate. It allows her to act under her circumstances as the rationalizations of Iago and Edmund

¹⁷ For the thickness of melancholy blood see Babb, p. 84; Bright, p. 5; Ruth L. Anderson, *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays*, Univ. of Iowa Humanistic Studies III, no. 7 (1927), p. 34: "Melancholy thickens the blood and thus prevents it from flowing too freely through the veins and arteries." Cf. *The Winter's Tale*, I.ii.171: "Thoughts that would thicken my blood."

¹⁸ Babb, p. 56: "A clear and complete explanation of the melancholic's criminal bent is hard to find. Renaissance scientists apparently have not given the matter sufficient attention to work out anything very definite."

¹⁹ Perkins, p. 619; Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commonplaces* (1583?), pp. 166-167; Burton, I, 189.

allow them to act under theirs. But it is utterly wrong. And to demonstrate its wrongness is an important part of Shakespeare's purpose in the Doctor episodes discussed above. Lady Macbeth, who asks in the beginning for melancholia and rules out conscience, gets in the end, as the Doctor knows, not melancholia but conscience, and conscience with a vengeance. The "murdering ministers" she invokes are subtly transformed into the "minister to a mind diseased" and "therein the patient must minister to himself" of the closing scenes, with overtones, perhaps, of minister in the sense of clergyman. The ironic retribution is complete.

These "murdering ministers" and "spirits that tend on mortal thoughts" to which Lady Macbeth appeals have almost always been construed as devils.²⁰ It seems far more probable, however, that they are the animal spirits which Elizabethan psychology conceived of as communicating the decisions of the mind to the body. According to Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, "Spirit is a most subtle vapour, which is expressed from the blood, and the instrument of the soul, to perform all his actions; a common tie or medium betwixt the body and the soul, as some will have it."²¹ Being a kind of "subtill flame," these spirits were invisible. Or as Petrus Valentinus put it in his *Enchiridion Medicum*, "The animall spirit is as it were a starre-beame, which is sent from the braine by the Nerues into all the body, to giue motion, and sense, and all other animall actions unto the same."²² Shakespeare of course often used the term "spirits" in this sense as well as the supernatural one.²³ In the passage quoted above from *King John* "that surly spirit, melancholy" which bakes the blood thick is surely no devil but the animal spirit begetting melancholy. Likewise when Lady Macbeth says just a few lines before the soliloquy in question, "Hie thee hither,/ That I may pour my spirits in thine ear" (I.v.26-27), she obviously means nothing supernatural; she is planning figuratively that she will impart to Macbeth by persuasion the same ambitious courage that her animal spirits have given her.

So in the soliloquy itself she is not calling for demonic aid but mustering her own internal resources of will and passion. Resolving on cruelty, she orders the spirits running from the brain through the nerves to the heart to rouse that emotion there. Cold and dry, the heart will contract. Thick melancholic blood, reinforced by fresh supplies of melancholy from the spleen, will flow towards the heart and there be made yet heavier and colder. It will stop up the avenues to conscience. Thereby the judgments of conscience drawn from its reading of the engraved moral law of nature ("compunctious visitings of nature") will be blocked from transmission to the will and to the bodily organs which might put them into effect. The field will then be left clear for that other

²⁰ For this traditional construction see the summaries in the H. H. Furness Variorum edition of *Macbeth* (1873) and such more recent editions as those by John Dover Wilson, Joseph Quincy Adams, and George L. Kittredge. But Hardin Craig, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (New York, 1951), p. 1050, accepts the purely physiological explanation for the first part of the soliloquy. Most commentators agree that "mortal thoughts" refers to murderous, deadly thoughts, not thoughts of a mortal.

²¹ I, 170; La Primaudaye (1605), Pt. II, p. 433; Anderson, pp. 10, 12, 42.

²² (1612), p. 11.

²³ Cf. *The Tempest*, I.ii.486: "My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up;" *Much Ado*, IV.i.112-13: "These things, come thus to light,/ Smother her spirits up." *Hamlet*, II.ii.627ff., uses the term in both the natural and supernatural senses.

kind of "nature" ("nature's mischief"), the corrupt passions of fallen human nature unpurified by divine grace.

Lady Macbeth feels that she needs for her criminal purpose not only the callousness of melancholia but also the courage of choler produced by the gall.²⁴ So she continues her ritual of self-preparation by commanding the same invisible animal spirits ("sightless substances," agents of murderous thoughts) to suffuse with gall her whole body, especially her woman's breasts. "Take my milk for gall" presumably means "replace my milk with gall" or perhaps, more indirectly, "so embitter my milk that it will serve for gall." Both literally and symbolically, the milk of human kindness in her will thus give place to a fluid productive of ruthlessness and rage. She will stand finally unsexed, ready for the murder. But thick night must hide her victim from her even as she strikes the blow, lest, seeing him, she should hear in spite of melancholy and gall her conscience ("Heaven") cry, "Hold, hold!"

This prosaic and perhaps all too literal paraphrase may at least serve to show that Lady Macbeth's thoughts in her soliloquy are on the physiology and psychology of her resolve, with several defensive gestures against the conscience which she fears may interrupt it. She is not thinking about demons. She is trying to do what Macbeth later does, "bend up/ Each corporal agent to this terrible feat" (I.vii.79-80). Indeed, throughout the play she admits as little as possible of the supernatural in any Christian sense, probably because she secretly dreads it. For her the three hags are not the witches of Christian tradition but "fate and metaphysical aid" (I.v.30), just as for Macbeth they are at first merely "the weird sisters." Yet Shakespeare almost certainly meant to portray them as witches.²⁵ These evasions by the two great criminals resemble psychologically those by Milton's Satan, who refuses to concede the omnipotence of God but speaks continually of fate or chance, and likes to think of himself as self-created. Similarly, Lady Macbeth tries resolutely to treat the air-drawn dagger, the voice that cried "Sleep no more," and Banquo's ghost as nothing more than figments of her husband's distempered brain, that is, as symptoms of a purely physical fear. Her emphasis everywhere is physiological and materialistic, as befits the course of action she has chosen. But in the climate of the play all these visions have a spiritual significance. They are Heaven crying through conscience, "Hold, hold!" They are perturbations and terrors sent by that very faculty of conscience which both conspirators have violated and denied.

From this viewpoint, the interior action of *Macbeth* is basically about conscience and its effect.²⁶ In Lady Macbeth, especially, Shakespeare makes the theme unmistakable. She wills melancholia as an escape from conscience; she

²⁴ Functions of the gall are summarized by Anderson, p. 73. Cf. *Hamlet*, II.ii.604-606: "It cannot be/ But I am pigeon-liver'd and lack gall/ To make oppression bitter."

²⁵ Excellent discussions of the witches are given by Willard Farnham, *Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier* (University of California Press, 1950), pp. 80-104; and by Virgil Whitaker, *Shakespeare's Use of Learning* (Huntington Library, 1953), p. 288.


²⁶ The immense volume of commentary on Lady Macbeth plainly cannot be reviewed here. Some critics (eg. A. C. Bradley, A. H. R. Fairchild, Theodore Spencer, L. L. Schücking) pay little or no attention to her conscience. Others (eg. Willard Farnham, Lily B. Campbell, Edward Dowden, and perhaps E. E. Stoll) stress it in greater or less degree. But none, so far as I am aware, brings out the fundamental distinctions between conscience and melancholia which may provide the key to her character.

receives conscience, without melancholia. She would like to confuse the two; in the Doctor scenes Shakespeare carefully differentiates them. The latter scenes therefore have a deep dramatic relevance for the meaning of the play as a whole. And they draw this relevance from the stand taken by Shakespeare on one of the chief religio-medical issues of his age.

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A Deadly Edition of Shakespeare

EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY

HAKESPEARE has done much for his readers. At least once, the reading of Shakespeare at an opportune time saved the life of a reader: On September 7, 1764, Captain Thomas Morris of the British Army, while on a diplomatic mission among the Indians thus escaped a crowd of Miamis who had decided to kill him. Morris left the Indian village where the Miamis expected to find him and was drifting peacefully in a canoe reading *Antony and Cleopatra* in a volume of Shakespeare with which an Indian had presented him a month before,¹ while they sought for him in vain.

But, fifteen years after this event, an edition of Shakespeare, still unpublished, caused the ignominious death of its editor. I hasten to add that I am not generalizing upon these facts. Editing Shakespeare is as seldom lethal as reading him is life-saving. And it was the attempt to publish this edition rather than the production of it which cost its editor his life. Publication required money to pay printers, to buy paper and to meet other expenses. The editor lacked money, a fault all too common then, as now, among humanistic scholars. In his endeavors to obtain the use of some money he was driven to the commission of a crime for which he was hanged. To appreciate how the editor got himself into this sorry predicament we must look into certain facts of his life.

William Dodd,² the editor, was graduated from Cambridge in 1750. With literary aspirations as well as a genuine love of Shakespeare, he began his career as a literary hack. But in a few months his father and friends, realizing the precariousness of this means of livelihood, insisted that he take holy orders. He was ordained a deacon in 1751 and was appointed curate of West Ham, Essex. He was there barely half a year before, at the age of twenty-three, he published in 1752 his *Beauties of Shakespeare*. This anthology had considerable influence. It was read by many whose religious convictions would not permit them to read plays, and the passages contained in the volume became the most quoted of Shakespeare's words. *The Beauties of Shakespeare*, constantly reprinted from 1752 to 1935, is, I believe, the piece of Shakespeariana in publication for the longest period of time. But Dodd's *Beauties* was not a mere selection of passages from Shakespeare, although in later editions it so became. The twenty-three-year-old anthologist padded his volume with an unwieldy

¹ E. E. Willoughby, "The Reading of Shakespeare in Colonial America" in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXX (1937), 55-56.

² The standard life of Dodd is Percy H. Fitzgerald's *A Famous Forgery: Being the Story of "the unfortunate Doctor Dodd"*. London, 1865.

amount of notes, textual, critical, and illustrative. In *The Beauties of Shakespeare* he did for a few passages what an editor would do for Shakespeare's *Works*. He obtained further experience in editing when he prepared a second and revised edition, published in 1757, and a third which was in the press when he died and was published in 1780, immediately after his death.

Dodd, however, had no intention of wasting his talents as a village curate. In April, 1754, he obtained an appointment as lecturer at St. Olave's, Hart Street, London. He quickly proved himself gifted with a theatrical type of eloquence and soon was in demand as a preacher. He preached upon subjects of interest to his audience; in terms of modern homiletics, he preached the eighteenth-century equivalent of "the social gospel".

He preached, in 1758, the inaugural sermon at the Magdalene Hospital for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes. In this he proved so successful that he was asked to serve as the hospital's Sunday evening preacher. His handsome figure, melodious voice and dramatic delivery attracted a fashionable audience. Dodd's preaching caused women to burst into tears and men to contribute handsomely to the newly founded charity. Dodd gradually became famous and the charity (which is still in existence) with the aid of the funds that he raised rescued many young women—their average ages were from fourteen to sixteen; not a few were as young as twelve—from degradation and restored them to normal and useful lives.

Dodd later organized a number of charities himself. They included the Discharged Prisoner's Aid Society, the Society for the Release of Debtors, the Society for the Loan of Money Without Interest to Industrious Tradesmen, and The Society for the Recovery of Drowned Persons.

Dodd was apparently sincere in his philanthropic efforts. But he had other sides to his character. He was ambitious; he sought and obtained more livings than he could ethically serve. In 1763, the Bishop of St. Davids appointed him his chaplain and made him Prebendary of Brecon. And in the same year George III appointed him one of the chaplains to the King. His wife inherited some money and won more in a lottery. Dodd invested this money in building Charlotte Chapel, where seats were reserved for the royal family. To hear his preaching a fashionable congregation crowded this chapel even to standing space.³ Unfortunately he attempted to ingratiate himself with his fashionable congregation and to make friends among the higher circles of society by lavish entertaining. Soon he found himself in debt, despite the very good income he received from his clerical livings. To remedy this he flung himself with great energy into literary work. Most of his works were small pamphlets such as sermons, but from 1765 to 1770 he published a *Commentary on the Bible* in which he performed one of the functions that he would carry out as an editor of Shakespeare.

Dodd obtained another source of income. In 1765, the Earl of Chesterfield sought a tutor for his godson and heir, Philip Stanhope. He selected Dodd whom he described to the boy's father as "the best and most eloquent preacher in England and perhaps the most learned clergyman".⁴ Dodd took the eleven-

³ Charlotte L. H. A. Papendiek, *Court and Private Life of Queen Charlotte* (London, 1887), I, 79-81, 125.

⁴ *Letters*, ed. by Bonamy Dobrée (London, 1932), VI, 2654-55.

year-old boy into his house and both he and his wife reared and taught him. In the opinion of the Earl of Chesterfield, who was intimately associated with his godson's education and a man not given to over-enthusiasm, Dodd and his wife successfully taught the boy and imparted to him good manners and sound ethical principles. And there is every indication in Chesterfield's letters that there existed a genuine affection between Dr. Dodd and his pupil. Philip Stanhope left Dodd's tutelage about the spring of 1770 to make the grand tour.

Dodd's income grew but not as rapidly as did his expenses. The rectory of St. George's, Hanover Square, became vacant in January, 1774. This fashionable living, worth about £1,500 a year, would have been ideally suited to Dodd; it was in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Aspley.

Soon Lady Aspley received an anonymous letter offering her £3,000 and an annuity of £500 a year, if she would procure the living for a learned clergyman to be named later. She showed the letter to her husband, whose integrity in these matters was well known. He had the letter traced; it was in the handwriting of a lawyer's clerk who had written it at the dictation of Mrs. Dodd.

Dodd disclaimed responsibility for this letter, asserting that it was written by "the officious zeal of his consort." It is possible that he was telling the truth, that Mrs. Dodd, oppressed by the mounting burden of debt, had made a foolish attempt to obtain for her husband this rich living. But eighteenth-century law held a husband responsible for his wife's actions. George III had Dodd's name removed from the list of Royal Chaplains. He was ridiculed by Foote as Dr. Simony in *The Coseners*. And feeling against him grew so strong—although his congregation at Charlotte Chapel stood by him—that he fled to the Continent. He visited his old pupil, now the Earl of Chesterfield, at Geneva. The earl received him kindly and presented him with another living.

He returned to London where the attempt at simony was almost forgotten. But his debts were not forgotten. Dodd was compelled to sell most of his interest in Charlotte Chapel to satisfy the more pressing of his debts. His financial embarrassments became so great that to ease them "he descended so low as to become the editor of a newspaper."

Dodd, however, did not despair. He hoped to extricate himself from his financial predicaments by publishing some books. First of all, there was the third edition of his *Beauties of Shakespeare*, which was actually published in 1780. The other two titles involved more grandiose undertakings.

The second book which he hoped to publish was advertised in *An Oration at the Dedication of Free-Mason Hall, Great Queen Street . . . Lincoln's-Inn Fields on Thursday, May 23, 1776*, which as Grand Chaplain of the Masonic order he delivered. At the end of the printed *Oration*, published about August, 1776, appeared his "Proposals for printing by subscription *Free Masonry, or a General History of Civilization in Which the Rise and Progress of the Arts, Sciences, Laws and Religion Will Be Detailed*." The book was to appear in two volumes, printed by the best type on the finest paper. It would be of interest to non-Masons as well as Masons. Subscribers were offered copies at two guineas each. What progress Dodd made toward its completion we do not know.

The third book was an edition of Shakespeare on which he had been working, probably for many years. Perhaps as early as 1747, while he was still in college, Dodd bought an eight-volume 12mo unannotated edition, edited

by Hanmer, and published in that year. Dodd began to add notes first on the margins of the leaves; then he had the volumes interleaved and bound, and he wrote his other notes on these interleavings.

"In the summer of 1776 he went to Paris" according to a biographer, "and with little regard to decency, paraded in a phaeton at the races on the plains of Sablon, dressed in all the foppery of the kingdom in which he then resided". But pleasure was not the main motive of his visit to Paris. Dodd had gone to engage the best artists to illustrate "a new and splendid edition of Shakespeare in quarto" which he was preparing.⁵

But, alas, to pay printers and engravers requires cash. And Dodd at this juncture had little of it. He evidently convinced himself that could he get out his edition of Shakespeare he could in six months recover the costs from the anticipated sales. He, therefore, decided to take a desperate risk in order to obtain the capital required.

On February 1, 1777, Dodd told Lewis Robertson, a broker, that his former pupil, the Earl of Chesterfield, desired to borrow secretly £4,200. He gave Robertson a blank and unsigned bond which he took to the bankers, Fletcher and Peach. They agreed to furnish the money. Robertson returned the bond to Dodd who the next day brought it back signed with an excellent forgery of the Earl of Chesterfield's name. The bankers paid over the money and received from Dodd a receipt with another forged signature of the earl.

All might have been well and another edition of Shakespeare—the handsomest that the eighteenth century had known, a contribution to English book-making if not to English scholarship—might well have appeared. Fate in the person of an obscure lawyer intervened to prevent it. The bankers gave the bond to their solicitor for his examination. He noted a curious blot on the document and advised that a new copy of the bond be prepared and that the earl be asked to sign it. The lawyer took the new bond to the earl, who denounced the first bond as a forgery.

The bankers sought out Dr. Dodd and warned him that only by immediate restitution could he hope to save his life. They received from him all his money and a judgement of £400 against his property. Some of this £400 may have been already paid to the printer. Dodd was not yet alarmed as he thought the affair would go no further. But the lawyer, probably in an excess of zeal, laid the matter before the Lord Mayor. The bankers, realizing that this action involved them, under the penalty for compounding a felony, in a prosecution from which they could reap naught but trouble and ill-will, left Dodd with the bond alone in his study and a bright fire burning in the grate. But Dodd, still not realizing his danger, failed to avail himself of the opportunity presented to him.

Dodd's friends rallied about him. They provided him with excellent counsel, but he had no real defence. He was found guilty and was sentenced to death.

Dodd also acquired a friend, who was not one of his admirers. Dr. Johnson, whose rough, manly nature was repelled by the handsome and theatrical Dodd, nevertheless aided him in his struggle and wrote petitions for him for a reprieve. Twenty-three thousand London householders signed one of

⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLVII (1777), 116n.

317
 Antony and Cleopatra.
 This fool Egyptian hath betrayed me.

Antony and Cleopatra.

[illegible]

Enter Cleopatra.

[illegible]

ed edition of Shakespeare. I

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Library.

1

*Die Max'schen Topischen before the
the limit - Σ d w q = r v s &c*

Donald's Vicg. Inter L. Ward.

i.e. to a very extent, adding to it term in heart
of Wood. Dr.

+ Mr. Wash. is not pleased to this reading & therefore
attends it to Dicks. 1.0 The things "Mr. Wash."
He, as we Admission here is to monition us not to
is shows it his plain & free words, for perist Demons
- has must mean for a least piece of money; we
must therefore read a next word Dicks, which
shows what he means by perist Demons here -
+ this reading of our Books ple. not without having
a hint from the old: Mr. W. gives us 6:3 and
seems to be taken by our Book from the old. Per
who says a little very learned in a very short
of 1844 to be Dicks. Appointed on 18 June
of 1844 to be a much older. But -

in this effect, defective, comes by cause ;
but it remains, and the remainder thus,
my God ----

are a daughter ; have, whilst she is mine,
be in her duty and obedience, mark,
she giv' n me this ; now gather, and furnish.

[He opens a letter, and reads.]
To the confidant, and my soul's idler, the most beautiful hottid.
Ophelia. That's an ill phrase, a vile phrase, beautiful is
not please ; but you shall hear --- These is her excellent frid. o st.

are ky, tho...

Que. Come this from Hamlet to her ?

An. Good Madam, stay a while, I will be faithful.

[Reading.]

Doubt thou, the stars are fire,

Doubt that the sun doth move ;

Doubt truth to be a liar,

But never doubt, I love.

Dear Ophelia, I am ill at these numbers ; I have no art ;

to sin my grammar ; but that I love thee best, oh most best,

swear it. Adieu.

Time exclaims, my dear Lady, whilst this

Machine is to him, Hamlet

is in obedience hath my daughter shewn me ;

oh, more above, hath his solicitings

they tell out by time, by means, and place,

all given to mine ear.

Arg. But how hath she receiv'd his love ?

Arg. What do you think of me ?

Arg. As of a roon, faithful and honourable.

Arg. I would (as I prove so. But what might you think ?

Arg. I have seen his love on the wing,

and I perceive it, I must tell you that,

but my daughter told me, what might you,

my dear Lady, your Queen here, think ?

I had play'd the desk or table-book,

even my heart a working, mute and dumb, and I, in my

book'd upon this love with idle fight,

what might you think I so, I went round to work,

And

Vol. IX.

+ m. Ward. receives & envelopes of Hamlet's.

+ i. e. Hamlet had every intelligence between
him, & been a confidant of his affairs [play] v.
Balk or Table [book] or had conceived it at it, oh
showed them in secret, without acquainting my son
with my discovery [I was my heart a minute I was
working] or lastly had been negligent in writing
it, they are or showed it to the book's keeper
mine with the sight [what was your case then]

these petitions; the aldermen and common councilmen of London signed another. George III was acquainted with Dodd, one of his former chaplains, and sincerely desired to pardon him, but his sense of justice prevented him.

Dodd spent much of his time after conviction writing his popular *Thoughts in Prison*, a poem which described his sufferings and repentance, and in preparing himself spiritually for death, apparently so well that John Wesley,⁶ when he visited him, was much edified by his conversation.

Dodd was hanged on June 27, 1777. He behaved well at the gallows. He was prepared for death but had so little enthusiasm for it that on the fatal day he wore a contrivance designed to take the pressure of the rope from his neck. The hangman was bribed to adjust the rope to Dodd's advantage and a heated carriage awaited to take him to a nearby house where a well known surgeon, Dr. Perceval Pott, awaited to attempt to revive him. But the crowd, most of them his friends, surged around the gallows to observe his death agonies and delayed his cutting down until it was too late. And so the chance of the publication of Dodd's edition of Shakespeare came to a definite end.

What kind of edition of Shakespeare would we have obtained had Dr. Dodd escaped detection in his forgery and had lived to publish it? We can make some deductions from Dodd's manuscript notes in the copy of Hanmer's 1747 edition of Shakespeare referred to above.

Dodd probably bought the nine-volume set while he was an undergraduate soon after its publication. He first began placing notes in the margins and between the lines. Probably after he began to prepare his edition, he had his set interleaved and rebound. With *Macbeth* in volume VIII he inserted Dr. Samuel Johnson's *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth . . . To which is Affixed Proposals for a New Edition of Shakespeare. With a Specimen*. London, E. Cave and J. Roberts, 1745.

On the interleaves Dodd added a number of notes, apparently a systematic series to serve as a basis for the notes of his edition, on the following plays: *The Tempest*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure*, *1 Henry IV*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*. Besides these plays he seems to have been working upon *Love's Labour's Lost* (for which he had notes down to III.iii) *As You Like It* (to I.ix) and *2 Henry IV* (to II.i). The remaining plays, though some like *Macbeth* had extensive notes on the margins, are without notes on the interleaves except a few erasable jottings added in pencil. In *Julius Caesar* (I.ii.84-85) Hanmer reads:

Were I a common laughter or did use
To stale with ordinary oaths my love.

Dodd noted that "laughter" seemed wrong and made a queried emendation in pencil on the interleaf: "Lauder." Not a bad conjecture, although Shakespeare does not use the word.

The selection of those plays annotated is curious. Although printing is said to have begun on the edition,⁷ annotation of the plays does not indicate any order that was to be followed.

Although there are notes on *The Tempest*, *Merry Wives* and *Measure for*

⁶ *Journal* (1827), IV, 99.

⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLVII (1777), 116n, 172.

Measure and *Love's Labour's Lost* and although *As You Like It* was apparently being worked upon, less progress had been made on the Comedies than would be expected if the edition had been intended to follow the traditional First Folio order of the plays. Though in his *Beauties of Shakespeare* Dodd excluded all the speeches of Sir John Falstaff, and all selections from *The Merry Wives*, he prepared notes for the latter play and for *1 Henry IV*, and he had begun work on the notes for *2 Henry IV*. He wrote notes upon the interleaves of about half of the tragedies, but these plays did not include *Macbeth*, in which he was interested and on which he had made earlier notes on the margins of the leaves, nor *King Lear*, the most popular Shakespearian play on the eighteenth-century stage.

The quality of the manuscript notes found on both the original leaves and the interleaves was adversely affected by Dodd's selection of an edition by Hanmer as the basis of his preliminary work. Unfortunately, too, in his notes, Dodd made most frequent reference to the edition of Warburton, whom he disliked and whose errors and follies he delighted to point out.

Occasionally Dodd attempted to justify a reading; he rejected the accepted reading of *Hamlet* (II.ii.45-46):

I hold my duty as I hold my soul
Both to my God and to my gracious king

And preferred that of the Folios:

I hold my duty as I hold my soul
Both to my God, one to my gracious king.

and argued for it in a long note.

But it would be tedious to wade through Dodd's annotations. Dodd's editorial policies, we can make a pretty shrewd guess, would not have differed greatly from his commentary on the Bible or on those passages selected for *The Beauties of Shakespeare*. A reviewer of his *Commentary on the Old and New Testament* wrote:

This work might more properly be stiled The Commentary of Commentators on the Old and New Testaments being the sentiments of many learned commentators collected into one.⁸

Dodd could have been expected to gather notes from the previous editors and to add them to his own. The edition would have probably shown good taste but would have been marred by haste. And the edition might have been a typographical monument, lavish, elegant, but marred by pretentiousness.

Of this unpublished edition of Dr. William Dodd there remain but nine volumes of notes carefully preserved in an underground vault in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Yet, strange to say, probably no edition of Shakespeare has had the effect upon human history that this unpublished edition has had, fatal to its editor.

To raise funds in order to publish this edition Dr. Dodd committed a forgery. To persuade the King to spare the popular preacher, Dr. Dodd, thousands of people petitioned for a reprieve. When George III refused a pardon,

⁸ *Gent. Mag.*, XLI (1770), 36.

these people, aroused, turned upon the terrible laws fixing one hundred and eighty crimes as capital which special interests had placed upon the statute books of England. The execution of Dr. Dodd for an illegal attempt to obtain money to publish this deadly edition of Shakespeare marks, in the opinion of a great authority on English criminal law, Dr. Leon Radzinowicz,⁹ the beginning of the great reform movement which abolished frequent capital punishment and changed English law from the most cruel in Europe to a model of mildness and justice.

The Folger Shakespeare Library

⁹ *The History of English Criminal Law* (London, 1946), I, 467-486.

had been robbed by his side, and I to pursue him by force.

*of-
!* P.H. You speak of him when he was less furnished,
; than now he is, with that which makes him both visible
and und-visible.

French. I have seen him in France: we had very many there, could behold the sun with his firm eyes as he, *Leak*. This matter of marrying his king's daughter, (whereas he must be weighed rather by her value, than his own,) words him, I doubt not, a great deal from the matter.

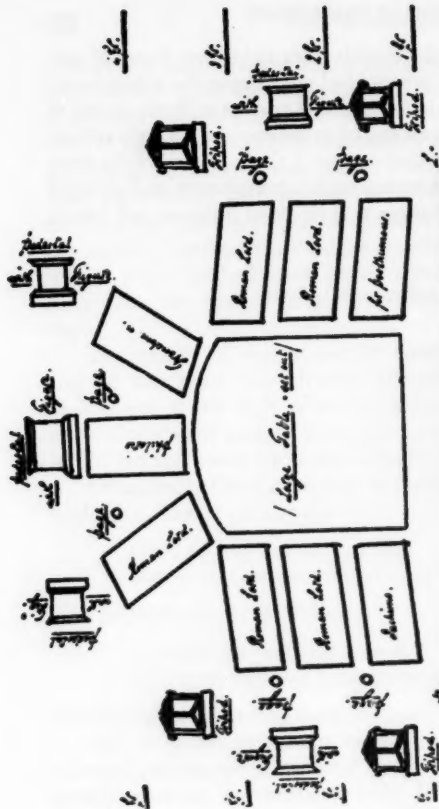
Frank. And thus his banishment:—
'Tush, Ay, and the approbation of them, that wrap
this lamentable divorce, under her odium, are ven-
turally to extend him; he is but to testify his judg-
ment, which also as my history might lay fail, for tak-
ing a bigger without more quality. But how comes
he, he is to measure with you? How comes conscience?

Water Potentillae. / $\frac{1}{2}$ ϕ

Here comes the Briton: Let him be so entertained amongst you, as suits with gentlemen of your knowledge to a stranger of his reality. I beseech you all, be better known to this gentleman, whom I commend to you, as a noble friend of mine. I love worthy be he, I will have to appear hereafter, rather than stay him in his own hearing.

French. Mr. van den Broek, teacher in Orland.

Q. Post. Since when I have been debtor to you for another, which I will be over to pay, and yet pay still.



The scene is an open fieldward or broad street, the hills of Rome seen in the distance. - all the characters [above] are entering each on a long streamer or each of about 12 ft. high at full length, - surrounding a very large and long table on which a splendid banquet is spread. - 3 days are in attendance on each cell, and each guest, - objects are placed about the table, in which measure is seen Rome. The whole embracing an idea of noble splendour and luxurious ease.

Φ / *philis* rise, and wine down to death.

© All your to birth!

Q / Phil goes back to his couch!

Going to couch, L. and bring down on it.

Stage setting in Charles Kean's prompt book of *Cymbeline*.

Sixteenth-Century Continental Stages

A. M. NAGLER



THE historian of the theater must regard the sixteenth century as an age of transition when he notices the existence, side by side, of the most diverse stage forms—the old medieval and the new Renaissance. And we cannot even say that, as the century progressed, the medieval multiple stage with mansions in juxtaposition was replaced by the Renaissance stage with its unity of impression. For while the finishing touches were being put on the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza in 1583, a two-day Passion Play was being staged in the center of Lucerne, which was a triumphant re-affirmation of medieval staging principles. Eventually, to be sure, the medieval had to make way, and the Renaissance principle emerged victorious, though this can hardly be said of the sixteenth century, this age of transition.

The medieval principle was reluctant to admit defeat. The masses still liked to have their hero's biography told as a continuum from the cradle to the grave,¹ and the essentially narrative material refused to shrink and to enter the new mold. Hence the complaint of the Dutch playwright, Cornelius Crocus, in 1535, when he wrote in the Preface to his *Joseph* drama: "It is impossible to tolerate that places which are widely separated are suddenly forced together on one stage, a thing which by itself is most absurd and has no precedent in antiquity."² Or the complaint of Scaliger, in his *Poetics* of 1561: "Nowadays they act plays in France in such a fashion that everything remains in full view of the audience. The whole scenic apparatus is set up on a high place. The characters in the play never leave the stage. Those who do not speak are presumed to be absent. It is highly ridiculous."³ And Philip Sidney's grievance voiced in 1583 about the "many days and places, inartificially imagined" with "Asia of the one side and Africa of the other, and so many other under-kingdoms that the player, when he comes in, must ever begin in telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived." Here we have three academic outbursts against the still-thriving medieval principle of staging.

Some sixteenth-century stages were frankly medieval, others had a definite Renaissance character, still others were what I would like to call hybrid stage forms, incorporating stylistically heterogeneous elements in contrast to the other stylistically pure stages. We must call the Teatro Olimpico as well as the Lucerne

¹ Cf. D. Frey, *Gothik und Renaissance* (Augsburg, 1929), *passim*.

² The Crocus passage is quoted in the original Latin in W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Halle, 1918), II^a, 96.

³ J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (Lyon, 1561), I, 21.

Passion stage stylistically homogeneous, the former High Renaissance, the latter High Gothic, and there were a few other pure stages, whereas the majority of stages represented compromises, being more medieval with Renaissance touches or more Renaissance tinged with medievalism.

We should not be surprised to find these compromises: even Leonardo da Vinci, who wrestled with the problem as a painter on the threshold of the Cinquecento, came out with a compromise solution, when he noted in his *Treatise on Painting*: "Why groups of figures one above another are to be avoided: this practice," he wrote, "which is universally adopted by painters on the walls of chapels, is by reason strongly to be condemned seeing that they represent one scene at one level with its landscape and buildings, and then they mount to the stage above this to represent another scene and so vary the point of sight from that of the first, and then make a third and a fourth scene in such a way that on one wall there are four points of sight, which is extreme folly on the part of such masters. We know that the point of sight is opposite the eye of the spectator of the scene, and if you ask how I should represent the life of a saint divided into several scenes on one end of the same wall, I answer to this that you must set the foreground with its point of sight on a level with the eye of the spectator of the scene. And on this plane represent the first episode on a large scale. And then by diminishing gradually the figures and buildings upon the various hills and plains you can represent all the events of the story. And on the rest of the wall up to the top you will make trees of sizes proportioned according to the figures or angels if these are appropriate to the story, or birds or clouds or similar things; otherwise do not put yourself to the trouble, for all your work will be wrong."⁴—Still the life of a Saint, but seen from one point of sight. This is the compromise. At any rate, no more tapestry-of-Bayeux technique!⁵ In painting, as in the theater, the spectators were not yet ready for the portrayal of a dramatic crisis, and nothing but the crisis, which we admire in Correggio's "Christ on the Mount of Olives."

I am going to list now a few publications which introduced the new ideas into the theater and which were to bring about the eventual change from the medieval to the Renaissance stage.

Looming large in the background is the figure of Leon Battista Alberti, who had made his fellow-humanists realize that the plays of the ancients were not written for recitation purposes but to be acted on a stage. This suggestion, however, remained vague until, in 1486, the first edition of Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture* was published. From the Fifth Book the humanists learned that the Greeks had had some sort of perspective painting in their theaters and that they could somehow manage to indicate changes of scenery by means of triangular prisms (*periaktoi*). Vitruvius also spoke of the three standard scenes which the Greeks employed, a stately one with palaces for tragedy, a middle-class one with inn and brothel for comedy, and a woodland scene with cottages for satyr plays. And turning from the Greeks to the Romans, Vitruvius gave a description of the Roman scenic façade (*scenae frons*), which

⁴I. A. Richter, ed. *Selections from the Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci* (The World's Classics, Vol. 530, Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 181.

⁵See Frey, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

every Roman playhouse had to have, and of the obligatory five doors in it through which the actors made their entrances and exits.

The next publication came in 1493, when the six comedies of Terence were published in Lyon. Jodocus Badius Ascensius had supervised the Latin text and had given instructions as to the type of woodcut illustrations to be used for each scene of every play. Badius was a native of Flanders where, in his youth, he must have seen performances of the Redereykers. At the age of 28, however, Badius made his pilgrimage to Ferrara, where he became a student of Battista Guarino. In 1491, we find him in Lyon, and two years later, his *Terence* was on the market. If Badius had merely edited the text of Terence's plays, historians of the theater would have ignored the event, but the illustrations selected by him to accompany the text stirred up a controversy and are still one of our foremost riddles. While the illustrations differ in minor details from play to play, there is a common scheme underlying all of them. Here are the decisive characteristics of the Badius stage: it is a platform with a background of four or five compartments which are closed by curtains and separated from each other by slender pillars, the latter forming an arcade. In the frieze above each curtain the name of the inhabitant of the house is inscribed. Characters who entered from the harbor or the forum came in by way of stairs at either end of the platform.

In 1502, Badius published another *Terence*, this time in Paris, and for this edition he wrote *Praenotamenta*, which are chiefly based on the Terence commentary of Aelius Donatus. In the section *De scenis et prosceniis*, Badius gave a definition of a Roman *palliata* stage. Here it is in translation: "Opposite the spectators were the scenes and the proscenium, the latter being the playing area in front of the scenes. The scenes themselves were 'shaded places' (*umbracula*) or hiding places (*absconsoria*), where the players remained hidden until their cues came. In front of these scenes was an inlaid wooden floor (*tabulata*) on which the characters acted after they had emerged."⁶

It is still a matter of dispute whether Badius' woodcuts and stage definition were based upon actual impressions which he may have received while watching a performance of a Roman comedy or whether his reconstruction sprang from his personal imagination, drawing its nourishment from Vitruvius, Aelius Donatus, and Alberti. The Badius stage is a true and homogeneous Renaissance stage. It owes its origin to scholarly research in antiquity, it is a classical reconstruction. It is a stage designed to be used for plays which subscribe to the Unity of Place. It is a definitely localized stage: its platform represents a street in front of certain adjoining houses. Moreover, it is a stage adjusted for off-stage action, as the characters must always leave for places where they cannot be seen and return to report on what has happened "behind the scenes." Finally, it is a stage which does not encourage the acting of interior scenes.

After this enumeration of the essential functions of the Badius stage the question arises: was this pseudo-*palliata* stage ever put to the test of an actual realization before an audience? According to our sources, it was used for the first time in Rome, in 1513, on the occasion of the festivities in connection with the conferment of Roman citizenship upon Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici. Rome had been an early center of Renaissance theatricals. Pomponius Laetus

⁶ For the original quotations from Badius in Latin see Creizenach, II², 6, Note 1.

and his circle had staged plays of Plautus in the 1490's. Tommaso Inghirami with his brilliant oratorical talent was the chief actor and, at the same time, the stage director of these classical revivals. In 1513, for the Medici festival, Inghirami staged Plautus' *Poenulus* on a temporary wooden stage, 90 feet long and 20 feet deep. In the back, the stage was terminated by a façade which, by means of four columns, was subdivided into five compartments. Each of the compartments, symbolizing the house of a citizen, had an entrance which was closed with a gold curtain. At both ends of the stage were side doors for the traffic to and from the forum and harbor respectively. Though no picture of the stage for this *Poenulus* revival has come down to us, we are on relatively safe ground for our reconstruction since we do have Palliolo's contemporary description of the Roman festivities.⁷ From the play itself we could draw a variety of conclusions as to the type of stage used. We might, for instance, be tempted to assume that a perspective set was employed, as by 1513 perspective sets had already been used for the Ferrara production of Ariosto's *Cassaria* and the Urbino production of Bibiena's *Calandria*, but Palliolo's eyewitness account prevents us from making incorrect assumptions.

The Roman *Poenulus* stage of 1513 was a pure Renaissance stage which came close, if not to the Badius woodcuts, at least to his definition of a *palliata* stage given in the *Praenotamenta*. We cannot be sure that this pseudo-*palliata* stage was used on other occasions. We know, for instance, that Konrad Celtis with his students performed comedies of Plautus and Terence in the Aula of the University of Vienna beginning in the winter of 1502-1503. For we read in Celtis' *Vita*: "*Primis comoedias et tragoedias in publicis aulis veterum more egit.*"⁸ He was the first, in Vienna at any rate, to perform ancient comedies and tragedies in public—after the manner of the ancients. But we have no specific information concerning the type of stage used, whether it resembled the Badius woodcuts or whether the ornateness of the Vitruvian *scenae frons* formed the background.

We are no less puzzled by the meager reports concerning the performance of Jodelle's *Cléopâtre captive* in 1552 before Henry II in the Hôtel de Rheims at Paris. An enigmatic reference tells us that this court performance took place with all the magnificence of apparatus attributed to the ancient stage (*magnifico veteris scenae apparatus*).⁹ Again, we cannot define the form of the stage, and if we turn to the play we get no help when we discover that today we would use no less than four different sets to stage Jodelle's tragedy.

In our search for evidence for the use of the Terentian stage we move to Utrecht, where Rector Macropedius was in charge of school theatricals. For such a school performance he may have written his *Asotus* (1537), a play which

⁷ For reconstructions of the stage on the basis of Paolo Palliolo's *Le Feste pel conferimento del patriziato romano a Giuliano e Lorenzo de' Medici*, see Janitschek, "Das Capitolinische Theater vom Jahre 1513," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, V, 259-270, and E. Flechsig, *Die Dekoration der modernen Bühne in Italien von den Anfängen bis zum Schluss des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Dresden, 1894), pp. 51-59.

⁸ Quoted in H. Rupprich, ed. *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis* (München, 1934), p. 611. For Celtis' theatrical activities see also H. Rupprich, "Das mittelältere Schauspiel in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft*, N.S., III (1943), 65-68.

⁹ Cf. G. Lanson, "Études sur les origines de la tragédie classique en France," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, X (1903), 421.

follows the Terentian pattern religiously. But once more we do not have any proof that Macropedius actually used the Badius stage.¹⁰

We are on somewhat safer ground, however, when we turn to Leipzig, where in the 1530's Rector Muschler produced a German translation of Terence's *Heccyra* in the City Hall. To be sure, we do not have any pictorial or other documentary evidence, but in turning to the Prologue we may catch a glimpse of the stage used for this occasion. The Prologue¹¹ was delivered by the Argumentator, who introduced the characters of the play in a parade and assigned definite stage-houses to them. Even in his list of *dramatis personae* Muschler grouped the characters according to the houses (called *Scen* in German) to which they belonged. Four persons are grouped around Laches, including his wife, son and two slaves. As the list of *dramatis personae* says: "These all belong into one house." The next group is formed by Phidippus, his wife and their daughter who, by the way, is not a character in the play at all, but was shown by Muschler to his Leipzig audience during the Prologue. These three characters belong in the house of Phidippus. The third house is occupied by the demimonde, consisting of Bachis, another prostitute, and the old bawd. The Prologue-speaker, when referring to the first group, said: "These five characters belong into one scene: *there* they are going to exeunt and enter." Of the second group the Prologue-speaker told his audience: "The three persons whom you see here belong into *this* house. Philomena, the daughter, to be sure, should be *there* [pointing to the first house], but her mother has taken her home." And, finally, pointing to the *meretrices*, he said: "Bachis is going to entertain her customers in *this* house." Three houses, then, were used; this much is certain. Were they on a platform? Were they arranged in a row, one next to the other, or somewhat dispersed? We do not know. Nor do we know whether they looked houselike or were more or less strongly stylized. But whatever the "scenes" looked like, they must have had entrances that could be closed, either by practicable doors or by curtains. For in II.ii, Phidippus, about to leave his house, calls back to his unseen daughter within. In III.i, noise is heard from inside the same house. Pamphilus and his slave are listening intently without, and the girl's mother is heard saying within: "Hush, my daughter, please!" Finally, Pamphilus, the girl's husband, enters the house, from which he emerges in the following scene quite shaken, telling us that his wife has given birth, though he, Pamphilus, could not possibly have sired the child, and he relates the conversation which has just taken place inside the house between him and his mother-in-law.

In the absence of any pictorial material we cannot ascertain the form of Muschler's stage, though its function¹² seems to be rather clear, and on this basis we may safely state that Muschler's Leipzig stage was a pure Renaissance stage, even if there may have been Gothic ornaments on the three houses. The proscaenium was localized as a residential street somewhere between the harbor and the downtown area of a Greek city. There were two exits required, one to

¹⁰ A. Schweckendieck, *Bühnengeschichte des verlorenen Sohnes in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 51-52, believes that *Asotus* was produced on a Terence Stage.

¹¹ Cf. Expeditus Schmidt, *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schuldramas und seiner volkstümlichen Ableger im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 125-126.

¹² In making this distinction I use the terminology suggested by E. J. Eckardt, *Studien zur deutschen Bühnengeschichte der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 1-4.

the harbor, the other to the market. And just as the proscenium was localized, the three houses were permanently assigned for the duration of the performance. No interior scenes were shown, though one was conveyed by acoustical means. This was the modern, anti-medieval stage, a true Renaissance stage, which could be realized in two ways: without illusionistic painting, following the Badius woodcuts, or with illusionistic perspective scenery, following the pattern set by Serlio's Comic Scene.

This brings up the subject of Sebastiano Serlio and the stage he built in the 1530's for the Academy in Vicenza. Judging from the three scenes designed by Serlio, we must call this Renaissance stage a stage of illusion—definitely localized as a street lined by palaces, or as a street enclosed by houses fit for citizens to live in, or as a woodland clearing. The face of Serlio's stage could not be altered in the course of the performance. It was functional only as a frame for plays that observed the Unity of Place. It was a pure Renaissance stage.

Due to its illusionistic character the Serlian stage had the potentiality of becoming fruitful for the future. What if designers should come along and abolish the static quality of the Serlian scene and devise methods whereby the face of the stage could be changed at a moment's notice? The intermezzi which began to fill the intermissions between the acts of legitimate plays clamored for such a possibility of *à vista* scene changes. Antiquity was once more invoked, and the *periaktoi* of the Greeks, the three-sided prisms revolving around a central pivot, were introduced, probably first by Vasari in Florence in the 1560's. And these rather unwieldy prisms were eventually to be replaced by flat wings, the *scena ductilis* of the ancients. With the rediscovery of the *periaktoi* and their ultimate replacement by flat wings we have reached the stage of illusionistic succession, that is to say, the extreme opposite of the multiple medieval stage of juxtaposition.

The Serlian stage has not survived, nor has any of the other pure Renaissance stages mentioned so far. But there is still extant today one pure Renaissance stage: Palladio's Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza. Here is no necessity for speculation at all. The playhouse was opened in 1584 with *Oedipus Rex*, directed by Angelo Ingegneri. The rectangular stage platform, 81' x 22', is enclosed on three sides by an ornamental façade, inspired by the Vitruvian *scenae frons*. Five openings in the stage walls allow the spectator to look into seven perspectively arranged streets, an addition made by Scamozzi. In short, a pure Renaissance stage designed for the revival of Greek tragedies.

To finish my section on pure stages I am turning now to a pure medieval stage of the sixteenth century, a stage realized in 1583 at Lucerne, in the central market square, today called the Weinmarkt. This two-day performance of the Passion Play is so well documented that we could re-stage the spectacle in Lucerne today, provided we got the cars off the streets. The stage director, Renward Cysat, left us detailed sketches showing the distribution of the mansions on both days. This typical multiple stage, with its dispersed mansions set in a market square, was truly an anachronism by 1583. Here in Lucerne, geographically widely separated places were crammed into a comparatively narrow stage area on whose periphery the houses, symbolizing these places, were in juxtaposition, and the spectators, as the story unfolded with narrative breadth,

had to focus now on this and now on that mansion or on the scenes enacted in the central area. This was the essence of theatrical medievalism.

I am turning now from the pure stages to some well-documented hybrid stages, which tried to strike a compromise between the old and the new.

The Valenciennes Passion stage of 1547 is usually cited as a chief example of medievalism. And yet, a comparison of the platform in Cailleau's miniature with the Lucerne space stage shows noticeable differences.¹³ The long rectangular Valenciennes stage, erected at one end of a courtyard, was faced by the audience from one side only, whereas in Lucerne the acting area was on three sides surrounded by spectators, each one having a special point of sight. Moreover, the Valenciennes stage was terminated in the rear by a painted back wall (cloth?). There were, to be sure, three-dimensional mansion structures set against this back wall, but there were also a number of openings in the wall through which the actors could make their entrances and exits. For instance, stage right there was a hall built as a pavilion, but next to it there was the Gate of Nazareth. Next to the temple mansion there was a gate inscribed Jerusalem, and there was still the *Porte dorée* not far from Hell Mouth. Thus in 1547 we find that the Renaissance was beginning to encroach upon the medieval, that the French were on the way to a compromise which used three-dimensional houses for those *loci* that served for interior scenes, whereas other *loci* were indicated by gates or openings in the back wall through which actors emerged and disappeared again.

What was still tentative and probably subconscious in 1547 in Valenciennes was fully developed by 1581 in Cologne, where we find another illuminating specimen of a hybrid stage. Here in Cologne, Rector Broelmann produced a *St. Laurentius* play, which he had written for a school performance, probably in competition with the school performances of the Jesuits.¹⁴ We have a colored drawing of the stage erected for *St. Laurentius* in the courtyard of a monastery. At first sight the Laurentius stage looks like a typical multiple mansion stage. On a platform thrown over some barrel heads 14 *loci* were erected. The prison is a practicable house. Another typical medieval *locus* is the mountain with a path leading to its summit. Other *loci* are more simply indicated, such as a chair with canopy as the seat for the Emperor, etc. Other *loci* are marked by openings in the green back cloth which encloses the stage on three sides. The Laurentius stage is an excellent example of a hybrid stage: it used dispersed *loci* and was in this respect medieval, but it adhered to the Unity of Place in that the stage represented ancient Rome, stage right the pagan Rome, stage left the Christian quarter of the city. Moreover, the green back cloth, which surrounded the proscenium on three sides, gave a formal concentration to the stage which we did not find in Lucerne at all, though we found the beginning of such a concentration in the painted back wall of Valenciennes. The Saint was tortured in Cologne in plain view of the audience, like Sainte Apolline on the famous Fouquet miniature, but the Emperor was slain off stage, and the event

¹³ For the following see H. H. Borchardt, "Der Renaissancestil des Theaters," *Die Ernte* (Essays in Honor of F. Muncker) (Halle, 1926), pp. 360-361.

¹⁴ An analysis of the *St. Laurentius* production is given by C. Niessen, *Dramatische Darstellungen in Köln von 1526 bis 1700* (Köln, 1917). Cf. also Borchardt, pp. 359-360, and Eckardt, pp. 65-66.

was reported, in true Renaissance fashion, in a messenger speech. The Laurentius play told the story of a Saint, but the author was so proud of his learning that he listed the 36 sources which he had used on gold-framed tablets hung on either side of the stage.

The picture of the Laurentius stage in Cologne is a good source, almost self-explanatory. Less satisfactory is the picture showing us the hall of the Petit-Bourbon in Paris during the performance of the *Ballet Comique* in 1581. But, fortunately, the man who had staged this French court masque, Balthasar de Beaujoyeulx, left us a description of the event,¹⁵ and his description answers some of the questions raised by the engraving. From the engraving we get the impression that the French court was treated to a medieval multiple setting, for there is a three-dimensional forest mansion for the god Pan to the right of the King, and another mansionlike structure, covered with billowing clouds, to the left of the King's dais (the latter structure being the music pavillon). In one respect the engraving is rather puzzling: we cannot make out what went on at the far end of the hall, opposite the King's seat. In turning to the printed libretto, we learn that there was a complete picture stage erected with a very elaborate setting, which was at first concealed by a front curtain which eventually dropped to the floor. This was the realm of the enchantress Circe. The stage was a platform, 21 feet wide in the front, one foot above the main floor of the hall in front, but sloping upward toward the rear, where it had a height of three feet. The setting itself was arranged in three successive planes.¹⁶ On the first plane, there was a formal garden with flower beds and fruitbearing trees. On the second plane were two plastic towers, one at each side of the stage; they were battlemented and decorated with streamers hanging from their tops. Between the towers were the (likewise three-dimensional) walls of the castle of Circe, and, in the center of the wall, the gate, in front of which Circe had her seat. Behind this plane of plastic set pieces (painted by the court painter Jacques Patin) was the perspective view of a city, with steeples, streets, and the surrounding fields in the distance. Shouldn't we, equipped with this knowledge gained from the description of the *Ballet Comique*, feel more comfortable when we read in the Accounts of the Revels Office those perpetual references to the painting of a "great cloth" and to "one city, one battlement of canvas"?

Let us appraise now the scenic elements that went into the making of the *Ballet Comique*. For this spectacle Beaujoyeulx used such medieval devices as the stationary mansion of Pan in combination with mobile chariots which were wheeled into the hall and out again. But Circe's garden, with castle and landscape in perspective, is a Renaissance element, and so is the sloping stage, and the curtain falling after the manner of a Roman *aulaeum*. Here is the Renaissance touch to an otherwise medieval pageantry with dispersed settings, though even this medievalism was already being transmuted by the classical references to pagan divinities.

The brief discussion of one more hybrid stage will bring us to the closing years of the century. In 1596, the pastoral, *Arimène*, by Nicolas de Montreuil was performed in Nantes. We have no pictorial material, but the author's

¹⁵ Balthasar de Beaujoyeulx, *Balet comique de la Roynie* (Paris, 1582).

¹⁶ Cf. the reprint of the libretto in P. Lacroix, *Ballets et mascarades de cour* (Genève, 1868), I, 25-27.

detailed description of the spectacle has survived.¹⁷ I summarize here the facts: the stage, 25' x 25', was, for the sake of perspective, one foot and a half higher in the rear than in the front. On each side of the sloping stage were two pentagons which could be revolved by the turn of a winch in the substage area. Each one of the five faces of the four pentagons was painted differently, corresponding to the five settings required by the play. Five settings then could be shown by turning what the Greeks would have called *periaktoi*, though their prisms were three-sided ones and not pentagonal. We have here the illusionistic Renaissance stage of succession, making use of a Greek device for scene-changing. In this respect, the *Arimène* stage is a pure Renaissance stage. But the author also tells us that at one side of the stage the grotto of the magician was shown and on the other side a rock from which the sorcerer could draw fire, water, and serpents. Evidently, these large set pieces remained in full view throughout the performance and even helped to mask off those faces of the pentagons which the audience were not as yet supposed to see. The grotto from which the demons emerged and the rocks from which fire and water were drawn could have been used on the Passion stage of Valenciennes for identical effects.¹⁸ They are medieval set pieces whose spirit clashed with the Renaissance stage of illusion and succession. Thus the *Arimène* stage is but another hybrid specimen of the sixteenth century.

So far we have been discussing stages for which there is pictorial or literary documentation, or both. But what about the hundreds of sixteenth-century plays on stages for which such evidence is not available? Here we move on treacherous ground and are forced to draw our conclusions as to the function and form of the stage from often chimerical stage directions, from so-called spoken decorations, from hints in the text and from prologues and prefaces. Such reconstructions are very unreliable and with all their ingenuity almost meaningless because one ingenious reconstruction can be wiped out by the next investigator's equally ingenious pipedream. The situation is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that we have, on the basis of the plays of Hans Sachs, two reconstructions¹⁹ of the Nuremberg Meistersinger stage, and the fight between the two schools of thought has raged for years, with no conclusion reached. This goes to say that we have been too rash to assume, merely on the basis of the texts, a definite form of the stage, where we should have been satisfied with the ascertainment of its function.²⁰

One more stage type needs to be considered, but in the absence of pictorial material we cannot expect to do more than hint at the, shall we say, Platonic idea of this stage. I mean the neutral stage of succession, which does not have the equipment for changing illusionistic, painted scenery, the stage of the people and not of an aristocratic coterie. Ordinary citizens could not afford to have play-houses erected which would rival the splendor of Italian court theaters. And yet, these citizens clamored to see stories enacted which burst wide open the confining form of the so-called Terence stage.

A century of religious strife demanded new religious themes. The Teren-

¹⁷ Cf. the "Au lecteur" of *Arimène* as cited in H. W. Lawton, "Note sur le décor scénique au XVI^e siècle," *Revue du seizième siècle*, XV (1928), 162.

¹⁸ As a matter of fact, they had been used in 1547.

¹⁹ A. Köster vs. M. Herrmann.

²⁰ Cf. Eckardt, p. 4.

tian possibilities of having illegitimate children bring trouble to neighboring families, and an unwitting father seeking consolation in the arms of a courtesan, were pretty soon exhausted. But there was the Bible demanding new exploration. Luther himself had drawn the attention of future dramatists to such subjects as Tobias, Judith, Esther, and Susanna; he had called the Book Judith "a good, serious, brave tragedy" and the Book Tobias "a fine, lovely, and god-pleasing comedy."²¹ And there were also the stories of the Prodigal Son, of St. John the Baptist and of Joseph, tales that had a medieval scope and sweep which defied the Unity of Place of the permanently localized pseudo-Terentian stage. The Prodigal Son had to be shown at home first and then abroad, and at home again. Joseph had to suffer in Canaan first and then in Egypt, and in Egypt he had to be shown not only in Potiphar's house but also in Pharaoh's throne room. The Badius stage would not do, and the other modern stage, the illusionistic, painted Renaissance stage of succession was, for financial reasons, not available to the middle-class playwright who wanted to tell the whole story. To be sure, there were dramatists who scaled down the stories and who reduced the Joseph-theme to a "Joseph in Egypt" and even to a "Joseph in the House of Potiphar." But this was not a satisfactory solution of the problem, not satisfactory, that is, to spectators trained in medievalism.

The answer to this was, scenically speaking, a neutral proscenium which could be de-neutralized by the lines of the actors and turned into a definite locality. A neutral proscenium where one could have, to speak in Sir Philip's terms, Asia on the one side and Africa on the other or, in terms of the Joseph story, Canaan here and Egypt there. We arrive at a neutral proscenium in front of whatever compartments, houses, or tents may have been erected in the rear. And when St. John stepped out from his station, regardless of whether it looked like a cave or not, the neutral proscenium in front was turned into a desert by the people who came to listen to the sermon. And when Herod stepped out from his station or was disclosed seated in it, the neutral area in front of it was transformed into the hall of Herod's castle.²²

We have no special name for this stage, unless we choose to call it the neutral stage of succession, but we know how it functioned: a basically neutral platform (or acting area) was successively, and temporarily only, localized, and those "scene changes" took place by means of spoken decorations, by implication, that is. It was a most flexible stage, for the houses, compartments, scenes, curtains, or tents on the stage could be reassigned by transferring their titles to other occupants in the course of the play. A stage like this also allowed for the acting of interior scenes, as in the example of Herod's throne room.

A word of warning may be given in passing. The text may call for an interior, but we have no guarantee that such an interior was actually realized within a compartment or inner stage. The Elizabethan stage direction "thrust out the bed" is perhaps an indication that, by pushing a bed out onto the stage, the area which had been a street before, after a moment of neutralization, would now become a bedroom without the help of an inner stage. How often may a table and some chairs thrust out on the platform have changed a neutral pro-

²¹ M. Luther, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Frankfurt und Erlangen, 1854), LXIII, 99.

²² Eckardt, pp. 19-20, cites as an example for this practice Johannes Aal's *Johannes Tragoedia*, performed at Solothurn in 1549.

scenium into the "interior of a tavern"? That sixteenth-century audiences were quite willing to accept this becomes clear from the Prologue to Joachim Greff's *Osterspiel* (1542), where the prologue-speaker gives the following explanation to the spectators: "What the Apostles are going to say, that you must understand as being said within the house, for we act it only outside for your convenience so that you may hear and see it here."²³ Here we have an interior scene but without the aid of an interior space. The only safe indication for the use of an inner stage for the enacting of an interior scene is the mentioning of curtains.

The sixteenth century also saw the emergence of the inner stage, when use was made of an interior three-dimensional space for the performance of an interior scene. A curtain was drawn disclosing a smaller stage on the main stage. During the enactment of the interior scene the players recognized the theoretical existence of a Fourth Wall which separated the inner stage from the proscenium. For the duration of the interior scene the proscenium was neutralized and, so to speak, devaluated. We find this situation in Jacob Gretser's *Lazarus*, produced in Freiburg in 1584.²⁴ In Acts I and II Lazarus is shown in bed on an inner stage which is opened and closed by means of curtains. At the beginning of Act III, while the inner stage remains closed, the angels walk with the soul of Lazarus across the proscenium, singing a hymn on their way to Limbo. In the meantime, the inner stage was set up as Limbo, and in III.viii, we find Lazarus on the inner stage again but this time he is in Limbo.

Gretser belonged to the first generation of Jesuit dramatists, and it seems that the Jesuits were chiefly responsible for developing the inner-stage technique. They even adopted a system of several inner stages, of curtained compartments in juxtaposition backing a neutral proscenium. This point of development was already reached in 1577, when the Jesuits staged a *Hester* play in Munich. The production required as many as four inner stages, each one permanently localized for the duration of the performance: the throne room, the king's apartment, the cubicle for the women, and the house of the villain. These four inner stages were interconnected by side entrances, which allowed for intercommunication between the cubicles. Again one feels inclined to point out that this was not a new invention, but another medieval heritage, for we have proof that a tripartite mansion was used in the Older Frankfort Passion Play (middle of the fourteenth century).²⁵ In Frankfort, one large mansion contained the castle of Herod, the apartment of Herodias, and the prison of John the Baptist. And yet, in case of the Jesuit practice, it seems to me that a new element had entered the picture: the respect for the Fourth Wall, which was maintained on the inner stages of the Jesuits, while the medieval actors in Frankfort did not recognize the existence of the Fourth Wall.²⁶ The Jesuit producers have become conscious

²³ Quoted in Schmidt, p. 151.

²⁴ For a discussion of the staging of *Lazarus* and *Hester* and the Jesuits' predilection for inner stages, see W. Flemming, *Geschichte des Jesuitentheaters in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 17-36.

²⁵ Cf. J. Petersen, "Aufführungen und Bühnenplan des älteren Frankfurter Passionsspiels," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LIX (1922), 107.

²⁶ Herod and Pilate walk right out of their mansions to meet one another halfway, as stage direction 207 of the Frankfort *Dirigierrolle* indicates: "*Herodes vero videns honorem a Pylato sibi impensum veniat ad eum et Pylatus in occursum ei.*" Cf. R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1891), Part II, p. 359.

of illusion and a more literal interpretation of reality on the stage, which, if you will, is but another Renaissance element which has transformed a seemingly medieval device.

Sixteenth-century audiences had a great variety of stage forms to choose from, though we may safely assume that the spectators did have certain predilections and favorite forms of more or less unworthy scaffold. Some were traditionalists who had not yet outgrown the Middle Ages and others were progressives riding the crest of the waves churned up by Aristotle and Vitruvius. And still others did not mind if the styles were mixed as long as they had an opportunity to enjoy the pleasures of mimetic action.

Yale University

The Use of the Upper Stage in *Romeo and Juliet*¹

RICHARD HOSLEY



HE traditional view seems clearly correct that the Elizabethan upper level was used in playing the two Window or Balcony scenes in *Romeo and Juliet* (II.ii and III.v.1-68).² But according to a current theory of Elizabethan staging, the upper stage was also used for presenting the Upbraiding (III.v.69-242), the Potion scene (IV.iii), and the Lamentation (IV.v).³

I should like to suggest⁴ that these three actions were not (and should not be) produced upon the upper stage. I assume an Elizabethan stage structure consisting of three acting areas. First, a "main stage" projecting into the yard of the theater and equipped with two doors. Second, an "upper stage" one story above the level of the main stage and connected with it by a stairway behind the back wall of the stage.⁵ And third, a "discovery space" which in some theaters may have been a curtained alcove or "inner stage" recessed in the back wall of the stage, but which in others (like the Swan, as observed by Johannes de Witt

¹ This paper was read at the Southeastern Renaissance Conference, Duke University, April 1954.

² Use of the upper level for II.ii is implied by the dialogue at lines 2 and 27 (but for my suggestion that Juliet enters at line 9 rather than at line 1 or 2 as in the received text, see "Juliet's Entrance," *TLS*, May 22, 1953, page 333); and its use for III.v.1-68 is indicated by the initial stage directions *aloft* in the Second Quarto and *at the window* in the First. I interpret Q2's *aloft* as a theatrical direction and Q1's *at the window* as a dramatic direction, both having the general sense of "on the upper level." Quotations are from the Praetorius facsimile of Q1 (1886) and the Shakespeare Association facsimile of Q2 (1949). References are to the act, scene, and line numbers of the Globe edition.

³ John Cranford Adams, "The Staging of *Romeo and Juliet*," *TLS*, February 15 and May 23, 1936, pages 139 and 440; "Romeo and Juliet as Played on Shakespeare's Stage," *Theatre Arts Monthly*, XX (1936), 896-904; *The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment* (Harvard University Press, 1942), pp. 273-274, 276, and 283-284; G. B. Harrison, *Introducing Shakespeare* (Mentor edition, New York, 1947), p. 64; *Shakespeare's Tragedies* (London, 1951), pp. 59 and 62; Ronald Watkins, *On Producing Shakespeare* (London, 1950), p. 33; Cécile de Banke, *Shakespearean Stage Production: Then & Now* (New York, 1953), p. 35.

⁴ As previously suggested by Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, Second Series (London, 1930), p. 24-25, 33 and note 2 (Princeton University Press edition, II, 318-319, 325 and note 22); "The Staging of *Romeo and Juliet*," *TLS*, February 22 and May 30, 1936, pp. 163 and 460; and George F. Reynolds, *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater 1605-1625* (New York, 1940), pp. 106 and 95, note 2a.

⁵ The question whether in some theaters there were obliquely placed bay windows flanking the upper stage is a complicated one into which I cannot enter, although I may point out that the existence of such "window stages" has been largely inferred from dialogue and is not supported by the contemporary graphic evidence. In any case, I exclude them from the present discussion because their existence would not materially affect the argument.

around 1596) must have been, as in contemporary street and court productions, a curtained "house" or "mansion" temporarily or permanently erected upon the main stage. My general view of the Elizabethan public theater can be further defined as about midway between the orthodoxy of John Cranford Adams⁶ and the iconoclasm of Leslie Hotson.⁷ In fact, it most nearly coincides with that recently proposed by C. Walter Hodges.⁸

I

The question whether the Upbraiding is played upon the upper stage (that is, whether the action of III.v continues upon the upper level after the lovers' Farewell in the second Window scene) can be clarified by approaching it from the point of view of the theatrical scene. At III.v.68, after Romeo has climbed down the rope ladder and left the main stage, the scene of the action changes from the exterior of Juliet's "window" and the "orchard" beneath it to a location inside the Capulet house, usually assumed to be Juliet's bedroom. In a film the transition of scene could be fluidly effected by having the camera approach the exterior of Juliet's window and pass through it into her bedroom; but in Elizabethan theatrical production matters are more complicated. The measure of the complication is suggested by the fact that in modern production on a proscenium-arch stage the director usually abandons the window's exterior and the orchard as his scene and represents instead, from the beginning of III.v, the bedroom's interior, with a door and window at the back or sides of the set.⁹ Thus at line 42, where in Elizabethan production Romeo leaves Juliet's bedroom as though from a window toward the audience and descends by a rope ladder to the main stage in view of the audience, in proscenium-arch production Romeo usually climbs through a back window away from the audience and disappears below its edge. Juliet (looking out the window away from the audience) then continues her dialogue with the off-stage Romeo until line 59, where the audience understands him to leave the orchard. I quote the relevant text from the "good" Second Quarto of 1599, an edition which was printed mainly from Shakespeare's "foul papers"¹⁰ and which is, therefore, the basis of modern editions:

⁶ *The Globe Playhouse*. For criticism of the "inner-stage" theory and other details of Adams' reconstruction, see Reynolds, *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays*, pp. 131-163; "Was There a 'Tarras' in Shakespeare's Globe?" *Shakespeare Survey*, 4 (1951), pp. 97-100; and C. Walter Hodges, *The Globe Restored: A Study of the Elizabethan Theatre* (London, 1953), pp. 51-65.

⁷ "Shakespeare's Arena," *The Sewanee Review*, LXI (1953), 347-361 (reprinted in *The Atlantic Monthly*, CXIII, 1954, 62-66). Although I share Hotson's distrust of the inner-stage theory and his enthusiasm for staging most of the action at the front of the main stage, it seems to me he overstates his case against the limited use of a permanent upper stage like the one depicted in the "de Witt" drawing of the Swan Theater.

⁸ *The Globe Restored*. Hodges' views are generally supported by Reynolds, *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays*; and by William F. Rothwell, *Methods of Production in the English Theater from 1550-1598* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1953).

⁹ An example was the New York production of 1951, starring Olivia de Havilland and staged by Peter Glenville. This method of staging also avoids use of the rope ladder, a clumsy business which unfortunately tends to excite laughter in modern audiences.

¹⁰ E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), I, 341; W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1942), p. 61. The term "foul papers" may be defined as the author's last draft of the text before its transcription as a "fair copy" or the promptbook. The promptbook of *Romeo and Juliet* was probably transcribed directly from the foul papers, although it may have been transcribed from a fair copy itself transcribed from the foul papers. The important point in either case is that Q2 gives us a text of our play *before* production.

- Rom.* And trust me loue, in my eye so do you:
Drie sorrow drinke our blood. Adieu, adieu. 59
- Exit.*
- Iu.* O Fortune, Fortune, all men call thee fickle,
If thou art fickle, what dost thou with him
That is renowned for faith? be fickle Fortune:
For then I hope thou wilt not keepe him long,
But send him backe. 64
- Enter Mother.*
- La.* Ho daughter, are you vp? 65
- Iu.* Who ist that calls? It is my Lady mother.
Is she not downe so late or vp so early?
What vnaccustomd cause procures her hither? 68
- La.* Why how now *Juliet*?
Iu. Madam I am not well. 69
- La.* Euermore weeping for your Cozens death? . . .

Juliet speaks her soliloquy on Fortune (lines 60-64), after which the Mother, knocking at the door, calls her from off stage (line 65). Juliet answers and speaks her soliloquy of surprise (lines 66-68); and at line 68 (rather than at line 64 as in Q2) the Mother enters by the door "to" Juliet in her bedroom, where the Upbraiding is then played. This "modern" method of staging (which descends from the "Garden Scene" of the Restoration and 18th century¹¹) is apparently assumed in most editions of *Romeo and Juliet*, where the Mother is directed to speak line 65 from off stage and where her actual entrance is delayed until line 68.¹²

Let us now turn to the problem of staging III.v in an Elizabethan public theater, where the scene must change from the exterior of Juliet's window in the Farewell to the interior of her bedroom in the Upbraiding. The staging is clear in the "bad" First Quarto of 1597, a memorial reconstruction of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* made by players who were more or less familiar with the promptbook version of Shakespeare's company.¹³ As in Q2, Romeo, who has descended from the upper stage by means of the rope ladder at line 42, leaves the main stage at line 59, at which point Juliet is still on the upper stage as though at her window. I quote the relevant Q1 text:

- Rom:* And trust me Loue, in my eye so doo you,
Drie sorrow drinke our blood: adieu, adieu. *Exit.* III.v.59

¹¹ See Hazelton Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved* (Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 295; and A. C. Sprague, *Shakespeare and the Actors* (Harvard University Press, 1944), p. 308.

¹² The editorial tradition originated with Capell (1768). Some editors who adopt the tradition may assume that the Mother enters on the upper stage, the scene of which thus changes at line 68 from the window's exterior to the bedroom's interior; and therefore that the action of III.v continues upon the upper stage.

¹³ Chambers, I, 341-345; Greg, pp. 62-64; H. R. Hoppe, *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (Cornell University Press, 1948). The important point is that Q1 (although printed two years earlier than Q2) represents our play *after* production and therefore may reflect production alterations necessary to stage the foul-papers text (represented by Q2) in an Elizabethan public theater. This modern view that Q1 represents *Romeo and Juliet* at a later stage of its textual history than Q2 is, incidentally, the opposite of that necessarily assumed by those scholars who have, in the past, erroneously assumed Q1 to represent an early draft of the text later printed as Q2. In my edition I call attention to evidence suggesting that the Q1 text derives from that of Q2 and therefore that it cannot represent an early draft of the Q2 text (*The Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet*, Yale University Press, 1954, page 166, note 6).

<i>Enter Nurse hastily.</i>	
<i>Nur:</i> Madame beware, take heed the day is broke,	40
Your Mother's comming to your Chamber, make all sure.	39
<i>She goeth downe from the window.</i>	
<i>Enter Iuliets Mother, Nurse.¹⁴</i>	
<i>Moth:</i> Where are you Daughter?	I.iii.1
<i>Nur:</i> What Ladie, Lambe, what <i>Iuliet</i> ?	3-4
<i>Iul:</i> How now, who calls?	5
<i>Nur:</i> It is your Mother.	5
<i>Moth:</i> Why how now <i>Iuliet</i> ?	III.v.69
<i>Iul:</i> Madam, I am not well.	69
<i>Moth:</i> What euermore weeping for your Cosens death: ...	

A controlling factor in staging the transition of scene is that the action must shift from the upper to the lower level, in accordance with the direction *She goeth downe from the window*.¹⁵ Directly after Romeo's exit, Juliet leaves the upper stage at about the same time that the Nurse enters below by one of the doors to the main stage,¹⁶ the scene of which now changes from the orchard to a location outside the door of Juliet's bedroom, represented by the discovery space or by the second door to the main stage. As the Nurse delivers the Warning, Juliet is descending the stairway behind the back wall of the stage. The Mother then joins the Nurse on the main stage. She and the Nurse each call Juliet once (lines 1 and 3-4); and Juliet, as though from her bedroom, answers once from off stage (line 5a). The Nurse speaks another short line (5b), after which Juliet, having descended the stairs, either is revealed within the discovery space or re-enters to the Nurse and the Mother by the second door to the main stage or by passing through the curtains of the discovery space; and at this point the scene of the main stage presumably changes from a location outside Juliet's door to one inside her bedroom. The remainder of III.v is then played upon the main stage or upon the main stage in conjunction with the discovery space. According to this method of staging the transition of scene, Juliet's descent is "covered" by the two full lines of the Warning and by four further short speeches which, with the addition of appropriate stage business, can occupy rather more (if desirable) than the eight or ten seconds necessary for the descent.¹⁷ The clear advantage of this method of staging over continuing the action upon the upper

¹⁴ I interpret this reading as an erroneous duplication of the Nurse's designation in her earlier entrance. Adams, however, has interpreted it as suggesting that the Nurse, having briefly appeared at a "window stage" to warn Juliet, re-enters with the Mother on the upper stage (TLS, 1936, p. 139).

¹⁵ That *goeth downe* is here used in the general sense of "descends from the upper to the lower level" rather than that of "leaves" (as Adams has suggested, TLS, 1936, p. 139), is suggested by the use of the term in the earlier Q1 direction for Romeo's descent from the upper to the lower level: *He goeth downe* (III.v.42). In *The Globe Playhouse* Adams makes no use of the Q1 direction for Juliet's descent.

¹⁶ I assume that the Nurse enters on the main stage primarily because her appearance on the upper stage at this point would involve an otherwise unnecessary descent for which there is scant time (one short line by the Mother) before her next speech on the lower level; and also because it would delay Juliet's descent until after the Warning is delivered, thus shortening the time available for Juliet's descent by two full lines.

¹⁷ The figure is derived from the 1954 production by the Virginia Players on a replica Elizabethan stage as reconstructed by Adams in *The Globe Playhouse*. In this production (directed by Professor John A. Walker of the University of Virginia) Juliet re-entered by the second door to the main stage.

level is that the balance of III.v (174 lines in Q2) can now be performed at the front of the main stage, where the audience will have unobstructed view of the action, where the players can easily achieve and maintain audience contact, and where there will be ample space for the stage movements involved in the Upbraiding.¹⁸ There is, incidentally, a close analogue to Juliet's descent in *The Merchant of Venice*, where Jessica descends from the upper to the main stage during seven lines of covering dialogue by Gratiano and Lorenzo (II.vi.51-57); and an even closer analogue occurs in *Richard II* where, after Richard's descent from the "walls" of Flint castle during three lines of covering dialogue by Bolingbroke and Northumberland (III.iii.184-186), the scene of the main stage changes from a locality outside the castle walls to the "base court" within them.

Let us now consider the Elizabethan staging of the transition of scene in Q2. (The relevant text is printed on page 373 above.) Again a controlling factor is that the action must shift from the upper to the lower level in accordance with the Q1 direction for Juliet's descent.¹⁹ At line 64 the Mother enters by one of the doors to the main stage, the scene of which now changes from the orchard to a location outside Juliet's door. The Mother calls Juliet (line 65), and Juliet addresses the Surprise soliloquy to the audience (lines 66-68). Juliet then leaves the upper stage, descends to the lower level, and (as in Q1) either is revealed within the discovery space or re-enters to the Mother by the second door to the main stage or by slipping through the curtains of the discovery space; and at this point the scene of the main stage again changes from a location outside Juliet's door to one inside her bedroom. One objection, however, to thus shifting the action of Q2 from the upper to the lower level is that at line 68 (because of the absence of any covering dialogue) there will be an awkward pause in the action during the eight or ten seconds of Juliet's descent. And another objection is that during the four lines of the Mother's call and Juliet's Surprise soliloquy (65-68) the upper stage will represent a locality (the exterior of Juliet's window) scenically unrelated to the locality of the main stage (a location inside the house in front of Juliet's door)—a situation which apparently recurs nowhere else in Shakespeare nor in any of the Red Bull plays examined by George F. Reynolds in his book on Elizabethan staging.²⁰ I am forced to conclude that the Q2 text

¹⁸ A corollary to this advantage is the disadvantage of producing the Upbraiding upon the upper stage, where the audience would have an imperfect view of the action and where the players would not only find difficulty in maintaining audience contact but would also have inadequate space in which to move about. These practical objections thus support the Q1 shift of action from the upper to the lower level; and if we did not have evidence for Juliet's descent in the Q1 stage direction, they could be urged as an argument against use of the upper stage for the Upbraiding. (They will be advanced below in discussion of the Potion scene and the Lamentation.)

¹⁹ The staging indicated by this direction is that either of Shakespeare's company or of a hypothetical group of players using the memorial reconstruction (in which case the report must have been made for the purpose of providing a theatrical promptbook rather than printer's copy). Thus, in the one case, if the Q1 direction derives directly from a Shakespearian production, the staging which it suggests is clearly authentic; and, in the other, if the direction derives from production by a group of players other than Shakespeare's company who may have called the report into being, we may assume that their use of a descent at this point probably agreed with the staging of Shakespeare's company.

²⁰ Reynolds concludes that the upper stage was always used in connection with the stage below (*The Staging of Elizabethan Plays*, p. 105). In the present case, if we assume the Q2 entrance by the Mother at line 64 to be in error, the objection could be obviated by delaying her entrance till line 68 when Juliet leaves the upper stage, the Mother speaking line 65 from off stage; but there would still be no dialogue to cover the descent.

of the transition is theatrically defective in these two respects. Its defectiveness should not, however, be surprising when we recall that Q2 was printed from a pre-production manuscript—Shakespeare's foul papers, from which the official promptbook was ultimately derived. Undoubtedly Shakespeare intended the action of III.v to shift from the upper to the lower level, but apparently in writing out his foul papers he either failed to visualize the staging problem posed by the transition of scene or left the details of staging to be worked out in rehearsals and incorporated in the promptbook. It is impossible, of course, to reconstruct the promptbook text of the transition, but one or two of its features can be conjectured from variations between the texts in Q2 and Q1.

There are four main differences:

- (1) Juliet's Fortune soliloquy (lines 60-64) is omitted from Q1.
 - (2) In Q1 the Nurse's Warning stands directly after line 59 rather than at lines 39-40 as in Q2.
 - (3) Juliet's Surprise soliloquy (lines 66-68) is omitted from Q1.
- And (4) four lines from the beginning of I.iii stand in Q1 directly after the Warning.

Of the four variations, two are probably memorial errors by the Q1 reporter, namely (1) the omission of the Fortune soliloquy and (4) the duplication of lines which appear in both editions at the beginning of I.iii.²¹ The shift of the Warning (2) may reflect a promptbook adaptation to help cover Juliet's descent, but it may equally well be due to a memorial error. I incline to the latter view, since transposition of the Warning is not essential to staging the transition and since the Nurse's interruption of the Farewell at lines 39-40 (echoing the interruptions of II.ii) is very effective theater and would therefore presumably have been retained if at all possible. But the omission of the Surprise soliloquy (3) quite probably reflects a deliberate promptbook cut, for its elimination from Q2 is essential to staging the transition in an Elizabethan public theater.²² Its elimination has two practical effects. First, it prevents use of the upper stage to represent a locality scenically unrelated to that of the main stage, the scene of which will now remain the orchard only until Juliet's exit above at line 64 when, upon the simultaneous entrance of the Mother below, the scene of the main stage changes to a location outside Juliet's door. And second, elimination of lines 66b-68 transforms into covering dialogue both the Mother's speech at line 65 ("Ho daughter, are you vp?") and Juliet's at line 66a ("Who ist that calls?")—if the latter, interpreted as dialogue rather than soliloquy, is spoken (as it now can be) from off stage during the descent in answer to the Mother's call. If combined with appropriate stage business such as knocking and listening, these

²¹ Since the Fortune soliloquy (lines 60-40) gives Juliet a theatrically effective exit, functions as a transitional "buffer" between Romeo's exit and the Mother's entrance, and does not hinder the smooth staging of the transition, I infer that its omission from Q1 is probably due not to a promptbook cut but to the Q1 reporter's memorial error. The four short speeches from the beginning of I.iii provide useful covering time for the descent, but since they duplicate lines which appear in both texts at I.iii.1-5, they are probably the Q1 reporter's erroneous substitution for the lines in Q2 (65-66a or these lines in combination with 37-38) which may have served the same end in the promptbook.

²² Adams has suggested that the function of the Surprise soliloquy is to give Juliet time in which to pull up and hide the rope ladder (*TLS*, 1936, p. 139; *The Globe Playhouse*, pp. 273-274), but the ladder can be more easily disposed of by Juliet's earlier dropping it to Romeo, who carries it off stage at line 59.

two lines will permit the Mother to hold the audience's attention during the eight or ten seconds necessary to cover Juliet's descent; but if more spectacle is required for that purpose, the Nurse can enter mute just before the Mother at line 64 (rather than at line 126 with Capulet) and provide additional covering time by performing such comic stage business (for example) as yawning and pulling herself together.²³ In either case the descent and transition of scene can be staged without a pause in the action.²⁴

II

In the case of the Potion scene and the Lamentation (IV.iii and IV.v), the early stage directions give no indication which level is in use. (Since both actions require the stage property of a bed, I assume they must both be played upon the same stage.) However, there are a number of objections to use of the upper stage.²⁵ One is simply the trouble of moving a property bed to and from the upper level. Another is the excessive distance of the upper stage from the audience—always an objection but especially one in IV.iii, since the Potion soliloquy is most effectively spoken toward the front of the main stage in close contact with the audience. Another is the poor visibility, because of the balustrade and limitations of sight-lines from the theater yard and surrounding galleries, of action which must necessarily be performed back within the alcove of the upper stage (as we see it in the Swan drawing) rather than, as in the two Window scenes, at the front edge of the upper stage. Still another objection is the limited playing area of the upper stage for, if we may assume that the action of III.v shifts from the upper to the lower level partly for lack of space to accommodate the four actors of the Upbraiding, it is evident that the action of the Lamentation, involving five actors and a sixth reclining on a bed, cannot effectively be performed upon the upper stage. And a final objection is that at the end of IV.iv

²³ The Nurse's entrance mute at line 64 may well have been a promptbook adaptation which influenced the Q1 reporter in his erroneous transposition of the Warning. Of the three possible methods of staging the transition (entrance of the Mother alone, entrance of the Mother and the mute Nurse, and entrance of the Mother and the Nurse speaking the Warning), the second proved most effective in the 1954 production by the Virginia Players, for it alone fully satisfied the two main desiderata of holding the audience's attention during the descent and of retaining the Warning at its original location. (The Warning was delivered from off stage.)

²⁴ A difficult final problem is how (in a manner consistent with Elizabethan staging) to indicate the descent and transition of scene in editions of *Romeo and Juliet*. P. A. Daniel (1875) introduces the Q1 direction *She goeth downe from the window* to his text after line 64, retaining Capell's shift of the Mother's entrance to line 68; whereas in my edition I retain the Q2 entrance by the Mother at line 64 and introduce the Q1 direction after line 68. However, a more satisfactory solution of the problem might well be for the editor to introduce the Q1 direction to his text after line 64, retaining the entrance by the Mother at that point and removing from the text the two and a half lines of the Surprise soliloquy (66b-68) as the director in the Elizabethan mode is forced to do. The eliminated lines could then be added to the text in a proscenium-arch production representing the interior of the bedroom from the beginning of III.v. It is ironic that the foul-papers text of the transition requires adaptation for Elizabethan production but not for a "modern" one.

²⁵ Use of the upper stage for IV.iii and IV.v might result in some such staging as follows: after IV.iii is played upon the upper stage, Capulet, on the main stage at the end of IV.iv, "orders the Nurse to go and waken Juliet. She passes through the curtains of the inner stage and reappears on the upper stage [IV.v], drawing back the curtains as she calls to Juliet" (Harrison, *Shakespeare's Tragedies*, p. 62). Then "The Nurse, by Juliet's bed on the balcony, is joined by Capulet and Lady Capulet. Friar Laurence and Paris arrive below and then go up to the balcony, leaving Peter and the Musicians below" (de Banke, *Shakespearean Stage Production*, p. 35). And finally the Nurse, after closing the curtains of the upper stage from in front, "leans over the balcony to address a few words to the musicians" (Harrison, *loc. cit.*).

the action will suffer a pause of eight or ten seconds (especially awkward in view of Capulet's injunctions for haste) while the Nurse ascends from the lower to the upper level to play IV.v. Neglect of this last objection may be in part due to an error in the received text, for editors generally follow Theobald (1733) in directing the Nurse as well as Capulet off stage at the end of IV.iv, only to have her re-enter immediately at the beginning of IV.v. In both Q2 and Q1, however, there is no break in the continuity of action between these two "scenes." In the relevant Q2 text (with which Q1 substantially agrees) Capulet calls the Nurse, the Nurse enters, Capulet leaves the stage, and the Nurse begins to waken Juliet:

Nurse, wife, what ho, what Nurse I say? IV.iv.24
Enter Nurse.
 Go waken *Juliet*, go and trim her vp,
 Ile go and chat with *Paris*, hie, make haste,
 Make hast, the bridgroom, he is come already, make hast I say. 28
Nur. Mistris, what mistris, *Juliet*, fast I warrant her she, . . . IV.v.1

It seems clear that in order to perform the action of waking Juliet without pause, the Nurse must reveal her in the discovery space at the beginning of IV.v; and therefore the modern editor should follow Rowe (1709) in directing only Capulet off stage at IV.iv.28 and not reproduce the misleading scene break of the editorial tradition.

If these objections preclude use of the upper stage for the Potion scene and the Lamentation, Act IV of *Romeo and Juliet* illustrates the occasional possibility in Elizabethan staging of alternating action between the main stage and the discovery space. Scene ii of that act, in which Juliet pretends to acquiesce in Capulet's plan for her marriage, is played upon the main stage. At IV.ii.37 Juliet and the Nurse leave the stage to sort "needfull ornaments" for the morrow. Ten lines later, at the end of IV.ii, Capulet and the Mother also leave the stage, and Juliet and the Nurse are immediately revealed within the discovery space at the beginning of IV.iii. During this scene Juliet and the Nurse "flow out" from the discovery space to the main stage, where Juliet delivers the Potion soliloquy in close contact with the audience. Toward the end of the scene, however, she retires to the discovery space where, according to the Q1 stage direction, *She fals vpon her bed within the Curtaines*. The curtains of the discovery space are then closed so that IV.iv may be performed upon the main stage. At the end of IV.iv Capulet goes off stage, leaving the Nurse alone on the main stage. She immediately opens the curtains of the discovery space where Juliet, at the beginning of IV.v, is revealed upon the bed where she had fallen at the end of IV.iii. The Lamentation is then played upon the main stage in conjunction with the discovery space, in order to provide adequate playing area for the actors who successively enter during the remainder of the scene—the Mother at IV.v.16, Capulet at line 21, and Paris and the Friar at line 32. At line 95, according to the Q1 stage direction, *They all but the Nurse goe foorth, casting Rosemary on her and shutting the Curtens*; and the Musicians enter on the main stage for their scene with Peter.²⁸ The Nurse leaves the stage a moment later at line 101.

²⁸ For my suggestion that the Musicians enter as in Q1 at IV.v.95 rather than at IV.v.32 as in the received text, see "A Stage Direction in *Romeo and Juliet*," *TLS*, June 13, 1952, p. 391.

III

If the foregoing interpretations are correct, it is clear that in the two Window scenes of *Romeo and Juliet* (II.ii and III.v.1-68) the upper stage was used in conjunction with the main stage to represent the exterior of an upper-story window and the orchard immediately beneath it; and it is further clear that in the Upbraiding, the Potion scene, and the Lamentation (III.v.69-242, IV.iii, and IV.v), the upper stage was not (as various scholars have alleged) used for Juliet's bedroom, which was rather represented by the main stage or by the main stage in conjunction with the discovery space. These conclusions raise the question of the general function of the Elizabethan upper stage. Concerning that function there are two theories now current which may conveniently be termed "exterior" and "interior." The exterior theory (of which Harley Granville-Barker was an exponent) is that the upper stage was generally used only in conjunction with the main stage to represent exterior scenes such as the upper-story window of a house or the walls of a city or castle and the area immediately below.²⁷ And the interior theory (of which John Cranford Adams is the author) is that the upper stage was also occasionally used, in disjunction with the main stage, to represent such domestic interiors as would normally have been located on the upper stories of Elizabethan houses.²⁸ I shall discuss these theories further in an article on Shakespeare's use of the Elizabethan upper stage. However, on the basis of the present study the interior theory can be tentatively rejected for, if it were correct, the action of III.v in *Romeo and Juliet* would have continued upon the upper stage after the lovers' Farewell; but apparently the action shifted from the upper to the lower level with the change of scene from an exterior to an interior locality.

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²⁷ Granville-Barker: "The upper stage is primarily a 'practicability,' a balcony or a city wall or something of the kind; and it is not likely to be used except in relation to some scene on the lower stage. Only the people in the upper gallery (that is to say about one quarter of the audience) will have seen over the balustrade. This would doubtless be lightly built; an obstruction nevertheless, and it would have obstructed the view from the centre gallery. From below, balustrade or no, the view of any action taking place more than a few feet from the edge would necessarily be poor. The upper stage might be the same size as the inner stage below it; but from this the actors could step out on the main stage. To the upper stage they would be strictly confined. On all accounts they would not needlessly locate scenes there" ("The Staging of *Romeo and Juliet*," *TLS*, May 30, 1936, p. 460).

²⁸ Adams: "... an upper stage similar to the study below first made its appearance early in the last decade of the sixteenth century. This was the last major unit to be added to the Elizabethan multiple stage. Prior to its introduction all interior scenes had to be laid in the study, despite the fact that most London citizens utilized the ground floor of their houses for shops and had their living quarters above. The development, therefore, on the second level of the tiring-house of a sizable curtained stage which could be prepared in advance as a living room, a bed- or dressing room, a private room in a tavern, and so forth, enabled dramatists to reflect London life with greater fidelity. In general after 1595 such scenes as would in reality have taken place in some room on the second level of an Elizabethan dwelling, tavern, prison, or palace were presented above" (*The Globe Playhouse*, p. 275).



Costume for Iachimo in C. Kean's *Cymbeline*, derived "from a Bas Relief,—Florence."

A Probable Source for Shakespeare's Sonnet CXXIX

DOUGLAS L. PETERSON



ALTHOUGH Shakespeare's *Sonnet CXXIX*, "Th' expense of spirit in a waste of shame," has been praised highly as a profound treatment of the enslavement of reason and will by lust, a careful reading of the poem has led me to suspect that Shakespeare was perhaps more interested in the assiduous cultivation of certain modes of sentence and word variation than he was in what constituted a commonplace theme throughout the literature of the Renaissance. That the sonnet displays unmistakable signs of Shakespeare's technical mastery cannot be questioned; but it offers little that is actually original. It is comprised of aphorisms for which numerous parallels can be cited from the works of his contemporaries, and it employs in several instances a kind of amplification which can be justified only in terms of rhetorical effect. In short, there is good reason to suspect that the sonnet is the embodiment of an intention expressly rhetorical and that Shakespeare's interest in the theme was subordinate to that intention.

I propose a source for the sonnet which would substantiate such a view. There appears in the third book of Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1560) a passage which outlines the main grammatical schemes employed and which seems very likely to have determined both the structure and theme of the poem.¹ There is, as Hardin Craig has shown in "Shakespeare and Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*," no conclusive proof that Shakespeare ever borrowed from the *Arte of Rhetorique*; but even Mr. Craig admits that Shakespeare, a professional dramatist, would almost certainly have read with considerable care a popular contemporary work having so direct a bearing on his own art.² The indications of a direct borrowing in the present instance are, moreover, generally more convincing than those which Mr. Craig views with legitimate scepticism. The passage offers similarities to the sonnet that are both numerous and clear-cut.³

¹ Edited by G. H. Mair (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. 202-205.

² *SP*, XXVIII (October, 1931), 86-98.

³ Previous attempts to locate a source for the sonnet have been unconvincing. Gerald Massey believes that Sidney's Arcadian sonnet, "Thou blind man's mark, thou fools self-chosen snare," was Shakespeare's source of inspiration, arguing that Shakespeare had imitated Sidney in his earlier sonnets and that again in this instance "the theme was Sidney's first": *The Secret Drama of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London & Bungay: Richard Clay & Sons, Ltd., 1888), pp. 235-236. But the theme had been a Christian commonplace since Augustine. Alfred Noyes believes the sonnet to be a summary recapitulation of ideas further developed in *The Rape of Lucrece* and that it was modeled upon the hundred and second and hundred and third stanzas of that poem: "The handling of words, the

Wilson's treatment of sentences "like among themselves" discloses parallels both structural and thematic:

Sentences are called like when contraries are set together, and the first taketh asmuch as the other following: and the other following taketh as much awai, as that did which went before. As thus. Lust hath overcome shamefastness, impudence hath overcome feare, and madnesse hath overcome reason.

The opening line and a half of the sonnet comprises a close parallel to "Lust hath overcome shamefastness":

Th' expense of spirit in a waste of shame
Is lust in action;

and lines six through ten are an amplification of "madnesse hath overcome reason":

Past reason hunted, and no sooner had
Past reason hated, as a swallowed bait
On purpose laid to make the taker mad;
Mad in pursuit, and in possession so;
Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme.

Moreover, Shakespeare has cast the opening line in the antithetical form (which, incidentally, is manifest throughout the sonnet) precisely as it is defined and illustrated by Wilson. Likewise, the second type of sentences "like among themselves" furnishes a structural model for the third and fourth lines of the sonnet. Wilson's definition and first example:

Or els sentences are said to be like among themselves, when every part of one sentence is egall, and of like waight one with an other. As thus. Is it knowne, tried, proved, evident, open, and assured that I did such a deed?

The lines in the sonnet:

... lust
Is perjur'd, murd'rous, bloody, full of blame,
Savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust.

The scheme, more commonly known as a species of *synonymia*, is not particularly appropriate to the strict sonnet form, for, failing appreciably to advance or define the theme, its effects are essentially connotative. We might not expect it to be used frequently by a sonneteer of Shakespeare's talents; and the fact that Shakespeare, so far as I have been able to determine, nowhere in his other sonnets employs this particular variation of the device—that is, as a series of

emphasized caesura, occurring in the same position in line after line, with the extraordinary sequences of sharply marked antitheses, hammering home exactly the same ideas in exactly the same way, constitute no accidental resemblance." *New Essays and American Impressions* (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1927), pp. 113-114. Beyond the similarities of subject and caesural placement the two stanzas offer little similarity to the sonnet. There is not, in fact, a single example of antithesis in either of the stanzas.

repetitive modifiers—increases the likelihood that here he was consciously following Wilson's example.⁴

In the sections immediately following, Wilson again offers parallels with respect to theme and style:

Gradation, is when we rehearse the word that goeth next before and bring an other word thereupon that encreaseth the matter, as though one should goe up a pair of stayres and not leave till he come at the top. Or thus. Gradation is when a sentence is dissevered by degrees, so that the word which endeth the sentence going before doeth begin the next. . . . Of sloth cometh pleasure, of pleasure cometh spending, of spending cometh whoring, of whoring cometh lack, of lack cometh theft, of theft cometh hanging, and there an end for this world.

Though the sonnet does not closely follow either variation of "gradation," its structure consists essentially of a series of balanced antitheses which, by contrasting the various stages of lust, progresses by steps to its conclusions.⁵ Thus there is a general resemblance between the treatment of related themes in the sonnet and in the example devised by Wilson.

Wilson next treats "regression":

That is called regression, when we repeat a word eftsoone that hath bin spoken and rehersed before, whether the same be in the beginning, in the midst, or in the latter end of a sentence. . . . In the latter ende, thus. Man must not live to eate, but eate to live. Man is not made for the sabboth, but the sabboth is made for man.

Shakespeare uses the device in lines two and fourteen:

Is lust in action; and till action, lust. . . .
All this the world well knows; yet none knows well. . . .

But what is of particular interest is that one of the examples of regression cited by Wilson is seemingly a literal adaptation of an epigram by Petronius which has been cited as a parallel and possible source of inspiration for the sonnet.⁶ Petronius' epigram:

Foedu est in coitu et brevis voluptas,
Et taedet Veneris statim peractae.

Wilson's example:

If man do any filthy thing, and take pleasure therein:
the pleasure goeth away, but the shame tarieth still.

Certainly, had Shakespeare read either version, it would more likely have been the one in the *Arte of Rhetorique*.

⁴ Note also that Shakespeare in line eleven uses the word "prov'd" in the same sense as it is used in the example from Wilson quoted above. Shakespeare also employs the noun "expense" (in line one) in the same sense that Wilson employs the gerundive "spending" (see quotation immediately following), that is, as a variant of the verb "spend" designating waste or loss through extreme indulgence.

⁵ Wilson, in fact, defines progression as that which "standeth upon contrary sentences, which answered one another" (p. 202).

⁶ See *Variorum Edition of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. H. E. Rollins (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1944), I, 330.

There are yet two other purely stylistic parallels to be noted, which if less obvious, are nonetheless of some significance when considered in conjunction with those discussed above. One will notice that in all but the third, fourth and tenth lines of the sonnet a regular placing of caesuras serves to set off short clauses or phrases of equal or nearly equal length. It is likely that Shakespeare's rigorous adherence to this manner of emphasizing the balanced antithetical structure was inspired by Wilson's definition of "egall members":

Egall members are such, when the one halfe of the sentence answereth to the other, with just proportion of number, not that the Sillables of necessitie should bee of just number, but that the eare might judge them to be so egall, that there may appeare small difference.

The regular placing of the caesura is, however, but one of several devices used by Shakespeare to strengthen the antithetical effect. For example, lines five, six, and seven illustrate the use of *homoioteleuton*, or the use of like endings of words in corresponding positions within successive clauses; and lines ten and eleven exemplify the device of *traductio*, or the repetition of words with the same root but with different case endings.⁷ Wilson nowhere in his discussion of "contraries" mentions these schemes by name, but he does speak of the delightful effects achieved "when contrary things are repeated together: when that once again is uttered which before was spoken: when sentences are turned and letters are altered." Again, it is possible that these remarks influenced the poet.

One, of course, cannot establish a source simply on the basis of rhetorical schemes; but in a case such as this where there are close similarities of language and theme, combined with the specific rhetorical devices which make the sonnet unique in the sequence, the evidence seems to me convincing. Besides the three references to the ravages of lust, two of which offer extremely close parallels to the sonnet, at least six of the devices employed by Shakespeare are treated within the space of four pages in Wilson. I do not suggest that the sonnet was merely a rhetorical exercise, but it was a common practice of the Renaissance to adapt a theme to a given rhetorical scheme and a practice which Shakespeare had certainly been encouraged to follow in his Petty School days.

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⁷ In distinguishing between the various rhetorical schemes as they are defined by Wilson I am grateful for the use of Professor Francis R. Johnson's unpublished notes dealing with the classification of Renaissance rhetorical figures and schemes.

Stratford 1954

RICHARD DAVID



E. Housman's test of true poetry was that it brought tears to his eyes and made his hair stand on end. There is, alas, no such simple touchstone of the excellence of a theatrical performance. Even when the effect made is purely a poetical one, it comes to the hearer through a diffracting medium, upon the sounding-board of the personality of the actor, who can magnify the value of a perfectly ordinary piece of writing or mar a passage of genius. In general, however, theatrical effects are seldom simple, even when the extra dimension contributed by the actor has been discounted. There are the visual impressions made by the spectacle, whether purely pictorial or reinforced by the emotional context of the play. There is the satisfaction to be drawn from a dramatic "stroke," be it recognition, reversal, unexpected (or expected) denouement, or mere coup de théâtre, as well as from its shaping and timing by the actors. There is the pleasure given by any manoeuvre well executed or by an adroit piece of teamwork, which may be a matter of acrobatics or Shakespeare's "set of wit well played"; and there is the excited apprehension of the purpose and spirit and artistic shape of the play manifesting itself in bodily form and taking to itself substance and extension as the performance proceeds. In each production, in each performance, different elements may predominate, though it is a poor one to which they do not all contribute some share, reinforcing and counterpointing each other. Rarely, very rarely, all are present together in full strength, and then the spirit of delight seizes on the spectator and for one evening he is rapt in an ecstasy whose particular elements he cannot analyze or even remember, though the mere thought of the whole, years after, may still produce a Housmanian raising of the hackles.

The Stratford season of 1954 provided no such ecstasies. The five productions received, indeed, some hard knocks from the critics, though I do not think they were altogether deserved. At the opening of the season a rash announcement was made by the management that no "stars" would be employed this year and that the leading roles would all be given to young actors with reputations still to make. The critics were quick to point out that the first duty of a national institution of the standing of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre was not to provide opportunities for young actors but to serve Shakespeare and his audience as best it might; and for the rest of the season they kept a suspicious eye for youngsters overparted and were swift to descry them even when they were not there.

For the cast assembled this year at Stratford was certainly not composed of novices. If by "star quality" we mean not the knack of getting into the news but an original creative ability, why should we deny stardom to the Director, Anthony Quayle, who gave us a most rich and engaging Bottom, an excellent if debatable Pandarus, and a very fair Othello on three successive evenings; to Barbara Jefford, whose Shrew was as vital and fresh a reading as was (in a very different mode) her Isabella of four years ago; or to William Devlin, whose playing constantly reminds us that for many of us he is the most commanding, if not perhaps the most moving Lear of our times? If the rest of the company was not quite of this class, there was hardly one of them who had not done good service at Stratford in previous years and made his contribution to that level excellence, that rich co-operation in presenting each play of Shakespeare as a coherent whole, that has been such a feature of Stratford since the war. The matured teamwork of what might be called a superior repertory company is perhaps to be preferred to any quantity of assorted names in lights; and certainly such a method of producing Shakespeare has very great virtues that in the 1954 productions were fully as obvious as the defects so picked on by the critics.

The first play of the season was *Othello*, already given by the company on its Australian tour and now refurbished and partly recast. The play was directed by Quayle himself, and was remarkable for a workmanlike, a well-carpentered efficiency, that appeared not only in the staging but in the care taken to ensure every possible coherence and continuity in the development of plot and character. For instance, Emilia's concealment of the true facts about the lost handkerchief became entirely plausible in the light of her relations with her husband, brought out in the byplay between the two—her agonized devotion to Iago despite his callous cruelty to her, unconcealed whenever they were alone together, as in the twisting of her arm, at once brutal, sly, and self-confident, by which he takes possession of the handkerchief. The settings, by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, were at once splendid and apt. A range of rugged pillars across the back of the stage, open-raftered like an Italian lemon-grove, and with an aisle receding slantwise from their center, provided a framework for varied hangings that characterized the different sections of the play. Dark curtains, sweeping down from a height, gave a Tintorettoan background to the Venetian court and set off the reds and purples of the senators' robes and the white of Othello's. Heavy rusty draperies in the foreground of the last scene threw a warm glow over Desdemona's bed, while Othello, among the grey pillars beyond, remained cut off in a cold purgatory of his own. The middle section of the play was over-shadowed, conditioned as it were, by a great billowing yellow and red awning that perfectly conveyed the relaxed and over-heated atmosphere in which Iago's poison can best take. Another happy touch to this scene was the placing of the main entrance and exit, a low flight of broad steps that beginning stage right some way back from the footlights curved forwards towards the auditorium. This in some way emphasized the world of duty and official business to which the characters returned, as it were over the audience's heads; and, by contrast, the private, off-duty retirement in which alone Iago is free to work upon Othello.

Against the ordered magnificence of these backgrounds the action moved swiftly and without a falter, though at times the machinery of its motion became

too obvious. The second act becomes an undistinguished hurly-burly if the drinking scene does not interpose some relaxation between the bustle of the storm and the fireworks of the brawl; but this drinking scene was too painstakingly funereal and crepuscular. Othello's speech to the "most potent, grave, and reverend signiors," the stilling of his pursuers' clamour with "keep up your bright swords," gain in dignity and power if some foil can be provided for their stillness; here the flurry of Brabantio's household and the panic of the senators were ridiculous in their excess. Yet if the stages in the progress were exaggerated, the tension and drive of the whole were never broken.

Workmanlike, tense, convincing—and yet the play never caught fire. If there was not a dull moment, neither was there a great one. For this we must blame the principal actors, who never took wing above the plane of the well-made and intellectually engrossing play. The Desdemona of Barbara Jefford was particularly disappointing. She is one of those rare actresses who can phrase verse like music, but to fashion the artless, the even-tempered, the subservient Desdemona she had so lightened and pinched her speech that it lost all character. She was certainly a "picture out of doors," and a handsome one; but one need not go all the way with Iago in his catalogue of women's qualities to believe that the mere façade is too thin a slice of personality for drama, or the audience's sympathies, to take hold upon.

The Othello of Anthony Quayle was both credible and commanding. The nobility and the savagery of the man were equally plain; the two qualities were not allowed to cancel each other out, nor did they split the character into two incompatible halves. While the Moor was in his senses, Quayle seemed at ease in the part, developing his full strength with an unhurried assurance that held the audience, whether in the moving narrative of his wooing, in the slow, negligent reaction to Iago's first poisonous hints, or when, taking direct action, he seizes his tormentor by the throat. The climaxes, where they were climaxes of action, were never missed or muffed, and the purely theatrical scene of the humiliation of Desdemona before the ambassador, so often a barren interlude before the final act, came over with rare power. Indeed, Othello's striking of his wife had more dramatic impact than any other moment in the play: the Moor, his back to the audience, reading the scroll that Lodovico has brought, and swinging round with it to give a savage backhanded blow to Desdemona as she comes to lay her hand in entreaty on his arm. An equally satisfying climax came with "The pity of it, Iago"—a great shuddering descending cry showing that the baited beast was ready for the coup de grace; but a moment's calculating pause and Iago was able, without as it were so much as changing his stance, deliberately, and with relish, to drive the sword home: "If you are so *fond*—."

When, however, Othello's authority, over others and over himself, began to crumble; when there was more, and more elusive, feeling to be conveyed than could be expressed in direct action or in words equally direct, Quayle seemed to lose grip. "Never, Iago," and the surging image of the Pontic sea (in some ways the turning-point of the play, when Othello commits himself irrevocably to evil) had nothing of compulsive force save the words; and "It is the cause" similarly lacked direction and certainty. Indeed, Quayle carried too far the degeneration of Othello, his utter helplessness when once the guiding principle of his life is sapied, and the later scenes were played as by a sleep-walker, bleating

and whimpering and turned this way and that by a touch of Iago's little finger.

Perhaps the Othello could have dared to be stronger if the Iago had been so. Raymond Westwell had most of the essentials: the mask of camaraderie dropped at once when there was no need to charm, as with Emilia, or Roderigo dismissed with a viciously contemptuous "Nay, get thee gone"; the hesitant opening gambit, with the inner hate and sadism coming through ever more strongly as the operator becomes more confident of his power; the progressive risks taken with a mixture of circumspection and bravado, the cutting word—"lie," "gape on," "fond"—held back, but as soon as taken turned exultantly in the wound. Yet there was something lacking. "Not enough subtlety," said my neighbour; but to me it seemed more a question of size. There was a pettiness about this waspish Iago, his destruction of Othello an act of mere personal spite. The "Credo in un Dio crudel" that Boito added to the part, for Verdi, may often appear no more than melodramatic clap-trap; but Boito's feeling was right—unless there is something demoniac about Iago he is an insufficient explanation for the catastrophe, and as he is scaled down so Othello too is diminished.

Romeo and Juliet, and its distorted image *Troilus and Cressida*, were in the charge of Glen Byam Shaw, with Quayle the co-director of the theater. Byam Shaw is noted for the simplicity and directness of his productions. If he has never brought off a miracle, as Peter Brook and Tyrone Guthrie have done, neither is he capable of the lapses and howlers of which they are often guilty. His *Romeo and Juliet*, though it was not difficult to fault it in detail, was the most rewarding production of the five.

As befits a play that is cast in a somewhat antiquated (for Shakespeare) and formal mode, the staging followed a convention older than Shakespeare. The set (*Plate 1*), designed by Motley, consisted of little more than a wide balcony almost spanning the stage and flanked on either side by squat, square towers, the whole being of that palest pink or "natural wood" color that characterizes the views, in miniature, of Florence or Bergamo or Verona, in the background of so many quattrocento pictures. The balcony, besides its obvious use in the love scenes, served as the street-block from whose upper windows the citizens of Verona looked fearfully out upon the brawling factions, and, embellished with a chandelier and streamers, as the minstrels' gallery at the Capulet ball. The filling-in of its arches, with a straight staircase set against them, created Juliet's bedroom with balcony aloft, or the churchyard with the vault below it. The partial masking of the whole structure by the lowering of a grey curtain was enough for the nondescript scene of Friar Laurence's cell, set in the precincts of some large and undefined ecclesiastical building. It was the actors who really dressed this stage, which bristled with human detail in the crowd scenes but became withdrawn and statuesque (as things are in moonlight) when only the lovers were on it.

The simplicity and continuity of the setting assisted the action of the play, which was correspondingly swift and all of a piece. The text was more completely preserved than is usual in modern productions: only the more frightening of the passages of verbal paradox were cut, such as "Beautiful tyrant! Fiend angelical!" and parts of the burlesque lament for Juliet. The "sets of wit" between the young men were kept in their entirety and were presented with brilliance and dash. The whole sequence that leads up to the death of Mercutio

and thence to that of Tybalt had a compelling momentum. Much of the credit for this must go to Tony Britton, who gave to Mercutio a fire-crackerish gaiety and kept attention at a stretch to see which delightful way he would jump next. The Queen Mab speech, certainly, was too chattery; it is surely wrong to think that the speech is there to show off Mercutio and should therefore be delivered in character. Shakespeare put it in, first because at that stage of his career it amused him to digress and extravagate, and second to introduce a less prosaic note into the scene and so prepare for Romeo's foreboding that the maskers' light-hearted jaunt will end in some portentous consequence. Mercutio's death-scene, however, was penetrating in its very matter-of-factness.

Mercutio's was not a solo performance, for both Romeo and Benvolio could match his strokes. Laurence Harvey's Romeo, indeed, was particularly good in lighter vein. His voice has a pleasant resonance, but is at the same time flexible, and he has a good lyrical style. He was happier with Romeo, who even in moments of stress preserves a certain formality and pattern of diction, than with the more clangorous Troilus. He was well partnered by Zena Walker as Juliet. Like Harvey, Miss Walker has a gift for the simple and for the lyrical; but her speech, like his, tends to flaw under any heavy stress of passion. The balcony scene, enchanting though it was, just missed greatness because of this quaver of uncertainty, these faint wrong notes in moments of climax. In the same way Juliet's soliloquy before drinking the potion, though most moving in the simplicity of its opening, failed in the final frenzy.

The childishness of Juliet was perfectly suggested, alike in the teen-age puppy-fat of her appearance and in the instant and instinctive turning to mother or nurse for comfort and direction. This gave great force to the moment when for the first time she finds that she must make out her own course unaided, and, in the uttering of the single word "Amen" with which she rejects the Nurse's counsel of convenience, grows up before our eyes. The same process could be followed in Romeo, from the schoolboy jokes and schoolboy tantrums (convincing here because genuinely boyish) to the sudden adulthood of "Is it e'en so? Then I defy you, stars!"

The lovers were shrewdly and sympathetically supported by a Friar Laurence (Leo McKern) of weight and character—humorous, testy, and a trifle prosy; and by Rosalind Atkinson's old baggage of a nurse, whose heaving waddle, compounded of remembered briskness and present rheumatism, gave us the whole woman before ever her uninhibited chuckle or obstinately unmethodical ramblings were heard. Yet the old people of the play are mere accessories to a story of youth, and they are seen through youth's eyes. Youth was the dominant and all-pervading impression left by this production, and that is as it should be. *Romeo and Juliet* was written by youth, for youth, and about youth; and if this is not in the forefront of actors' and directors' minds (and it generally is not) the peculiar poignancy and urgency of the play will be lost.

If *Troilus and Cressida* made no such coherent effect, the fault is largely Shakespeare's. The play is akin to *Measure for Measure* in this at least, that it at once tempts actors and producers by the splendor of individual passages and frightens them off again by the apparent obscurity of the whole; but whereas some guiding principle can be fitted to *Measure for Measure* that will make sense of it, the key to *Troilus* is still to seek. The play remains a monster like

that which confronted Stephano, speaking with two voices: a cynical one that growls "A burning devil take them!" and an elegiac, whose text is "Sunt lacrimae rerum." Modern fashion, perhaps taking its cue from the revival of the play by Frank Birch and the Cambridge University Marlowe Society in the twenties, has emphasised its bitterness, directed equally against the fatuous idealism of the Trojans and the worldly wisdom of the Greeks that in the end proves just as futile. The voice of Thersites is then the voice of Shakespeare.

As a young actor Anthony Quayle played Hector in a repeat of the Birch production, and might have been expected to import something of this tradition into Stratford; but if so its harshness had been tempered by Byam Shaw. Under his direction, the Hector of Raymond Westwell showed a genuine nobility, all the more convincing for his fatalistic, even wry, acceptance of the fact that nobility does not pay. The dog-fox Ulysses, understandingly played by Leo McKern, was exhibited as philosopher rather than as politician, and the great speech on Time was patiently and feelingly unrolled as a sad commentary on human nature, not drily delivered as just one move in the game to trap Achilles. Even Thersites was allowed a heart, to judge from the sob in his voice as he called on his burning devil to take the promoters of war and lechery. In short the cynical voice was shushed down and the Virgilian allowed to speak out.

Yet certain elements in the play remain obstinately discordant to such a rendering. Of least consequence is the hard, caricaturist's edge to Shakespeare's portraits of the combatants, particularly Nestor, Ajax, and Menelaus; but surely more trouble might have been taken at Stratford to round these out and make them blend with the whole. The second, and most formidable, difficulty is Cressida. If the play is to arouse compassion and not just to confirm disgust, that compassion can only be focussed on Troilus, and this is not easy if his predicament is merely that of being fooled by one whom the audience at first glance is able to write off as perfect harlot. Chaucer had the right recipe: his Criseyde was pitifully weak, not pitilessly calculating. Did Shakespeare really mean to overthrow this precedent and reduce his heroine to a mere pawn in the process of his hero's destruction? True, Ulysses sets her down at once as a "daughter of the game"; but maybe this is because at that point in the play the audience must be given full knowledge of the doom in store for Troilus. True, her conversations with her uncle are bawdy, and shallowly bawdy; but the true-love Helena of *All's Well* shows no better, nor is "greasy talk" beneath the virtuous ladies of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Muriel Pavlow, dainty and capricious, modelled her first appearance on Ulysses' description, and made little attempt to go beyond this brief. She was handicapped by a sad mishandling of the first meeting between the lovers, which is surely designed to introduce some doubt, some complication into the audience's view of Cressida's nature. When the moment of the meeting at last arrives, Cressida is overcome—or pretends to be overcome—by extreme shyness, and not all the incitements of Uncle Pandarus can bring his two protégés together. At length she consents at least to speak; her feelings run away with her—or appear to do so—and she begs Troilus to stop her mouth. He does so, naturally, with a kiss, and Cressida is then horrified to think he may assume her whole performance to have been a ruse to extract a kiss from him. Is it a ruse?

Or are we to understand that she is really swept off her feet, if only for a moment? I suggest that Shakespeare's intention was to leave us in doubt.

Now Troilus, at the first moment of the introduction, has already kissed Cressida; Pandarus' comment, "a kiss in fee-farm," suggests a prolonged embrace. Yet, if what follows is to have a coherent meaning, Cressida must not be so forward as at Stratford to encourage her lover at this stage. For if she has welcomed Troilus' embrace at the very first encounter, why all this fuss about begging a kiss later? So a single misunderstanding can make nonsense of a whole scene, a bungled scene perhaps throws a whole play into confusion.

At only two moments did Miss Pavlow suggest that over Cressida too, as over the other characters of the play, there hovers a premonition of fate, of the brittleness of happiness, of human frailty: the first as, leaning back in the arms of Troilus, who stood sideways to and all unconscious of the audience, she looked away and up to the gallery and murmured of the time

When waterdrops have worn the stones of Troy,
And blind oblivion swallow'd cities up;

the second when, breaking from Diomed, she recalled, and for a moment regretted, her earlier love, before again giving herself up to a caveman wooing that was clearly more her style.

As Troilus, Laurence Harvey managed the earlier scenes well. The tremor of expectation ("I am giddy") was beautifully portrayed; but when the cue is passion he puts on too much pressure and reduces his lines to sound and fury. And so in the scene of Cressida's betrayal Ulysses' concern for his protégé was more moving than Troilus' own despair, and the great speech—"this is, and is not, Cressid"—which should sound the motto of the play, went for nothing.

Neither Troilus nor Cressida, then, singly or together, could provide a rallying point for the whole, and the lead passed to Pandarus. Now this is awkward for a would-be elegiac interpretation of the play, for Pandarus is our third intractable element. He is anything but Virgilian, and he has, or should have, the last word. Anthony Quayle's playing of the part was tingling with life, and full of surprises that convinced the very instant they lighted. This was no plain bawd, but a benevolent old woman of an uncle, something of a dandy, too, in his swathings of shawl upon silk shawl and every kind of scarf, broidery, and fichu. The meagre white hair floated in a fluffy bob around a face par-boiled with fat living; and the high, fluting voice, destitute of Rs beyond a slight guttural roll, coaxed and flattered and entertained unceasingly. The scene in Helen's boudoir, with the ticklish love-song, was an excellently light-fingered exhibition of degeneracy, in which Barbara Jefford's scruple-lost Helen ably assisted.

The paroxysm of eagerness with which this Pandarus urged the lovers together recalled the eunuch Mardian and his

Not in deed, madam; for I can do nothing
But what indeed is honest to be done;
Yet have I fierce affections, and think
What Venus did with Mars.

And yet there was nothing obscene in the spectacle, for Quayle managed to suggest that Pandarus' passion derived not from any anxiety to gratify a taste of his own but from a desperate solicitude that others (especially the young) should gratify theirs, in the only terms that he knew. Perhaps this was part of the attempt to domesticate Pandarus within the chosen pattern of the production, but Pandarus cannot be so tamed. His envoy, exquisitely prepared for here—the doddering “Let me see,” the dainty humming of the stave, and then, with a sudden rounding on the audience, the ferocious “Good traders in the flesh, set *this* in your painted cloths!”—this envoy bursts open any convention. Nor can there be much doubt that, however muddled the last scenes of the play, this, was intended to be the final sting, the last ten lines of our text being but a doggerel epilogue. Byam Shaw taking advantage of the muddle, and of the fact that Pandarus' last entry is made to almost the same words as his previous one, ran the two together, and Pandarus' parting shot was made (more plausibly, it must be admitted) within the gates of Troy, leaving the stricken battlefield entirely to Troilus and his despair. But this was pure anti-climax after Pandarus' blow in the face; the play trailed off on an unresolved discord; the audience shifted uneasily, wondering if there was more to come, and departed feeling somehow cheated.

The play, then, never came together as a whole, for all the brilliance of individual passages and individual performances. Besides those already mentioned, there was a dominantly coarse bruiser of an Achilles by Keith Michell; and high praise should go to the settings by Malcolm Pride. The dresses were not altogether so happy, some of the warriors being clad in complete steel, others, as unsuitably for battle as for their company, in no more than a loin-cloth. The sets, however, simple and practical, gave a sad autumnal glow to the play. They showed the plain of Troy not as a dusty arena, but as a wide and quiet expanse under a dawn or a dusk sky, with a view of the serried ranks of the Greek ships drawn up on the distant beach (*Plate 2*). This scene, lit with watch-fires and Aegean stars, and given color by the diaphanous green of Calchas' tent in the foreground, lent enchantment and additional poignancy to the scene of Cresida's betrayal; and the same setting contributed not a little to the most exciting moment of the production, when, appearing from the back of the stage, the murderous Achilles loomed over Hector, a great golden moon of a crest, outlined against the stormy evening sky, making him look like a baleful bird of paradise. Here was a fine example of a visual effect, impressive in itself, made even more tremendous by its context.

The two comedies, one fantastical the other farcical, were both directed by George Devine, who controlled them with a deft skill that kept them gaily spinning from start to finish. Of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* little more need be said. It was slick, it was efficient, it was stream-lined, it kept the audience purring throughout, and never can the four plots that compose the play have seemed neater or more neatly interwoven; but to achieve this slickness poetry and magic had to go by the board. Motley's set was an “arrangement” of chromium plating and neon lights, with a “practicable” burrow for Puck. The lovers were reduced to accomplished puppets. The fairies (*Plate 3*), bird-feathered and shrill, achieved a superhumanity beyond the range of the conventional butterfly wings, but at the expense of the homeliness that must surely be

an ingredient of Shakespeare's faery. The moon that presided over this *Dream* was the moon of science fiction not of Warwickshire. It is true of course that under such a crisp, hard influence some parts of the play can still survive and even flourish. The clowning of the rude mechanicals could hardly have been bettered, and there was a taking droll of a Puck; but even these might have made a richer and more memorable effect against a more luminous background.

A method unsuited to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* succeeded to admiration with *The Taming of The Shrew*. That the Induction might not be left hanging in the air, as in the normal version of the play, Devine had legitimately imported, from what is now thought to be a "bad quarto" of the play, some further interpositions of Sly and a final scene in which, once more asleep, he is carried back to the tavern steps and wakes to believe the whole adventure a dream. Sly's share in the action was very adroitly managed, largely by means of a most ingenious set designed by Vivienne Kernot. This was in effect the fireplace, staircase, and one panelled wall of an Elizabethan hall, but standing isolated in a wide open space, with a whole clockmaker's shop of pinnacles, balconies, and bell-towers grafted onto it (*Plate 4*). By focussing on particular parts of the structure, effects of great realism could be produced (for example in the scenes directly concerned with the fooling of Sly). Widen the view, and there plain to see was a pantomime set; widen it again and it took in Padua, Italy, the whole world. The plan recalled Herbert's verse:

A man who looks on glass,
On it may stay his eye;
Or, if he pleases, through it pass,
And then the heaven espy.

The skill of the director resided in the management of these sudden changes of focus, and in the sleight of hand whereby Sly and his fellows were flitted from one corner of the stage to another, so that their presence was always felt yet was never obtrusive, never cramped the freedom of the inner action. It was a happy touch that made the players at one point allow the gratified Sly a trotting-on part in the play within the play, as one of the horses in Petruchio's cavalcade.

The cast ably supported the director. The teamwork was admirable, the comedians were brisk and to the point, the intriguers set out their plots crisply and clearly. William Devlin added a great deal of plausibility and humanity to the whole by his playing of the Lord who sets on foot and controls the entire action, phrasing his part of the Induction with a natural fluency and grace that provided a model of verse-speaking, while for the rest his benevolent presence in the background, churchwarden pipe in hand, held both the Sly plot and the play within the play together. As Katharina, Barbara Jefford gave a magnificent performance. She shirked nothing of the fieriness—her "Ha!" was terrifying—but from the start she was sympathetic as well; and she managed the startling transition from untameable to tamed with a delicacy and pathos that made it seem almost possible. Though her Petruchio remained more of a stage figure, without Katharina's glow of inner life, Keith Michell nevertheless brought an ample liveliness and windswept vigor to the part, and there was never for a moment any feeling that he was playing second fiddle to Miss Jefford.

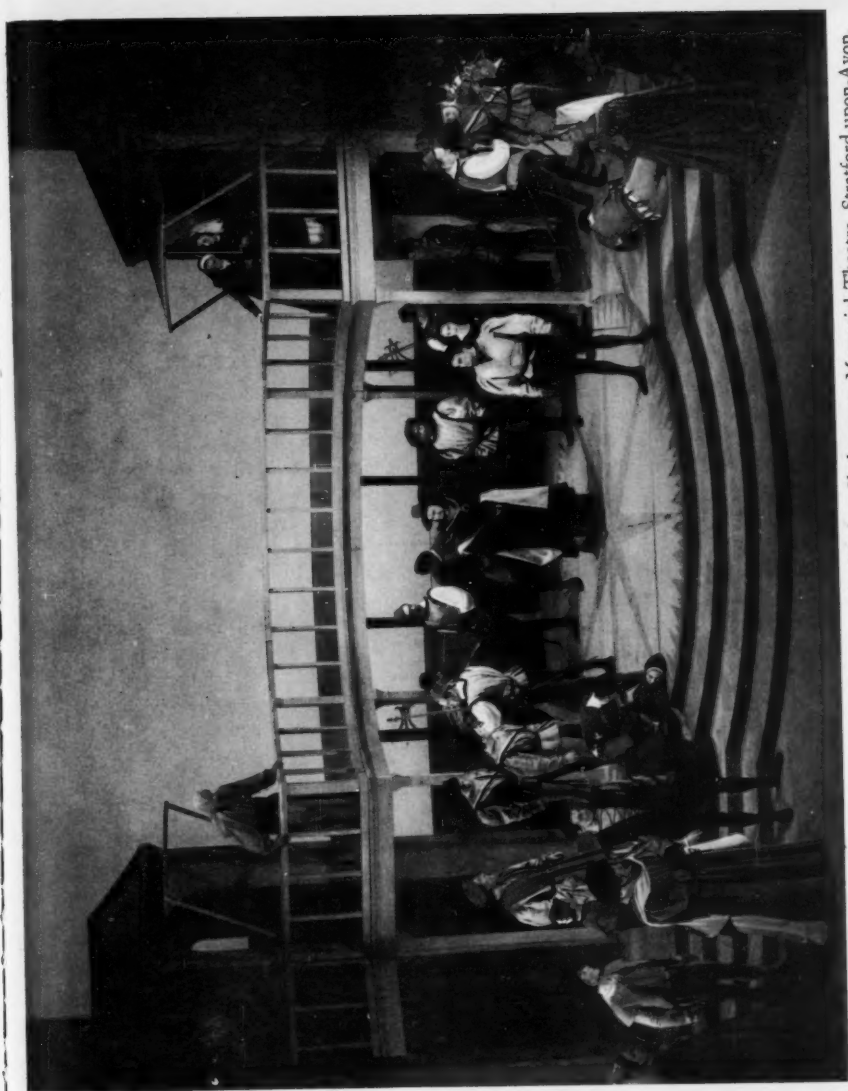
The story of the Shrew gains enormously, at least for modern audiences,

from its framing in the Sly sub-plot. The double artifice makes palatable not only the creaky humor of Pantaloon and Harlequin and the burlesque of the clowns, but also those scenes, such as Katharina's binding and beating of her sister, or Petruchio's hurling the meat at the servants, which are too roughly Elizabethan for our tastes. And at any moment (such is the flexibility of drama) the play can soar out of its framework, which drops away and is forgotten in the instant. Such a moment was the first meeting of Katharina and Petruchio, Petruchio in swashbuckling pursuit of any wife, so long as she has money, Katharina in a rage against all mankind. They meet—and practically nothing happens. Petruchio falters for a moment in his speech, and continues in a tone even lighter and more outrageous than before. Katharina is suddenly still, like a pointer that checks at game. And there for you, presented with the utmost precision and certainty, the utmost economy of means, is love at first sight.

At the end of the play came another and even more striking instance of this sudden expansion and enriching of quality. The old gag of the husbands who cannot control their wives is played out, and Katharina proceeds to prescribe to the offending wives the duties they have neglected. It is not in itself a particularly fine speech, though it has kinship to the great "aria" with which Berowne reproves the shamefaced lovers in *Love's Labour's Lost* and requires virtuoso performance. This it received from Miss Jefford; for the first and only time in the season she pulled out all the stops—by which I do not mean any elaborate, or mannered, or sonorous performance, but one employing all the rich variety of tones, perfectly matched to the meaning, that this actress commands. When one had smoothed the prickling hairs back into place, and wiped away the tears, one could only bewail that the season had offered her no other opportunities of this kind.

Stratford in 1954 provided examples, in isolation, of every theatrical excellence: impressive visual effects (*Othello*, *Troilus*), "star" performances (*Troilus*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*), coups de théâtre (*Othello*), a powerfully conceived dramatic "shape" (*Othello*, *Romeo*). It is ironic that the combination of all these qualities, as well as the true poetic thrill, arrived only in the production of the *Shrew*, the poorest in material of all the five plays and the least capable, even in an ideal production, of sustained flight above the theatrical boards. Let us nevertheless be thankful for the smaller mercies, and let us hope that in 1955 Fortune (for no other *individual* can control such things) will be less capricious in her choice.

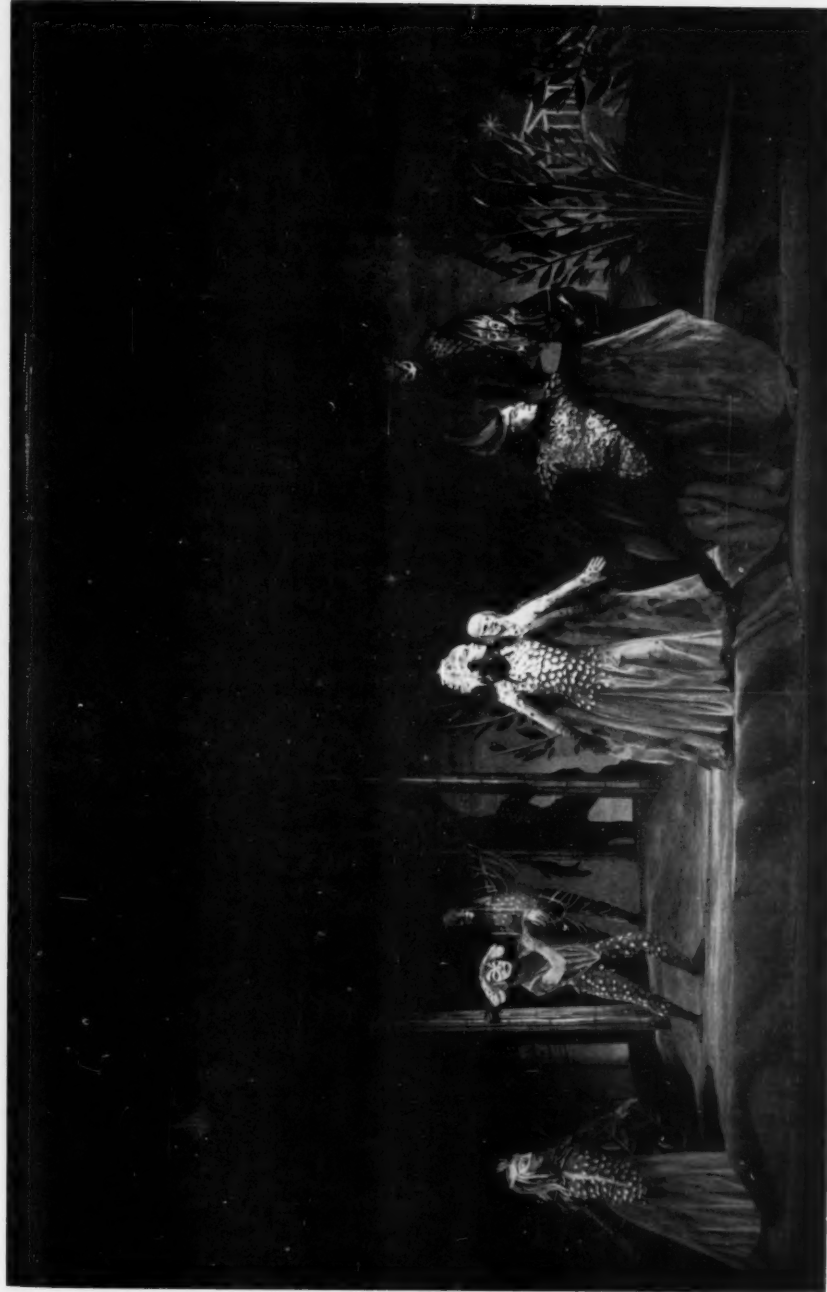
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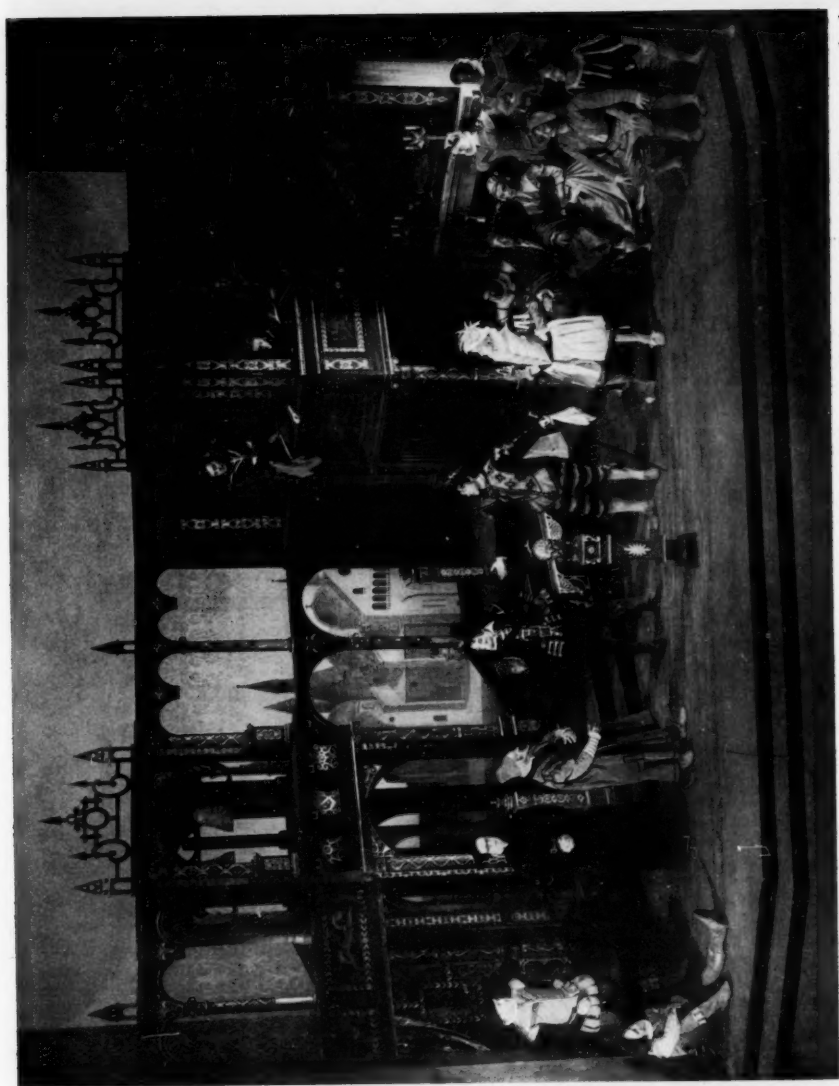
Romeo and Juliet, directed by Glen Byam Shaw, sets by Motley. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon.
PHOTO BY ANGUS MCBEAN



Troilus and Cressida, directed by Glen Byam Shaw, sets by Malcolm Pride, Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon.
PHOTO BY ANGUS MCBRAN



A Midsummer Night's Dream, directed by George Devine, sets by Motley. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon.



The Taming of the Shrew, directed by George Devine, sets by Vivienne Kenot, Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon.

The "Halliwell-Phillipps Facsimile" of the First Folio of Shakespeare

CHARLTON HINMAN



THE First Folio of Shakespeare has been made available to modern readers in four different photographic (and therefore presumably reliable) reproductions: the photo-lithographic facsimile prepared under the supervision of Howard Staunton and issued by Day and Son in 1866; the reduced facsimile, with an introduction by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, first published by Chatto and Windus in 1876; the Oxford, or Lee, collotype facsimile of 1902; and the Methuen photo-zincographic facsimile of 1910. The three of these four that provide full-sized reproductions have been expensive even when not, as now, very scarce. The reduced facsimile, on the other hand, has always been cheap, and copies have usually been relatively abundant. Moreover, although the use of this facsimile may occasionally entail some straining of the eyes, its small size makes it readily portable and undeniably handy, which gives it an advantage over even an original First Folio. Hence the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile, as it has come to be known,¹ has long been much used, and is still used today, not only for quick reference but in detailed editorial work.

Because so many of the plays of Shakespeare are now being re-edited both in England and in America, because some of the editors are certainly making use of the reduced facsimile, and because certain published statements about this facsimile are at best misleading, it may be worth while to make clear: (1) upon what originals the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile is based; and (2) to what extent it offers a reliable reproduction of the First Folio text.²

II

Sir Sidney Lee, in his Introduction to the Oxford facsimile of 1902, says of the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile that "the publishers purchased for the purposes

¹ Somewhat misleadingly, since Halliwell-Phillipps appears to have had nothing to do with the production of the work save for supplying a brief Introduction. The first printing seems to have been in 1875: appended to some copies are Chatto and Windus advertisements dated "November, 1875." Advertisements with various later dates appear in various copies. The book was eventually published in this country by Funk and Wagnalls.

² "The First Folio text" is of course only an abstraction. The various facsimiles only reproduce individual copies, no two of which are textually identical. See my "Variant Readings in the First Folio of Shakespeare," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV (1953), 281-283.

of this reproduction a copy [of the First Folio] belonging to Thomas Hayes, a Manchester bookseller, which they subsequently sold to Mr. Robert Roberts, of Boston, Lincolnshire." The original First Folio here mentioned is the one listed as No. LXXXVI in Lee's *Census*, where we are told that it was "purchased in 1875 by Messrs. Chatto and Windus, publishers of London, who issued it in reduced facsimile in 1876 with a preface by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps."³

From these statements one might easily conclude (and Lee probably himself supposed) that the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile was made from a single original Folio, the Roberts copy. On the other hand, it is declared in the *Shakespeare Bibliography* that the 1876 facsimile is "a reduced reproduction of the Staunton facsimile of 1866."⁴ No mention is made of any original copy; and again the writer doubtless believed that the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile has a single source—though in this case the source was supposed to be itself a facsimile rather than an original First Folio.

The fact is that neither Lee nor Jaggard is right—nor either wholly wrong. The First Folio numbered LXXXVI in Lee's *Census*, the Roberts copy, was purchased in June, 1903, by Mr. Folger and is now No. 33 in the Folger collection. A detailed comparison of the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile and this copy, when supplemented by other evidence, makes it perfectly clear that the facsimile is based upon this original First Folio (hereafter referred to as Folg 33), and upon it alone, throughout the Comedies and from the beginning of the Histories through part of *1 Henry IV*. But from about the middle of *1 Henry IV*, throughout the rest of the Histories and all of the Tragedies, the facsimile is based exclusively upon the Staunton reproduction of 1866.

* * *

In the process of collating the entire Folger collection of 79 original First Folios I have been able to note, not only the numerous variant readings that were produced by a calculated policy of press-correction, but also great numbers of small differences that are not the result of changes deliberately introduced, but are accidental. Slight shifts or displacements of one or more letters in the type-page; differences occasioned by progressive wear or by damage to specific type faces or by tiny flaws in individual sheets of paper; irregularities in inking; even the position of the single strand of some workman's hair that often fell upon a particular type-block and produced, though ever in a somewhat different way from copy to copy, a fine black line on the successive impressions made from that type-block during its run at the press—all of these things are common; and, trifling though they are, may serve to distinguish individual copies even when these copies are in the same state of correction and textually identical. Not all of these minute identifying signs, to be sure, can be expected to carry over from original to facsimile in such a relatively crude process as photolithography (though colotype reproductions are remarkably exact even in very small matters⁵). And the problem of identification is of course made much more difficult if the facsimile has been touched up with a view toward removing minor and accidental blemishes. Nevertheless there is usually abundant

³ See p. xxxv of the Introduction to the Oxford facsimile and p. 32 in the *Census*.

⁴ William Jaggard, *Shakespeare Bibliography* (Stratford, 1911), p. 543. Similar statements are made in other places.

⁵ The Oxford facsimile clearly reproduces a hair, for example, in column b of page 176 in the Histories—as in many other places.

evidence, especially in type displacements and in inking irregularities, to show very clearly which of a limited number of possible originals is reproduced in any given photographic facsimile.

In column b, line 40, sig. F2^r (page 63 in the Comedies), for instance, the letters of the word "athwart" are shifted about in various ways in different copies: the Staunton facsimile shows "ath wart", Folg 33 "athw art"—as also in Halliwell-Phillipps. And the initial "B" of line a-11 in the following page is displaced upwards, very appreciably in Staunton, much less noticeably in both Folg 33 and Halliwell-Phillipps. In K5^r (page 118) the stage direction at b-54 is followed by a heavily inking space-quad in both Folg 33 and Halliwell-Phillipps (which ordinarily has such minor imperfections doctored away, as we shall presently see), whereas Staunton shows no such mark. In a-7 on Y2^r (p. 256) the word "that" appears as "th at" in both Folg 33 and Halliwell-Phillipps, but shows no displacement of letters in Staunton.

These examples, it will be noted, are taken from near the beginning, about the middle, and near the end of the Comedies. Many others could be adduced, in addition to the evidence furnished by stop-press variants. They would all show that, throughout the Comedies, the facsimile always agrees with Folg 33 when Staunton and Folg 33 differ—except in cases where Folg 33 is distinguished by some small imperfection that can easily be doctored away from photo-lithographic plates.

This relationship persists throughout *King John* and *Richard II*, the first two Histories, but only part way through *1 Henry IV*. Thus the page number on d1^r in *Richard II* appears, incorrectly, as "39" in both Folg 33 and Halliwell-Phillipps, but correctly in Staunton as "37." Sig. e1^r, page 51, early in *1 Henry IV*, also survives in two states of correction; and it happens that *both* Folg 33 and Staunton show the uncorrected state. Both read "Baeathleffe" for "Breathleffe", for example, and "fhide" for "fhine". But the inking space-quad after "Prifoners" in b-52, which appears very prominently in all original copies showing the uncorrected state of this page, and in them only, does not appear in Staunton. Here, therefore, Staunton shows doctoring; and Halliwell-Phillipps once again agrees with Folg 33 against it. Since an inking quad is the kind of imperfection frequently excised from Halliwell-Phillipps as well as from Staunton, the absence of this mark from Halliwell-Phillipps would have proved nothing here; but its presence in both Folg 33 and Halliwell-Phillipps, Staunton lacking it, leaves no room for doubt as to the true original of Halliwell-Phillipps at this point.

A little later in *1 Henry IV*, however, we find that Halliwell-Phillipps is based upon Staunton rather than upon Folg 33. Both pages of the forme f2^r:5^r (pages 66 and 71) were press-corrected, and here Folg 33 is in the later state, Staunton in the earlier. Again Staunton seems to have been touched up, since one of the five errors characterizing the uncorrected state of page 71, the turned "t" of "that", in a-6, has been put right. Staunton therefore shows an unauthentic mixture of corrected and uncorrected readings that is surely unique—except that Halliwell-Phillipps exactly reproduces it at every point; and both facsimiles differ verbally from Folg 33 five times in the two pages.

The new relationship continues through the remaining Histories. Whenever Staunton and Folg 33 are variant, Halliwell-Phillipps invariably now

agrees with Staunton as against Folg 33 save at points where doctoring has occurred in Halliwell-Phillipps. In m3^r, for example, where Folg 33 is uncorrected, both Staunton and Halliwell-Phillipps are corrected; whereas in q4^r both Staunton and Halliwell-Phillipps are uncorrected where Folg 33 shows the later state. In s6^r (p. 200) Folg 33 is in the earlier of two states that are differentiated by four variants, the fourth of these being "went" (uncorrected) for "want" (corrected) in b-63. Both Staunton and Halliwell-Phillipps show the corrected state—save that Halliwell-Phillipps reads "went", obviously the result of ill-conceived doctoring, in b-63.

In all of the Tragedies, as in the bulk of the Histories, evidence is abundant and the story is the same. In ¶5^r, cc5^r, hh5^r, pp5^r, qq2^r and 5^r, qq2^r, rrr^r, ss3^r:4^r, and vv2^r:5^r—in all of these Folg 33 shows an early state of correction, Staunton a later; whereas in dd4^r, xx3^r, and xx6^r Staunton shows the earlier state, Folg 33 the later. Halliwell-Phillipps in every case agrees with Staunton as against Folg 33, except that some of the imperfect readings of Staunton have again been "improved" in Halliwell-Phillipps. Nowhere, perhaps, is this process of improvement more clearly illustrated than in forme ¶¶1^r:6^r (in *Troilus*; unpagued), where both Folg 33 and Staunton are in the later of two states. Deliberately-produced difference between the earlier and later states is confined to the recto page; but when the forme was unlocked to effect the correction of ¶¶1^r the final letter of the catchword "*Achilles*" in the verso page was accidentally dropped, and thus all copies in the corrected state read "*Achille*", often with a much-displaced final "e", in the ¶¶6^r catchword. Halliwell-Phillipps of course shows the later state of ¶¶1^r—but has the complete "*Achilles*" at the foot of the verso page. The shape of the final letter, however, gives the game away: doctoring is evident at a glance. Also obvious because inexpert is, for example, the doctoring which corrected Staunton's "hollow" (with its turned "ll") in b-52 on page 40 in *Titus* to something resembling the "hollow" of the corrected state shown by Folg 33; or the tampering to which the final letters of "dungie" (badly displaced downward in Staunton) in the last line of column a in vv6^r (page 340, in *Antony*). The agreement of Halliwell-Phillipps with Folg 33 at such points is more or less apparent, but hardly real.

Finally, and to make clear the misleadingly composite nature of both Staunton and Halliwell-Phillipps, the testimony offered by forme ffr1^r:6^r (pages 62 and 71 in *Romeo and Juliet*) should be mentioned. Both pages of this forme were press-corrected, and there is absolutely no evidence among the many surviving First Folios that I have examined that the correction of both pages was not, as normally, effected in a single operation. Any genuine original, therefore, can always be expected to show either the uncorrected or the corrected state of *both* page 62 and page 71. Folg 33 is in the later state. But Staunton has the uncorrected state of page 62 and the corrected state of page 71—and Halliwell-Phillipps of course follows suit.

How this came about is clear from the fact that the Staunton facsimile is based upon two different First Folios. As its title-page declares, it was "executed, by express permission of Lord Ellesmere and the Trustees of the British Museum, from the matchless Copies in Bridgewater House and in the National Library." Hence it furnishes us with an anomalous mixture of textual peculiarities such as has never existed in any one original First Folio. Moreover, it

does not present even this unnatural olio reliably. The uncorrected reading in page 62 and the corrected readings in page 71 are all authentic *readings*: only their collocation in the same volume is wrong. But as we have seen, there are clear signs that even the Staunton plates were at least occasionally doctored, and it therefore seems safe to presume that some Staunton readings are not authentic, and that this facsimile does not always reproduce only *one or the other* of its two originals.

It follows, of course, that the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile is an even stranger monster. About two-thirds of it is based upon Staunton, though upon Staunton further "improved." The other third is based upon the original First Folio now numbered 33 in the Folger collection; but here too the reproduction is far from exact.

III

Although there is no need to burden patience with too many additional examples of the unreliability of the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile, two further points should be made in connection with its failure to represent even its curiously mixed sources accurately. The first is that *some* of its bad readings are evidently accidental only, the unintended products of a faulty process of reproduction. Line b-59 in page 62 of the Comedies ends with the word "waight", which is flawlessly printed in every original that I have examined, including Folg 33, from which Halliwell-Phillipps is at this point immediately derived. In the copy of the facsimile now before me, the final letter is imperfect and could easily be supposed either a "t" or a "c". In some other copies the type in question has been mistaken for a colon. I have not attempted a thorough and detailed comparison of early and late impressions; yet even a casual examination shows, as here, both that the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile is sometimes unreliable by reason of failure in the initial reproduction process and that its imperfections increase as the plates become worn.

Far more serious than these accidental failures, however, are peculiarities that result from deliberate tampering. This has already been mentioned, and several examples of doctoring have been given. What has not been made sufficiently clear is the extent to which the doctoring has been carried. Many hundreds, if not thousands, of alterations have been effected. They range from the removal of inking quads and other typographical blemishes of little or no textual significance, through mere intensifications *without other change* of letters not well printed in the original, to literal emendations that most certainly do affect the text. And they are pervasive: almost every page throughout the volume seems to have been "treated". But treated, apparently, most irresponsibly and sometimes with an astonishing lack of technical competence. It is surely remarkable, for instance (and convincing evidence, should this be wanted, that Halliwell-Phillipps himself had nothing to do with the doctoring), that many of the changes produce manifest error in an originally acceptable text. In line a-23 on page 74 in the Comedies, the satisfactory "Tunne-difh" of Folg 33 is changed in the facsimile into meaningless "Tunnerdifh"; and we have already noticed the alteration, in page 200 in the Histories, from Staunton's "want" to the patently incorrect "went" of the earlier state preserved in Folg 33. The motives that might prompt the doctoring of a plate only to restore to the text an obvious

corruption that had been adequately corrected by the Folio printers some centuries earlier are hard to fathom; yet perverse tampering alone can explain the text presented, both here and in many other places, in this "photographic" facsimile.⁶

The tampering is sometimes so inept as to be downright amusing—as in the numbers supplied to some pages of *Troilus and Cressida*. In Staunton, as in all originals, *Troilus* is unpagged except for the "79" and the "80" that appear on the recto and verso, respectively, of the second leaf—vestiges of the original but abandoned plan to print this play immediately after *Romeo and Juliet*, where it would properly have begun on page 78. Not only does the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile sometimes show a crude "78" on the first page of the *Troilus* text, and an equally spurious "82" on the fifth page, but also doctorings that were obviously *meant* to furnish other early pages with an "81," an "83," and an "84." These three numbers, however, were not properly reversed when added to the plates; and the facsimile therefore shows "18," "ε8," and "†8." The peccant "ε8" is even on the wrong side of the page.

Such flagrant *faux pas* as these were evidently noticed and found unacceptable, and the worst, at least, of the offending additions were removed from the plates before a great many copies had been printed. Thus the same process of stop-press correction that produced variant readings among different copies of the First Folio of 1623 was occasionally operative during the printing of its facsimile some two and a half centuries later: of the seven copies of the facsimile that I have examined, two contain the spurious page-numbers mentioned above; the other five show only one of them, the unreversed and tolerably well-drawn "82" on the verso of the third leaf.

IV

At the end of his Introduction to the facsimile, Halliwell-Phillipps wrote: "It is not of course pretended that any facsimile of any old book will in all cases of minute research entirely supersede the necessity of a reference to copies of the ancient impression, but for all usual practical objects of study this cheap reproduction will place its owner on a level with the envied possessors of the far-famed original." This is not without candor and sagacity; but I doubt if Halliwell-Phillipps would have been so sanguine had he been fully aware of how far from exact the facsimile in question really is. Its faults are for the most part very small ones; but they are legion and they sometimes seriously misrepresent the text. And if "all usual practical objects of study" include textual analysis and the editing of Shakespeare's plays, as they surely must, then the endorsement is hardly true. Editors must concern themselves with small matters as well as large, and editors of Shakespeare will be well advised to make use of the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile of the First Folio with the greatest caution, if at all.

V

Lest I be charged with beating a dead horse, I should like to add one note. The foregoing observations were in large part occasioned by a letter from a distinguished scholar who is now in the process of editing one of Shakespeare's plays for the Arden series. Distrustful of four readings in the Halliwell-Phillipps

⁶ Halliwell-Phillipps' own edition of Shakespeare's plays (1853-61) not only shows none of these errors but provides an illustrated note on "tun-dish." See III (1854), 194.

facsimile (of which he was obviously making serious use), he wanted to know if these are also the readings of Folg 33, the source of the facsimile throughout his play. Investigation quickly showed, not merely that in every instance the facsimile does *not* faithfully represent its original, but that in three of the four it introduces substantive error into an originally satisfactory text. Two of the four changes are certainly, a third very probably, the result of deliberate but misguided tampering; at least one appears to represent some accidental failure in the reproductive process.

Other editors, too, are currently making use of the Halliwell-Phillipps facsimile. Not all, perhaps, are working with such meticulous care as my recent correspondent, or regarding with proper suspicion the handy but untrustworthy little facsimile of 1876.

Pinecrest, Virginia



Costume for the Queen in C. Kean's *Cymbeline*, "from Sculpture, Chartres Cathedral, France—4th Cent."

Our Hope's 'Bove Wisdom, Grace, and Fear. An Account of a Tour of *Macbeth*

DOROTHY ROSE GRIBBLE

IN the spring of 1954, Plantagenet Productions began their first Shakespearian tour, under the direction of the writer of this article. The play had been chosen to please schools in the eastern and western counties of England; their interest, to the secret dismay of Plantagenet's directors, whose ambitions had been rather humbler, lay, for examinational reasons, in *Macbeth*.

The directors had, however, bethought them that the play was, after all, written for a thriller, and, taking courage, they studied the production from that aspect. The basic thread was, of course, the terrible black magic element, and from this emerged, separate and distinct, the characters of the Witches; Satanists of the ugliest, most obscene kind, cold joyless creatures, each partaking of the nature of her own familiar spirit, and capable of pleasure only through the emotions of the humans they exploited. Of equal stature, despite the scholars, loomed the figure of Hecate, a beautiful, frosty she-devil, whose sole delight lay in the spiritual wickedness of her victims, and in the subsequent blasting of their minds and souls. She was, in this production, the prologue to the second part of the play, and was represented by a talented young actress, Margaret Brogan, wearing a flame-colored robe with sleeves and head-dress also resembling flame; in contrast with the tattered Witches, (all, for reasons of doubling, men), in their animal half-masks of flesh-colored hues, giving a rather horrible effect of degraded humanity.

Lady Macbeth was likewise envisaged as a devotee of the black arts; but the evil powers she invoked, and during her famous speech could actually see, perverted her love for her husband into their own instrument of destruction, using her and casting her aside in the process. She was seen as a princess, sensitive and imaginative, still young, and not by nature but by will-power only fitted for the terrible work she imposed on herself, and into which she tempted her adored husband by every lure of feminine enticement. During the tour, the full implications of this characterization were, obviously, not exploited, any more than the obscenity of the Witches was stressed, the part being played effectively, but conventionally, by Jocelyne Kerr-Ritchie. In the later London presentation, however, when this actress had unexpectedly to be replaced, the original conception was introduced, as, with an adult audience, could seemlier-wise be done.

Macbeth himself was played by Michaël Kennedy, who also, as Artistic

Director for Plantagenet, designed the costumes and decor and devised the Witches' Ritualistic Dances. Mr. Kennedy, allowing himself a light Scottish intonation, concentrated on the character's less obvious attributes, and notably his Highlander's second sight. Only Duncan and one or two family retainers, it was noted, genuinely liked Macbeth, who appeared, to some extent, a kind of royal poor relation. He was therefore portrayed as less a mighty war-lord than a man of personal courage but small confidence or great-mindedness; alternately jealous and generous; himself only with his wife; goaded to madness in the height of his success by suspicion and self-love; and finally linked only with life through that wife who had so fatally tempted him.

Other points of characterization were a strong, clever Malcolm (Anthony Bradley), disguising his true nature during his English exile with assumed effeminacy, but possessing the full authority and manliness needed to oppose Macbeth and to control the proud Scottish thanes. Banquo, played with considerable distinction by Brian Cobby, had "royalty of nature" in the mediaeval sense, when kings had to be ruthless, strong, and personally ambitious. Noble he was, but, after Duncan's death, he "looked through his fingers" at Macbeth's complicity. He was murdered not because he knew too much, but because he would have used his knowledge to implement the Witches' prophecies concerning himself.

The part of the Porter, played by Charles Turner, who also enacted the First Witch with horrible realism, was enlarged to include Macbeth's henchman and the Cream-faced Loon. He emerged as an old and privileged family servant, unhappy witness to the mental and moral decay of the master he had seen grow from boyhood. In London, the very sympathetic, wise Scottish Doctor of Wilson Featherston (an old Ben Greet player), who also brought the news of the moving forest, achieved a parallel effect. The unwilling alienation of these household retainers added immeasurably to Macbeth's own isolation, and to his bitterly reckless acceptance of death at the hands of a most spirited Macduff (Eric Martin).

Liberties were taken over Macbeth's death. Instead of re-entering with a severed head, Macduff fought him back on stage, where he disarmed and killed him, to the exceeding delight of the school children, who greatly rejoiced in the fearful wounds apparently sustained by the warriors fighting in the castle corridors, and in the death blow convincingly sustained by Macbeth.

Colin Lewis arranged the sword-fights, and in London featured in one of them as Young Siward, who, after a brief encounter, was hurled from the battlements to his death below. This moment, during the tour, was usually received vociferously, if regretfully, by the youngsters. But the most realistic, though unrehearsed, moment came at Gloucester, where Macduff was gashed across the face by Macbeth. He finished the performance literally streaming blood over the stage, but was afterwards rushed by his adversary to hospital, and his wound stitched. Meanwhile, children thronged to the stage, some anxiously inquiring after the hero of the evening, but others agog to see for themselves whether the blood shed on the boards was real.

The production was planned on most mobile and adaptable lines. Stages of all shapes and sizes were to be met—even bare boards and daylight. The Artistic

Director, therefore, designed three screens, sloping in height, and with archways and battlements, which could be set as castle walls as convenient, together with a series of narrow flats, painted like black granite, and used for masking, or for representing pillars; these he embellished with tartan hangings and weapons as seemed good to him in each hall. He used permanent rostra for steps, and for an eminence by the upstage battlement groundrow, whence Macbeth could survey the opposing forces, and from which Young Siward met his spectacular death. Where possible, existing traverse curtains could vary the scenes, but occasionally the set had to be permanent. The smallest stage was some 12' square, with but three lamps, which all came on or off together. The oddest was 35' wide by 12' deep—10½' if the footlights were employed. Mr. Kennedy calls this his cinemascope setting!

Costumes were based on those of Macbeth's own time, and authentic clan tartans were used for the Royal Family and the thanes. Chainmail of the Bayeux Tapestry design was used, and weapons too were of the period. A quarter of a mile of material was specially dyed for the costumes, the result being colorful and striking. Hecate's, and certain other, robes were made by Mr. Kennedy, as were the crowns, special properties, and Lady Macbeth's snake bracelet.

Tallulah, a motor-coach, travelled the tour; on one side of her, the company, fourteen strong, and generally fortified with bottles of milk, and on the other the scenery, costumes, and luggage. She was driven, come snow, come hail, by the Director of Productions, with Brian Cobby as "co-pilot," and although she made a practice of suffering breakdowns of a major and expensive order, she never gave trouble on the way to a performance. Whether this was due to her sense of theatrical tradition, or to the earnest prayers and persuasions of her drivers is uncertain.

The towns visited were so widely separate that often the company arrived at a school only an hour before the performance; in this brief interval the actors had not only to dress and make up, but first to unload the scenery and costumes. The stage managers all appeared in at least one important role; and, despite the active help of both directors, their feats of energy in setting and lighting the play had to be, and were, prodigious. But they arrived in character, apparently unruffled.

This left little time for learning the snags of particular halls, which could be embarrassing. Many girls' schools take infinite pride in highly polished floors—and the Macbeth Company wore soft footwear. On one occasion, first the Porter slid gracefully through an archway, then the Thane of Angus slid less gracefully to the ground. Finally Macbeth, unwarily hastening down the steps, landed on one knee, from which unusual position he declaimed the opening lines of "If it were done when 'tis done," thus stifling rather pardonable girlish giggles. When asked afterwards if this was intended, he replied, with more tact than truth, that it was. "Oh," said the questioner, "if we'd only known, we wouldn't have wanted to laugh." Does one imagine some unhappy teacher trying later desperately to explain the psychological reason for the innovation?

Different counties varied widely in reaction, as was particularly noticeable because of the broad areas so quickly covered. In country districts, this might be the first Shakespearian production—sometimes the first play—seen by the chil-

dren, who accepted it as a play, not as a study. Once they were accustomed to the language, they reacted as to a screen thriller, rejoicing in humor introduced by author or director, enjoying the Witches with mingled glee and shivers, greeting Hecate with some awe, and according murder and violent death their traditional reception. One of the most satisfactory audiences was two schools, 600 strong, which had, from courtesy, been instructed to sit speechless before the play began. The silence was terrifying. Actors, awaiting the rise of curtain, whispered, as in church. The play opened in this polite, but uninviting atmosphere, and the Witches' voices, heard off-stage in the first scene, seemed obtrusive. But normality was soon achieved, and the interval was anything but quiet! Delightful letters were subsequently received from the headmistress and pupils of this school.

Reverence for the Bard was occasionally met, and this too was exciting, in quite another way. Here were young people, very familiar with the script, waiting eagerly for well known phrases and speeches. Then the actors could consciously enjoy the lines they were speaking; and though the element of surprise was lost, the luxury gained was great.

Plantagenet Productions subsequently presented the play at the New Gateway Theatre, London, with most of the original company, but not with the Stage Director, Fraser White, chief of the milk-drinkers, who had been a most entertaining Old Man, and a Duncan as crisp as he was gracious. The inclusion of a woman Witch was an advantage, particularly one so full of vitriolic enjoyment as Miss Sophie Ellis. Here, the effect of the bagpipe lament following on the deaths of Duncan and Lady Macbeth, and to whose loud strains the Witches danced, was most marked, and various additions to the set, possible on a permanent stage, were introduced.

With the adult audiences, and in this very small theater, it was practical to emphasize both the malevolence of the Witches, and aspects of character and event plainly unsuitable for children. Notably, Lady Macbeth could be characterized as first conceived, all the more easily when the Director of Productions succeeded to the role. Above all, the personal interplay between the Macbeths was developed with a degree of intimacy and quiet intensity impossible on a large stage. For in this theater, declamation is out of place, while the lightest look or intonation carries significance. Perhaps this is the only production in which two actresses made their debut in this engrossing part, the present writer having, during several years of stage experience, previously confined herself to production and the prompt corner!

The adventure was largely experimental, being unsupported by the Arts Council or any other sponsoring body, and inaugurated and developed by the Directors, encouraged by the wonderful enthusiasm of the headmasters and mistresses concerned. The tour was booked almost exclusively through the individual effort of these teachers, who acted as ambassadors to neighboring schools. But this, apart from the preliminary correspondence between them and Plantagenet, entailed a deal of arrangement. Consequently, the first definite booking was received only four weeks before the tour's officially advertized opening! Although of course, the production was planned and prepared, yet this late engagement caused a cruel pressure in the actual implementing of the plans.

This time lag is mentioned for the benefit of other managements considering a comparable project.

This was one of many valuable lessons learned through trial and error, or, as often, through fortunate surmise. It is confidently expected that Plantagenet's next, and every subsequent, production, will advance in due degree from this first cheerful and chancy enterprise.

London



Imogen. 1st Draft.

Sketch of a costume for Imogen in C. Kean's *Cymbeline*.

Shakespeare at Centenary College

ROSS PHARES



THE 1954 Drama Festival at Centenary College proved once again the popularity of Shakespeare, for the people of Shreveport and the surrounding country came 3500 strong to see the performances under Joseph Gifford's direction in the Centenary College Playhouse. Beginning May 3, *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* were presented six times each alternately. It was obvious from the composition of the audiences that Shakespeare was not considered "highbrow." Over three hundred high school students are known to have seen at least one of the productions, and many saw the same play more than once. Visitors were attracted from as far east as Florida and as far west as Colorado.

The same basic set, a series of levels, was used for both plays. Much was made of lighting effects. And sound effects were secured by the use of recorded music. When suitable music was not available, passages were specially composed and then recorded by the Shreveport Symphony Orchestra. Most of the costumes were rented, but some were made locally.

A feature of the *Romeo* production was a seven-minute ballet in the banquet scene. It was staged as though the players were performing for Capulet and his guests.

A major difficulty for the modern producer of Shakespeare is the length of the plays, and scholars and critics frequently disagree about what incidents and lines may be spared. Gifford, who has an academic background as well as much experience in the theater, thinks cutting is a tedious but highly important business. His principle is to sacrifice what seems least essential to the main plot and to the representation of character in action, on the assumption that modern audiences are more interested in the fable than in the poetry. In the Centenary productions there was a determination to maintain the high academic standards of the oldest college west of the Mississippi and at the same time to compete successfully for an audience with baseball games and wrestling matches. Attendance records and the opinions of critics show that this goal was achieved.

It was difficult to accommodate the crowds, and interest in the Drama Festival continues so high that a theater is being put ahead of a cafeteria, an administration building, and a library in the building program. The time may come when the lights in the theater will go on every week-night, for it appears that Shreveport likes the drama. There will not be an exclusively Shakespearean bill of fare, but *Hamlet* and *Romeo* have been so popular that other plays by Shakespeare may be expected frequently.

Centenary College

To morning's holy office: *[Purgatorial music]*
 An arch'd high-throne glows in the air;
 And hark their impious words on without
 Good answer to the soul! Hail, thou fair heaven!
 We bowe to thy rock, yet see thou not so bodily

[As ponder throes—]

Hail, heaven!

[Gai.]

[Gai.] Hail, heaven!
[Bel.] Now, for our mountain sport: Up to you hills,
 Your legs are young; I'll tread them fast. Consider,
 When you above perceive me like a crow,
 That it is place, which looms, and sets off.
 And you may then revolve what takes I have told you
 Of courts, of prisons, of the tricks in war:

[Bel.] But being so allow'd: To apprehend this,
 Draws us a profit from all things we see:
 And often, to our comfort, shall we find
 The char'd beetle in a snail's bold
 Than is the full-wing'd eagle. O, this life
 Is nobler, than attending for a check;
 Richer, than doing nothing for a babe;
 Prouder, than rustling in unpaid-for silk:
 Such gain the cap of him, that makes them fine,
 And keeps his book successful. *[Exit Bel.]*

[Gai.] Out of your proof you speak: we, poor un-
 flock'd,

Have never wing'd from view o'th' nest; nor know not
 What air's from home. *[Exit Gai.]*

[Gai.] That have a sharper knock, well corresponding
 With your stiff age; but unto us, it is
 Well of ignorance, *[Exit Gai.]*

Opening in Charles Kean's prompt-book of *Cymbeline*.

*[After Silence:—Guidance and Shrieking from below:—some low, & some high:—
 they all have striking folds, and ride home.]*

[The form ready:—to 912:—24:]

Reviews

Endeavours of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama. By MADELEINE DORAN. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1954. Pp. xvi + 482. \$6.00.

As we read this book, one of the most recent contributions to the branch of scholarship concerned with the mental habits and furniture of the Elizabethans, we are inevitably reminded of *The Enchanted Glass*, which, nearly twenty years ago, led the way into this field of study. Both books awake in us the realization (it may be tinged with dismay) that the Elizabethan is for many of us a world of lost learning and techniques and sometimes also a world of lost wisdom. No one who reads such books as *Endeavours of Art* can fail to bring away a renewed sense of the differences, at once wide, intricate and subtle, separating certain habits of mind that prevailed in the late sixteenth-century from those of today. Nor can he fail simultaneously to wonder at the permanence of the essentials that endure beneath these differences. For perhaps the main service of the books written in this field of criticism is the reminder that the more we explore the mental world of another generation, whether the Athens of Aeschylus, the Paris of Aquinas or the England of Shakespeare, and the more its differences bewilder our imaginations, the more clearly are revealed the enduring bases of thought and of poetry upon which all alike rest. No one who tries to tell us that Shakespeare was of an age and therefore not for all time is going, to put it bluntly, to be believed; we have the evidence of our experience and are still in our senses. But the scholar who honorably insists upon our looking out upon the Elizabethan or Athenian world through Elizabethan or Athenian eyes has put us in the way of curing our psychological anachronisms and thereby of confronting the enduring truth of poetry which survives the variations (or aberrations) of mental discipline and imagery.

Professor Craig's *The Enchanted Glass*, the pioneer in this kind, covered a wide field, drew impressive conclusions from the synthesis of various kinds of evidence and evoked irresistibly such reflections as I have attempted to suggest. Dr. Madeleine Doran's work is, as befits a later specialization, an exhaustive examination of certain parts of that field, of the habits induced in the minds of Elizabethan dramatists by their technical training and their critical assumptions about their craft. She sets out to examine the nature of the artistic problems set up by this training and assumptions and "to reconstruct imaginatively some part of the context of artistic ideas, attitudes, tastes, and interests in which they worked, and to define their problems in the light of these" (p. 23). It is clear, from this definition of the project, that she is working in an area which, limited though it is, has already been the subject of investigation by specialists in the study of Elizabethan education and Elizabethan critical theory and of the specialized Elizabethan interest in rhetoric and style which falls partly into each of these. But her intention is not so much to explore in detail any of these areas of Elizabethan thought, as to examine the effect which all of them in combination had upon the Elizabethan dramatist and she makes her way into her subject by choosing as her starting point their preoccupation with the congenial ideals of "Eloquence and 'Copy'" (Chapter 2). After two more introductory chapters on the doctrine of Verisimilitude and the nature and effect of the habitual moral aim in Elizabethan literature, she has set out the nature of the

main factors involved in her topic, and the next seven chapters are given to specific dramatic criticism, to examination of kinds and of special aspects of technique within the dramatic form and to tracing the evolution of the Elizabethan drama under pressure from and in response to the factors earlier defined.

In this central part of the work many matters of vital importance to the Elizabethan writer and critic, and no less to scholars of today, are investigated in some detail; Chap. 6 analyses the relation of the history play to tragedy; there is a clear outline of the theory and practice of tragi-comedy in Chap. 8; Chap. 9 discusses similarly the theory and practice of character-drawing, an aspect of technique which is beginning to attract renewed attention in the dramatic criticism of the present day. All these are examined in relation to the influences and determinants discussed in the opening chapters, and the arguments are furnished with helpful summaries, serving as sign-posts to the reader, slipped naturally and easily into suitable pausing places in those arguments.

Sometimes, as is inevitable, there is disagreement between the author's conclusions and the reader's, drawn as they may be from different fields of reference. Occasionally, as in part of the discussion on motivation, there appears to be an inference which is aesthetically false or one made without wide enough reference to dramatic aesthetics. At one point here (p. 251) we seem to lose sight for a moment of the plain fact that at any given period there will be different levels of artistic achievement in dramatists and of expectation in the audiences or parts of the audience; "bad" motivation is always with us, though its aberration may at the present day take a slightly different direction from that which is so glaringly evident in the Elizabethans.

But more often it is the justice of the summary or verdict that we recognize, and this in instances too numerous to be cited here. One might mention, among several, the welcome comment on the technique of the Debate and its dramatic functions (pp. 313 seq.) and the extremely interesting comments on "Multiple Unity," at the outset and at the conclusion of the book. We are left with the impression that much may yet develop from this way of interpreting Elizabethan dramatic art, for multiple unity is characteristic not only of their conduct of the fable, but of the whole process of their technique, from the multiple meanings of the individual word, whether pun or image, to the multiple significance of an underlying theme and of outward structural grouping, and all in turn are served by an unlocalized stage, itself capable of its own multiple unity.

The work is marked throughout by the good sense and moderation with which its claims are made; this is evident in the opening chapter, "The Materials and the Problem," and is maintained throughout. There is no attempt at delusive oversimplification: "The whole picture," says the author, "is full of contradictions and resistant to clear analysis" (p. 13). This wholesome emphasis on the complexity of the problem, which leads to some acute distinctions between, for instance, various possible interpretations of Elizabethan dramatic procedure and technique, is valuable both as a warning to present-day thinkers and as an indication to future scholars. (A timely word, for instance, on the virtues of the "unities" of time and place (p. 279) gives pause to easy and over-simple judgment on this point, and every few pages afford a like, judicious qualification.) At the hands of a scholar at once so learned and so scrupulous as Dr. Doran, we find ourselves prepared to accept guidance through the perplexities of this difficult field; occasional differences of opinion or conclusion on specific issues are merely indications of the challenge made by her analysis.

Shakespeare's Pronunciation. By HELGE KÖKERITZ. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. Pp. xv + 516. \$7.50.

This work consists of four parts. The Introduction (pp. 3-50) discusses Shakespeare's language in general and explains how his pronunciation can be determined from orthoepistic, orthographic, metrical, and rhyme evidence. One kind of evidence given special prominence is puns, which are discussed and listed in Part Two (pp. 53-157). Part Three (pp. 161-368) is devoted to phonology, dealing in detail with stress and with the pronunciation of vowels and consonants. It also includes extensive phonetic transcriptions illustrating various styles of Shakespearian speech. Those who find such transcriptions too formidable will be pleased that Kökeritz has prepared a long-play record of Shakespearian readings (Columbia Records, Inc., Bridgeport, Conn. \$5.00; the record may be purchased separately). Part IV (pp. 371-495) consists of three appendixes, the first listing instances of syncopation, the second indicating the position of stress, and the third being a complete rhyme index to the plays and poems. The volume concludes with a bibliography and index.

Even so bare an outline should suggest that the book contains much of interest to the student of Shakespeare ordinarily not much concerned with phonological matters. The first two parts especially reveal how the phonological approach can contribute to the understanding and appreciation of the text, and how often, through ignorance of fairly elementary phonological facts, editors and critics have been led astray. In addition to phonological information, the work provides much else Kökeritz was not obliged to include had he been content to plod a narrow, conventional way. He considers, for example, Shakespeare's prosody, his representation of dialect, the extent to which he retained his native Warwickshire pronunciation, the origin of the conventional stage dialect, the regularity of Elizabethan rhyming, eye-rhymes and how actors would treat them, the reliability of the printed text for inferences about Shakespeare's spelling and pronunciation, and many other matters related, often only indirectly, to the primary concern of the study.

The treatment of puns is a good illustration of the scope of Kökeritz's work. Excluded from consideration are semantic puns, which play on meaning alone and hence provide no phonological evidence at all. Jingles like *who dotes yet doubts*, which have little phonological value since pronunciation similarities are only partial, are nevertheless included and separately listed (pp. 68-85). Main attention is given to puns involving identical or nearly identical, pronunciation. These homonymic puns, as he calls them, might better, I think, be called homophonic, for even if there are no Shakespearian puns based on spelling (p. 87), i.e. homographic puns, it is convenient to have distinctive terms for the two and to use homonymic to include both. The alphabetical list of homophonic puns (pp. 88-157) is intended to be complete. Alleged puns rejected by Kökeritz, usually because they are phonologically unsound, are excluded, but it contains over a hundred new ones which he has discovered. It, together with the accompanying discussion, will interest all Shakespeare scholars, and probably none will agree with the list entirely. The important thing is that none of the puns cited are without good phonetic warrant and that they provide considerable phonological evidence, even though it is not quite as dependable as he suggests (p. 66).

The principal merit of the work lies in the thoroughness with which all kinds of relevant phonological evidence have been assembled and the care with which they have been interpreted. This required not only industry but a scholar completely familiar with historical phonology, particularly in the Early Modern

period, and with dialectal variants in so far as they have received adequate historical investigation. No one was better equipped for the job than Kökeritz, and no one could have done it better. The result is the most trustworthy, authoritative work on Shakespeare's pronunciation and on the phonology of Early Modern English, particularly of London, that we have.

Instead of trying to summarize all the phonological conclusions, which would inevitably result in oversimplification and distortion, I shall comment on a few which seem to me the most interesting.

Kökeritz takes the traditional view that vowel quantity was distinctive: "It is very important to remember that the quantity or relative length of a vowel was a significant characteristic. . . . The modern tendency . . . to replace a combined qualitative and quantitative distinction by that of quality alone . . . was unknown . . ." (p. 161). The opposite seems to me more tenable—that vowel quantity had ceased to be any more distinctive than it is today and that vowel quality was what distinguished historically short and long vowels. The fact that this qualitative distinction was not as marked as it is now, that in some instances the qualitative range of short and long vowels partially overlapped, is what accounts for some of the rhymes of historically short and long vowels (see, e.g., p. 165 and 167 for *ā:ā* rhymes and p. 175 for *ē:ā* rhymes). Kökeritz quite rightly maintains that many of these rhymes reflect a prior change in quantity, but where this cannot be demonstrated, the rhyming evidence seems to me more significant than he appears willing to grant (p. 34).

The development of "broad *a*" in words like *after*, *ask*, *bath*, and *dance* is usually explained as involving first the raising of *ā*, then lengthening, and finally lowering. Like Jespersen, Kökeritz dissents, but has something more positive and explicit to offer. He attributes [ɑ:] to a regional or class dialect, where *ā* remained unraised, and this is surely right so far as the quality of the vowel is concerned. Left unexplained, however, is why the vowel became long. I should think it is due ultimately to loss of *r* and compensatory lengthening of the vowel in words like *part*, where, depending on whether *ā* had been raised and *r* lost, the resulting dialectal variants were [ɑ:] or [æ:] and [ær]. Because quantity had ceased to be a generally distinctive feature, the lengthened vowel (a non-significant variant, or allophone) was adopted before *r*, producing [æ:r] and [ɑ:r], and also before *s*, *f*, *n* etc., where the same qualitative variants [ɑ] and [æ] existed. The lengthening of *ō* before *s*, *f*, and *θ*, which Kökeritz does not do much with (pp. 227-9), is parallel: *ōr* > [ɔ:], whence [ɔ:] before *s*, *f*, *θ*. Supporting this explanation are two facts clearly brought out in Kökeritz's discussion: the vowel lengthening before *s*, *f*, etc., and before *r* occurred at about the same time, and the qualitative variants before *s*, *f*, etc., were the same as those before *r*. The latter explains why the lengthening before *s*, *f*, etc., was confined to *a* and *o*, which is the real crux of the problem and has never been satisfactorily explained before. Why the lengthening occurred only before *s*, *f*, etc., rather than before all consonants is explainable only in more general terms: it is the kind of inconsistency to be expected where, as here, dialect admixture is involved, and this in turn suggests why the lengthening before *s*, *f*, etc., was so irregular.

Throughout his phonological treatment, Kökeritz rightly stresses the dialectal diversity of London pronunciation and convincingly contends that several sounds, usually explained as the result of a series of phonetic changes, are instead due to dialectal rivalry. Besides [ɑ:] in *ask* and *dance* noted above, [i] in words like *sea* and *speak* is also explained (pp. 194 ff.) as a dialectal variant developing in the Southeast, where, he believes, *ē* had been leveled under *ē*

"in the 14th century at the latest" (p. 196), and then by the Great Vowel Shift had been raised to [i]. In the South, where ME \bar{e} and \bar{e} remained distinct, \bar{e} developed into the same sound that ME \bar{a} and \bar{a} did. (The precise quality of this sound is hard to establish; Kökeritz, not too dogmatically, says it was [ɛ:].) In words like *sea*, this was the usual sound in the 16-17th centuries, and was only gradually ousted by the dialectal variant [i], which has now become standard in almost all such words. Other phonological developments attributed, rightly I think, to dialectal diversity are the variants $\bar{e}r$ and $\bar{u}r$ from ME $\bar{e}r$ as well as the unrounding of \bar{o} (pp. 222 ff.). In the latter instance, he rejects Luick's theory that the unrounding was general, a theory not favored of late and against which the evidence is convincing.

A few minor flaws might be noted. The contemporary pronunciation of Shakespeare's name receives cursory attention (p. 177). While it is true that the extant signatures and some of the contemporary spellings indicate \bar{a} , there are other spellings indicating \bar{a} . No reference is made to the thorough investigation of the name by the late Professor Hoops, printed in *Studies for W. A. Read*, 1940, pp. 67-87. Danielsson's fine work on the stress of polysyllabic words, which seems to have been consulted on a number of points, does not merit the implicit rebuke given it (p. 27), and his name ought not be consistently misspelled. There are, considering the amount and nature of the details, very few misprints. I have noted only two wrong page references (pp. 74 and 271) and under *live* in the index the omission of a reference to p. 124.

University of North Carolina

NORMAN E. ELIASON

The Borough Town of Stratford-upon-Avon. By LEVI FOX. Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1953. Pp. 168. 10s. 6d.

Stratford has developed so rapidly that it is sometimes hard to recognize, in the international cultural center and holiday resort of today, the Midland country town of even ten years ago. Many people deplore the change. There are laments of the commercialization of Shakespeare, of the threefold invasion of scholars, sightseers and trippers whose demands on the life of the town are said to have robbed it of its character and even of its self-respect. Yet Stratford has endured these transformations without being overwhelmed by them: and the historian can trace a certain continuity of spirit which links its present surprising fortunes to its more ordinary past.

A distinctive element in this *genius loci* is the affection and pride that Stratford has so often inspired in its citizens. How else can we explain Shakespeare's retirement here? The Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, the Great Bridge and the Gild Chapel were all founded or built by Stratford men who had won fame and fortune in a wider field. Families who migrated to London sometimes, like the Sadlers and the Quynes, maintained for generations their friendly ties with the old home. When, in 1685, Thomas Quyne, citizen and brewer of London and great-grandson of Richard Quyne, Shakespeare's friend, took a lease of a house in High Street, part of his fine was restored to him because of "the former Kindnes of Mr. Quyne's Ancestors too this Corporacon." Since the eighteenth century these traditional loyalties have of course been much strengthened by local pride in Shakespeare. Both Garrick's Jubilee and the Memorial Theatre were due to local initiative—in the latter case to Charles Edward Flower, who not only conceived the project but practically carried it through himself. It is to Shakespeare also, indirectly, that Stratford owes its magnificent series of records. The Corporation took the first steps towards pre-

serving them in 1807, at a time when most municipal archives were still in a state of utter neglect; and as a result of the movement then begun there are few small boroughs in England whose history is more completely documented. The local antiquaries of that time, Robert Bell Wheler and James Saunders, were assiduous rather than learned men. But one cannot examine their vast collections, and particularly their drawings of streets and houses, without feeling how much a love of Stratford, as well as of Shakespeare, must have inspired their labors. The well-cared for appearance of the town today has thus many centuries of tradition behind it. The *genius loci*, if it has grown a little self-conscious, is still very much alive. Its latest manifestation is this book, by the Director of Shakespeare's Birthplace, which has appropriately been issued by the Corporation on the four-hundredth anniversary of their original charter.

Of all the popular histories of Stratford which have yet appeared, this is much the best. Dividing his work into five sections, Mr. Fox gives a well-balanced and comprehensive account of all the main aspects of the town's history, from its beginnings in the Iron Age settlement by the Avon to the establishment of the Shakespeare Institute, by the University of Birmingham, in 1951. There seem to be eight main turning points in this long story, each of which still has its effect on the life and appearance of Stratford today. The first is the foundation, at the end of the seventh century, of an obscure Saxon Monastery which, according to Leland, occupied the site of the parish church; and would in that case explain the remoteness of the church from the town, which grew up by the river crossing, nearly half a mile away. The second is the grant to the inhabitants in 1196 of a weekly market and the rights of burgage tenure by the Bishop of Worcester, as lord of the manor. The regular lay-out of the main streets, which is of early medieval origin, was probably a result of these new privileges. The Gild of the Holy Cross, established by Bishop Giffard in 1269 and refounded in 1403, became in many ways the nursery of local self-government and it is as successor to the Gild that the Corporation still owns so many of the old houses in the town. The foundation of a college of priests in the church in 1331 explains not only why "Shakespeare's church" is one of the finest in the Midlands, but also why a considerable portion of the town, the former college estate, remained, until less than eighty years ago, outside the borough boundaries. The central turning point is the reign of Edward VI, when the Gild and the College were dissolved, the manor passed away from the Bishops of Worcester, after nearly 900 years, and the first Charter of Incorporation was granted. Our next landmark is the opening up of the Avon navigation, originally in 1636, though its continuous history begins only in 1672. For the next two centuries Stratford was an inland port. The Canal and the Tramway Bridge, which now form such attractive features of the waterfront by the Theatre, were originally designed to extend the trade from Bristol into various parts of the Midlands. One result of making the Avon navigable was the first general use of brick for building. Another was Flower's Brewery, which is still the leading industry and has grown directly out of the old malting trade which was the chief source of prosperity in Shakespeare's time.

The modern history of Stratford really begins with Garrick's Jubilee of 1769. If Mr. Fox's description of it as "one of the 'great occasions' of English history" seems over-enthusiastic, there are at any rate few episodes which throw so much light on the social habits and outlook of the eighteenth century. Since then, Shakespearian associations have more and more become the dominant, though by no means the sole, element in Stratford's history; and we may appro-

priately take the year 1879, when the first Memorial Theatre was built, as the last of our turning points, on the threshold of our own time.

For much of the historical narrative down to the early nineteenth century, Mr. Fox has followed the *Victoria County History of Warwickshire* very closely indeed. He has drawn, too, as every writer on Stratford must, on the late E. I. Fripp's scholarly reconstruction of Shakespeare's local background. The unpublished letters of the Reverend Joseph Green provide some interesting new details of eighteenth-century Shakespeariana and Mr. Fox has also given us the first general account of municipal development since 1835. Some of the best chapters in the book are those in which he illustrates from the Gild, Manorial and Corporation records the life of the town and the working of its government at different periods. The result is a readable and vivid narrative, though it suffers from the inevitable limitations of an official history. The lights and shades which are of special interest to the historian tend sometimes to be lost in a floodlit picture of civic progress and achievement. Two or three small errors may be noted: Leland's account is for some reason dated to 1530, probably about fifteen years too early; Overseers of the Poor were first appointed by the Act of 1598 and not (as on p. 118) by that of 1572; and the "soldiers' coats" mentioned in the Chamberlain's Accounts for 1588 (p. 21) are hardly likely at that date, to have been coats of mail. The name of Ely Street (p. 35) seems to be derived from the "Ele Mill" or oil mill which is mentioned in fifteenth-century records and was worked by a stream which once flowed down the middle of the street. While much is necessarily omitted for reasons of space, it is regrettable that in describing the Gild Hall and Grammar School buildings Mr. Fox has not referred to the important results of his and Mr. Leslie Watkins's recent researches upon them.

The book is well indexed and most attractively produced and the thirty-three illustrations have been chosen with care and skill. Not only well-known modern views, but old prints and pictures have been drawn upon and it was a happy thought to include a number of photographs of the early Corporation records.

University of Birmingham

PHILIP STYLES

Shakespeare: An Introduction to his Works. By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. 181. \$2.50.

Allardyce Nicoll's *Shakespeare: An Introduction to his Works* was originally published in the Methuen series, "Home Study Books." It would seem already to have proved its worth, and has been reissued by the Oxford University Press of New York. It serves as a useful reminder of the error of supposing this or any other English publication to be valueless to an advanced student merely because it is addressed to a popular audience and has an unpretentious format. If the publishers had been planning a mere elementary handbook for the ignorant and unintelligent seeker after "culture" they obviously would not have invited Professor Nicoll to write it.

At all events, the book as it stands might well be put into the hands of anyone interested in its subject, whether layman, student, or indeed specialist. It is first of all a masterpiece of condensation, as witness not only the solid weight of fact and considered opinion it compresses into 180 pages, but also the degree to which it preserves the author's personality and style—qualities too easily boiled out in the process of boiling down. To be sure, it does not delve

into the intricacies of Shakespeare's biography, nor the chronology and sources of the plays; it does not dally among the Baconians or other heretical doctrinaires. Merely to mention every topic which might be included in an introduction to Shakespeare would go far towards filling the space which is here devoted to discussing matters of first importance. What it does do is to survey in six chapters of fairly equal length "The Background," "The Problem of Interpretation," and the usual divisions of Shakespeare's writing career, under the headings "The Young Dramatist at Work" (the early histories and comedies, and *Titus Andronicus*), "Man and Society" (*Romeo and Juliet*, the later histories, the romantic comedies, and *Measure for Measure*), "Man and the Universe" (the tragedies), and "The Inner Life" (the tragicomedies).

Doubtless this survey of the works themselves will prove to be the most useful part of the book to the layman and the student. To the specialist it may be the most challenging—unless one finds oneself able to agree about every interpretation, which I do not—for however conventional the division into periods, some of Professor Nicoll's views of individual plays are unusual, and to be reckoned with.

Still more refreshing is the content of the first two chapters. The word "Background" in this context is apt to mean a résumé of the relevant political and social history; it here applies to something much more original and more difficult: a consideration, in terms intelligible to all, of the "war" between the historical and symbolist critics; of the question whether Shakespeare's plays should be read as plays or as poems; of the nature of man in Elizabeth's time and in our own; of the Elizabethan theatrical performance; and of the contribution to literary study made by bibliographical research since 1920. Here the intelligent layman will find new vistas opening up, and the specialist—unless he finds himself in fundamental disagreement with any of Professor Nicoll's tenets, which I do not—will have the satisfaction of confirming his own principles upon those arrived at by an exceptionally well-informed and judicious mind. The same is true of "The Problem of Interpretation," with its formulation of the idea of the "double vision" with which Shakespeare saw the world and with which he must be read.

University of Pennsylvania

MATTHEW W. BLACK

Shakespeare: His World and His Work. By M. M. REESE. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1953. Pp. [xiv] + 589. \$6.75.

This well-written volume has a three-stranded theme: to give a reasonably full and uncomplicated account of Shakespeare's art, his life, and his times. As such it is a handbook to the author and his plays, but it contains more detailed information than the average, and it presents much fresh material. The book is divided into five parts: Part I: Beginnings, the single chapter of which discusses Shakespeare's youth, with a description of the Stratford of his day; Part II: Shakespeare's Predecessors, with chapters on the drama before Shakespeare (*Miracle Plays and Moralities*, *Classical Influences in the Sixteenth Century*, and *The University Wits*); Part III: The Elizabethan Stage (treating Elizabethan London, The Theatres, The Players and their social and professional status, and the companies; *Plays and Playwrights*, and *The Audience*); Part IV: Shakespeare Personally, with chapters on London and Stratford, and Shakespeare's Mind; and Part V: Shakespeare's Art, treating *The Nature of Man*, and *Character and Poetry*. Thus, the book is also less factual in a simon-pure sense, and more willing than the average handbook to interpret and to

deduce the kind of knowledge which mere fact denies us. It treats topics that have been the subjects of recent books, and it is up-to-date in its scholarship.

"I have assumed of the reader," says the author in his Preface, "only that he is familiar with the plays, or most of them, and that he wants to know such things about the way they were written, and the man who wrote them, as will sharpen his enjoyment of them in the library or the theatre." This purpose has been readably attained. One might have wished a sharper organization, for the book contains much more than its table of contents might lead one to suppose, but there is an excellent and a detailed index.

Biographically the author is essentially orthodox and conservative in the best sense, and his discussions of Shakespeare's marriage, the poaching episode, and the special knowledge of this and that craft or mystery which the plays are sometimes supposed to reveal, are eminently sensible. Perhaps there is a little too much emphasis upon the possible Catholicism of the Shakespeares, but this is a tendency of our time. Discussions of the response of Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists to the social stresses and the economic problems of the age, of the relations of Shakespeare's plays to earlier drama, of Shakespeare and his actors, and of rhetoric and actor's technique, are particularly stimulating sections of the book.

Only the price will interfere with its usefulness and its influence.

New York University

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

Shakespeare-Jahrbuch, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, Band 89. Ed. HERMANN HEUER assisted by WOLFGANG CLEMEN and RUDOLF STAMM. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1953. Pp. vi + 304. Free to members of the German Shakespeare Society. Yearly subscription 10 DM.

The annual of the German Shakespeare Society reaches with this last issue—the third under the new team of editors—its well-known pre-war standard. While the previous two volumes had to cover two or even three years (vol. 84/86 for 1948–1950 and vol. 87/88 for 1951 and 1952), annual publication is to be expected again. Most of the pre-war features of this well known publication have been re-introduced. There is again a full Shakespeare Bibliography—this time for 1947 and 1948, but it includes also the few German publications between 1944 and 1946. It is true, this Bibliography is not any longer such an indispensable tool to Shakespearean scholars as before the War, since *SQ* now brings the full bibliography compiled by Sidney Thomas which is more up-to-date and annotated, but the German one includes many smaller articles from not purely scholarly European periodicals and is therefore still useful. There are the usual current book reviews and a very useful critical review of articles on Shakespeare and his time in learned periodicals by Robert Fricker, a Swiss scholar working in Heidelberg. There is also the wonted report on Shakespeare on the German Stage (including all theaters performing in the German language, therefore also Austrian and Swiss ones), which this time is supplemented by a useful article by Elisabeth Brock-Sulzer on Shakespearean production in Zürich between 1939–1952 ("Shakespeare-Pflege am Schauspielhaus Zürich 1939–1952," pp. 162–172) as it was last year by one by Doris Eisner on Austrian Shakespeare productions between 1945 and 1951 ("Sieben Jahre Shakespeare in Oesterreich," vol. 87/88, pp. 180–197). All through the Nazi years and during the first years after the War Zürich attracted many producers and actors from Germany—till 1945 for political reasons to escape the Nazi regulations for the Stage and after 1945 for financial reasons—and they tried in this rich and largest city of

German-speaking Switzerland all sorts of new ideas in production which are now noticeable in Germany.

The other contents of the volume are a reprint of V.i and the Epilogue of *The Tempest* in the new translation by the present president of the Society, Rudolf Alexander Schröder (a reprint of the latter's translation of *Troilus* I.iii and II.i was published in 1951, vol. 84/86, pp. 75-92), papers read at meetings of the Society (Saladin Schmitt: "Shakespeare, Drama und Bühne," a post-humous paper by this former president of the Society, who died March 14, 1951; Richard Flatter: "Shakespeare, der Schauspieler"; Benno von Wiese: "Gestaltungen des Bösen in Shakespeares dramatischem Werk"; Hermann Heuer: "*Troilus und Cressida* in neuer Sicht"), further three original articles (Horst Oppel: "Zur Problematik des Willenskampfes bei Shakespeare"; August Ruegg: "Caliban und Miranda"; Gerda Prange: "Shakespeares Aeusserungen über die Tänze seiner Zeit"), necrologies (among them one for the actor Albert Bassermann, pp. 242 f., who was also well known in America), a report on the Societies activities in 1952-53 and on the Shakespeare Festival held at Duisburg on Oct. 23-26, 1952.

Innsbruck University

KARL BRUNNER

The Shakespeare Festival: A History of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. By T. C. KEMP and J. C. TREWIN. Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, Inc. [1953]. Pp. 295. 25s.

This is a substantial book of annals pleasantly written. It is the fullest record of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre yet given us. Omissions are few. At one point the Princess Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich's *Pleasures and Palaces* might have been consulted with advantage (the author, as Eleanor Calhoun, acted in Stratford), and no use seems to have been made of promptbooks.

As the story is divided, Mr. Trewin has the long early years, down to the opening of the present theater in 1932. His account is based on an earlier volume, *The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre*, written in collaboration with Miss M. C. Day, but this has been considerably expanded and in great part rewritten. After a glance at the Jubilee of 1769, he comes promptly to Barry Sullivan and Helen Faucit, the distinguished if aging Benedick and Beatrice of the Memorial Theatre's first performance, April 23, 1879. The now legendary Bensonian regime began two years later, with its wholly English blending of lightheartedness and idealism, its joking and games (the late Mr. Henry Herbert once assured me he was the only actor Benson ever engaged who flatly refused to take part in field sports), its hard work and real accomplishment. Coming to the nineteen-twenties, Mr. Trewin justly praises the fine, simple productions of Bridges-Adams. Some of us saw these with delight when the company visited America, bringing us George Hayes as Richard II, Randle Ayrtton as Lear, and Roy Byford as a Falstaff without stuffing.

Trewin's light touch, his wide familiarity with the plays in performance and quiet affection for them make the first part of the book better reading than the second. Mr. T. C. Kemp of *The Birmingham Post*, an experienced critic, carries the record forward, through a period when the theater was in the doldrums. Director after director found himself thwarted by conditions—some of them described more frankly than others—which rendered his best efforts of little avail. With Sir Barry Jackson (1946-1948) began a change for the better, and the prestige of the theater under its present directors, Mr. Anthony Quayle and Mr. Glen Byam Shaw, is comparable to that enjoyed by the Old Vic at the time of its American visit in 1946.

The appendices include excerpts from two memorable reviews by H. T. Parker in *The Boston Evening Transcript* and a curious list of "plays performed during the festivals, 1879-1952." This is not without its surprises. Season by season, *As You Like It* is the play most regularly given, with *The Merchant of Venice* and *Hamlet* closely following. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Taming of the Shrew* are both among the first seven. *Henry the Fourth: Part Two* has been acted a good deal more frequently than *Henry the Fourth: Part One*. *The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, which has proved exciting at Birmingham and London in recent years, has only been given as part of a single festival, in 1906. And what is perhaps not surprising, *Titus Andronicus* is the one play not to have been given at all.

Bryn Mawr College

ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE

Tamburlaine's Malady and Other Essays on Astrology in Elizabethan Drama. By JOHNSTONE PARR. University of Alabama Press, 1953. Pp. xvi + 158. \$3.50.

As his ample documentation and bibliography suggest, Professor Parr would seem to have delved more deeply into the arcana of Elizabethan astrology than any other of the several scholars in this highly technical field; but he seems to take too great pains to avoid related Renaissance sciences;¹ and one also regrets that his applications of this knowledge to Elizabethan drama, though on the whole sound and significant, are somewhat fragmentary. In fact, the volume, though divided into twelve "chapters," is simply a series of disconnected notes and articles, most of which have recently appeared in the learned journals. One hopes that Professor Parr has in preparation a full treatise on astrology in Elizabethan drama, with due consideration of associated sciences.

The book discusses characters or situations in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Dr. Faustus*, in Lyly's *Woman in the Moone*, in Greene's *James the Fourth* and in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, and short passages in Chapman, Webster, and Jonson. There is also a very general survey of astrology in Shakespeare. Parr's study of the astrological causes of Tamburlaine's death corrects the mistake of some earlier scholars who took *calor* to mean *choler*; but despite this slip, they are clearly right in ascribing the conquerer's dissolution to extreme choleric humor. Parr shows that the ultimate cause was astrological; but his predecessors are right in finding the immediate cause to be humoral; for, as he himself shows in his discussion of Lyly (p. 39), the stars sometimes operated through their power over bodily fluids. Thus the final conclusion is supplemented and corrected but hardly changed.

The study of "Shakespeare's Artistic Use of Astrology", though it surveys many short references in the plays, does not quite live up to its title; and, indeed, that would have required a consideration of astrology in relation to the humors, with a much fuller treatment of individual plays, and also of former work on both these subjects—much more detailed than the sketchy review in footnote 80.² Indeed, in an essay with so general a title, the short papers that follow on *King Lear*—along with similar materials on a number of other plays—might well have been included. Whoever writes the definitive

¹ Professor Parr, however, admits the close relationship between the astrological and the humoral in governing men's lives, e.g. pp. 39-40 and 48.

² His summary of Darby's "Astrology on *King Lear*" seems hardly adequate. Doubtless the present reviewer's "Astrology in *Othello*" (*The Othello of Shakespeare's Audience*, Paris, 1952, Appendix A) came out too late to be included.

work on astrology in Shakespeare, however, can hardly neglect Professor Parr's contribution.

West Virginia University

JOHN W. DRAPER

Sixteen Sonnets of William Shakespeare, 33 1/3 LP record. Read by DAVID ALLEN. New York: Poetry Records. Music in the Elizabethan style composed by CURTIS BIEVER and played on the harp by MARGARET ROSS.

This album makes no contribution to recorded versions of Shakespeare's works, for the sonnets are read by David Allen in a lulling monotone which smothers the meaning and the music of the lines. Mr. Allen does not even convey clarity, for he stops at the ends of lines that carry over the thought, and at times swallows important syllables or words at the end of the line, like "fire" in sonnet 73 ("That time of year thou may'st in me behold").

For those considering the album for classroom use, it should be pointed out that the readings are not sufficiently clear as far as context is concerned. In sonnet 15 ("When I consider everything that grows"), the reader in line 9 ("Then the conceit of this inconstant stay") stresses the word "conceit" and conveys an impression of its contemporary meaning. In 130 ("My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun"), his interpretation realizes none of the humor, but has the solemnity of a sermon.

A comparison to the readings of selected sonnets by Sir John Gielgud (Decca, 33 1/3 LP) reveals that there can be beauty and drama in a vocal presentation of these works. Whereas Mr. Allen lacks variation and music in his reading of sonnet 73, Sir John brings dramatic timing to the first two words, to which he gives an impression of hesitance and reluctance, and he brings out the full musical values of the vowels in such words as "choirs," "sang," "day" and "cold."

Hunter College

ALICE GRIFFIN

Ben Jonson of Westminster. By MARCHETTE CHUTE. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1953. Pp. 380. \$5.00.

In Marchette Chute's *Shakespeare of London* Ben Jonson, chiefly drawn from the Drummond *Conversations*, was primarily a foil to Shakespeare. In *Ben Jonson of Westminster* he is a full-scale figure drawn from wide reading of his works and thorough investigation of historical sources. The once widespread tendency to blacken Jonson for the greater glory of Shakespeare is fast dying or dead, and most present-day Shakespearians will appreciate Miss Chute's sympathetic treatment of Jonson.

As in her earlier biographies, Miss Chute constructs a sound background of old England, particularly London. Against this background she traces Jonson's whole career, beginning with his days at Westminster School under William Camden. Jonson's numerous friends and enemies crowd the book; of his most notable friend Miss Chute says: "... There was nothing in all Jonson's career that does him more honor than the honor he was willing to do Shakespeare." The long, acrimonious struggle with Inigo Jones is not allowed to obscure the masques, which are vividly described with all their splendor and turbulence. With critical comments, frequently unorthodox, Miss Chute keeps Jonson's literary and dramatic career prominent as well as his colorful personal life. Her final chapter contains a worthy epitaph for the old poet: "At the end of his life, as at the beginning, he kept his face turned towards the great world of books."

Miss Chute does not belong to the guild of professional scholars. Her book is addressed to the general reader, not the specialist; however, it is no cheap popularization. Although many of her details and critical interpretations are subject to questioning, surely the most-austere member of the guild may safely say: "There is ever more in her to be praised than to be pardoned."

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

GEORGE BURKE JOHNSTON

Barnaby Rich. By THOMAS MABRY CRANFILL and DOROTHY HART BRUCE. University of Texas Press, 1953. Pp. x + 135. \$2.50.

The author from whose *Riche His Farewell to the Militarie Profession* Shakespeare drew his plot of *Twelfth Night* and probably much of that of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* had a colorful career as a soldier, adventurer, informer, and writer. His life is portrayed in this compact book written in a scholarly yet lively manner.

Folger Shakespeare Library

EDWIN E. WILLOUGHBY

Shakespeare's Hamlet The First Quarto 1603. San Marino, California: The Henry E. Huntington Library, 1953. Pp. 6 + [66]. \$3.00.

The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, in cooperation with the Harvard University Press, is now re-issuing the facsimile of *Hamlet Q1* (1603) which first appeared in 1931. It is a pleasure to have this accurate and handsome volume again available.

The issuance of photo-lithographic facsimiles of Elizabethan publications is one of the indications of the maturing interest in the book as a physical object which must be studied closely to arrive at an authoritative text. Only those reproductions which are as accurate as this one, however, will serve the purpose: certain facsimiles issued during the latter part of the nineteenth century have long been recognized as having been doctored in running-titles, in center or marginal rules, and, more importantly, in the text. Such tampering, of course, makes accurate bibliographical examination impossible.

The photographic facsimile, when it is as accurate as this one, is as good as one can do unless he holds the original in his hand. He cannot examine the watermarks of the original, but all other necessary details are shown. One of the great debts that modern bibliographers owe to modern printing methods is made apparent by such an excellent facsimile as this.

Hollins College

I. B. CAUTHEN, JR.

Emendations to Three of Shakespeare's Plays. By HOWARD PARSONS. London: The Ettrick Press, [1953]. Pp. 21 2/0 d.

Mr. Parsons here offers five emendations to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, twelve to *Love's Labour's Lost*, and ten to *The Comedy of Errors*. This "brochure," he explains, is published in order to draw attention to "his major work—*Shakespeare Emendations and Discoveries*" which will be ready shortly. If the book continues the kind of emendation here presented, it can safely be reviewed in advance.

As a reader of Shakespeare, Mr. Parsons can undoubtedly spot certain passages that need critical examination. Unfortunately, his examination of them does not settle their problems. The evidence he offers for emendation is often only insistent, not conclusive: he bases his proposed readings either on (1) mis-

takes in reading handwriting, (2) analogies with other lines Shakespeare wrote, even though the lines are separated by a great gap of time, and (3) what a reviewer must conclude is intuition. A few examples of his method and conclusions must suffice. In *Love's Labour's Lost* (IV.iii.127) where Longaville says, "Dumaine, thy Loue is farre from *charitie*. . .," Mr. Parsons substitutes *verity*. For such a change he quotes *As You Like It*: ". . . for his *verity* in love, I doe thinke him as concave as a covered goblet, or a Worme-eaten nut" (III.iv.25). His conclusion is that "parallel passages could hardly be more exact, so 'verity' in the one, proves it should also appear in the other." In *The Comedy of Errors*, he emends Aegeon's line, "ere the ships could meet by twice fūe leagues" (I.i.83) to *lengths*. For, as he explains, "Shakespeare wrote 'lengths' (not 'leagues'). The one word superimposed on the other shows how very easily the mistake was made. . . . Compare *King John*, I, 1, 105, 'large lengths of seas and shores Between my father, and my mother lay.'" Perhaps the worst, though nevertheless illustrative, of his emendations is the adding of an extra line to *The Comedy of Errors* (IV.i.48) where F1 reads:

Good Lord, you vse this dalliance to excuse
Your breach of promise to the Porpentine. . . .

Mr. Parsons rewrites,

Good Lord, you use this dalliance to excuse
Your breach of promise, *made some hours ago*
To bring the gold chain to the Porpentine.

It is an unscholarly performance, lacking even in some basic information that any emender must include. Whereas he tells us what editors have to say about the lines he examines, he does not give us any truly textual information—what the readings of the Qq and Ff are and how they may be reconciled with his proposals. This is much more important than what Malone, White, Staunton, Knight, Clarke, and others have in their turn guessed about the line. The guessing game can go on forever, and Mr. Parsons will be neither the last nor the best.

Hollins College

I. B. CAUTHEN, JR.

Queries and Notes

EDMUND MORTIMER IN SHAKESPEARE AND HALL

ROBERT ADGER LAW

Owen Glendor a squire of Wales, . . . beyng elated and set vp in auctorite, to the intent to bee out of all doubte of his neyghbors, made sharpe warre on Reig-nolde lorde Greye . . . and toke hym prysoner, promysing hym libertee and discharg-ying his raunsome, yf he would espouse and marie his doughter, thinkyng by that af-finite to haue greate ayde and muche power in Wales. The lorde Grey beeyng not very riche nether of substance nor of frendes, consideryng this offer to be the onely waye of hys relese and deliuerance, assented to his pleasure and married the damosell. But this false father in lawe, this vntrew, vn honest and periured persone, kept hym with his wyfe still in captiuitee till he dyed. And not content with his heynous offence, made warre on lorde Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, and in his owne lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slewe many of therles men and toke hym prisoner, and feteryng hym in chaynes, cast hym in a depe and miserable dongeon. The kyng was requyred to purchase his delyuerance by dyuerse of the nobilitie, but he could not heare on that syde, rather he would and wished al his linage in heuen. For then his title had been out of all doubt & question, and so vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion.—Edward Hall's *Chronicle* (1550), "Henry the Fourth," folio 16, verso.

The passage cited above is well known to editors of 2 *Henry VI* and is quoted in part by Hemingway in the Variorum 1 *Henry IV*, p. 364, but I have not seen it reproduced in its entirety, nor do I believe that its full significance has been observed. The corresponding passage in the 1587 edition of Holinshed, III, 520, leaves unmentioned the case of Lord Grey, asserting only that King Henry IV suffered Mortimer "to remaine in miserable prison, wishing both the said earle and all other of his linage out of this life, with God and his saintes in heauen, so they had beene out of the waie, for then all had beene well inough as he thought." Grafton's *Chronicle at Large* (1569), differing slightly from Hall's words concerning Lord Grey, has its third sentence to read: "But this false father in lawe kept him with his wife in prison vntill he dyed."

To students of Shakespeare, interest in this passage springs from the reference in 2 *Henry VI* II.ii.39-42, where Salisbury says of Edmund Mortimer:

This Edmund in the reign of Bolingbroke,
As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;
And but for Owen Glendower had been king,
Who kept him in captivity till he died.

Editors agree that the dramatist has here confused Mortimer with Lord Grey because of a tricky memory of the passage in Hall, not in Holinshed. The wording also differs from that in Grafton, reading "captivity," not "prison," so as to indicate Hall as the source.

But in contradiction to Salisbury, *1 Henry VI* II.v, pictures the same Edmund dying in the Tower of London, rather than in captivity under Glendower. This entire scene, which has the young Plantagenet, Mortimer's heir, visit Mortimer at the hour of death and learn from him the basis for his hereditary claim to the throne, is of course fanciful since Mortimer did not die in prison at all. It may have been suggested by the fact that Roger Mortimer of Chirk was imprisoned in the Tower for treason, along with his nephew, a more famous Roger Mortimer, and died there in 1326 (*DNB*, XXXIX, 136). He is the Elder Mortimer of Marlowe's *Edward II*. Despite the Chronicles and Shakespeare, the Mortimer who married Glendower's daughter, Sir Edmund, was uncle to Edmund, Earl of March, who had been proclaimed heir to Richard II. Uncle supported nephew's claim (*DNB*, XXXIX, 122).

Yet the suggestion for having Edmund Mortimer die in the Tower may have come from two other passages in Hall. Eight pages beyond the sentences first cited, Hall writes:

For the erle of Marche was euer kepte in the courte vnder suche a keeper that he could nether doo or attempte any thyng agaynste the kyng without his knowledge, and dyed without issue.—Hall, "Henry the Fourth," fol. 20, verso.

Again, under the third year of Henry VI, 1425, Hall states:

Duryng whych season, Edmonde Mortymer, the last erle of Marche of that name (whiche longe tyme had bene restrayned from hys liberty, and fynally waxed lame) diseased wythout yssue, whose inheritaunce disceded to lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard erle of Cambridge.—Hall, "Henry the Sixt," fol. 10, verso. Copied practically without change by Holinshed, III, 589-590.

The change of place from Wales to London looks like a correction in a later written play of an error made earlier, *1 Henry VI* following *2 Henry VI*, as Dover Wilson and others date the two plays.

But the passage first cited from Hall contains another sentence that I have not seen connected with *1 Henry IV*, even by Hemingway. Hall asserts that the King "would and wished al his (Mortimer's) linage in heuen." In *1 Henry IV* III.i.8-10, Glendower informs Hotspur, Mortimer's brother-in-law, about the King:

As oft as Lancaster
Doth speak of you, his cheek looks pale, and with
A rising sigh he wisheth you in heaven.

Hotspur quickly retorts, "And you in hell."

Apparently, the wording of the passage in Hall made a strong and lasting impression on the young Shakespeare.

The University of Texas

LAYING A SHAKESPEARIAN GHOST: 1 *HENRY IV*, II.iv.225

G. BLAKEMORE EVANS

In the course of a recent examination of the text of 1 *Henry IV* I was startled to discover that the well-known crux "elfskin" (II.iv.225) is a poor ghost—that, in effect, it did not properly speaking exist. All editors of the play agree in reading "elfskin" for all the quarto and folio texts, but an examination of the three extant copies of Q1 (Huntington, Capell, and Garrick) clearly reveals that the reading is "elsskin" (even the Griggs and Ashbee facsimiles bear tardy witness).¹ The reading "elsskin" also appears in Q2 and it is only with Q3 that the reading "elfskin" first intrudes as a compositorial error or the "correction" of an imaginative compositor or proof-reader. "Elfskin" persists in Q4 and Q5, and later, through Q5, insinuates its unreal presence into the First Folio, from which strategic retreat it has haunted the text ever since.

In the light of the Q1 reading ("elsskin") Hanmer's frequently adopted emendation "eel-skin" would seem more than ever justified. But we may notice—partly because the devil of emendation pricks—that *N.E.D.* records the form "elshin" as a variant of "elsin," an awl, and that it is possible that "elsskin" is a compositor's misreading of "elshin." The imagery of the end of Falstaff's speech supports the comparison of Prince Hal to an awl, and the reference to "dried neatstong" which immediately follows "elsskin" might have been suggested by the association between a shoemaker's awl and neat's leather. If Starveling ("Zbloud you starueling, you ellskin you dried neatstong, . . .") in *Midsummer Night's Dream* were only a shoemaker! Or was the awl also commonly linked with the tailor's craft?

University of Illinois

¹I.e. elfskin. Other examples of long s followed by short s in Q1 may be found in III.i.34a, 35, and 73 (Variorum text numbering).

Notes and Comments

FRONTISPIECE

The Frontispiece is a miniature of King Edward VI, enclosed within the initial E in the Charter of Incorporation granted by the King to Stratford-upon-Avon on 28 June 1553. See the Frontispiece of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Summer, 1954, for a reproduction of the first membrane of the Charter. In succeeding issues there will be reproductions of miniatures of other Tudor sovereigns.

* * * * *

SHAKESPEARE IN LIMERICK

A reader of the *Quarterly* sends a clipping from *The Irish Times* of 8 June 1954 that reads in part as follows:

. . . There is an old playbill advertising the presentation of "Hamlet" on May the fourth, 1793, at the Theatre Royal, Kilkenny. The play is described as "the Tragedy of Hamlet, originally written and composed by the celebrated Dan Hayes of Limerick, and inserted in Shakespeare's Works."

This performance was given by way of benefit for an actor named Kearns, who played the part of Hamlet and who, according to the playbill, would between the acts "perform several solos on the patent bagpipes, which play two tunes at the same time."

* * * * *

SHAKESPEARE THE SALESMAN

An alternate title might be: Shakespeare, Frank C. Baxter, and Television. In a news release that has equal importance for colleges and television distributors, Mr. Paul Naton, Vice President and Secretary of Mills College, reports on the use of Dr. Baxter's "Shakespeare on TV" course by KQED, the new educational television station in the San Francisco Bay Area for academic credit at Mills College. The lectures were shown during the latter part of July, August, and early September. Actual registration for the credit course totaled 77, with 361 registered "auditors." Registrants ranged from 16 to 88 years of age and were residents of 13 Bay Area counties. Some traveled from more than 100 miles away to take the final examination on the Mills campus.

Mills College invested several thousand dollars in printed leaflets, return envelopes, study guides and enrollment cards. Television distributors, public libraries, museums, and leading department stores in San Francisco and Oakland assisted by setting up window and department displays featuring the course. Several museums and libraries set aside rooms in which people who had no sets could enjoy the programs. In consequence, enrollment fees totaled slightly more than the costs, and a small profit was shared by KQED, Mills

College, and the University of Southern California, academic home of Professor Baxter.

Libraries reported a sharp increase in the circulation of books about Shakespeare in the period during which the lectures were being televised. And stores distributing television sets were able to relate sales of from one to twelve sets apiece directly to the Shakespeare programs.

In November, Mills College and station KQED will follow up the first course with a showing of Professor Baxter's second series of "Shakespeare on TV."

* * * * *

INDEX

The Index to Volume V will be distributed as a part of the Winter or the Spring issue of Volume VI. Members of the Shakespeare Association of America who wish to bind their copies of *Shakespeare Quarterly* are notified that the Index to complete the current volume will be supplied in due course; they may spare themselves the trouble of placing a special order or making special inquiry about the Index.

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PROFESSOR MATTHEW W. BLACK, of the University of Pennsylvania, is editor of the New Variorum edition of *Richard II* now at press.

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DOROTHY ROSE GRIBBLE is one of the founders of Plantagenet Productions, London.

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DR. CHARLTON HINMAN, a Guggenheim Fellow in 1953-54, is continuing his collation of the First Folios of Shakespeare in the Folger Library with the collating machine of his own invention.

PROFESSOR RICHARD HOSLEY's edition of *Romeo and Juliet* (Yale Shakespeare) has just come from press. He is a member of the Department of English at the University of Virginia.

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